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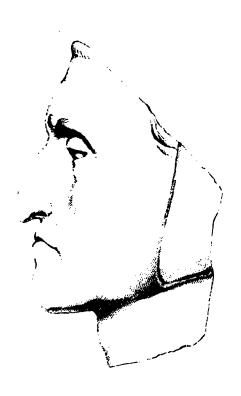


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## READINGS'

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# INFERNO OF DANTE

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# 1444 COMMENTARY OF BENVENUTO DA IMOLA AND OTHER AUTHORITIES

WITH TEAT AND LITERAL TRANSPALION BY THE HONE.

#### WILLIAM WARREN VERNON

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION

EDWARD MOORE, L.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES VOL. I.:

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THE COMMENTARY OF BENVENUTO DA IMOLA
AND OTHER AUTHORITIES

WITH TEXT AND LITERAL TRANSLATION
BY THE HONBLE

#### WILLIAM WARREN VERNON

M.A. OXON.; ACCADEMICO CORRISPONDENTE DELLA CRUSCA; CAVALIERE DI S. MAURIZIO E LAZZARO IN ITALY; AND KNIGHT OF THE ROYAL ORDER OF ST. CLAF IN NORWAY.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

EDWARD MOORE, D.D.
PRINCIPAL OF ST. EDMUND HALL, OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES VOL. I.

SECOND EDITION-ENTIRELY RE-WRITTEN

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#### TO THE MEMORY

OF THE VERY REVEREND

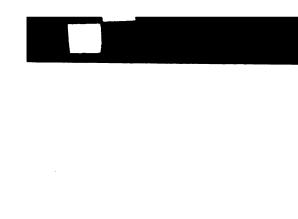
# RICHARD WILLIAM CHURCH, D.C.L. Dean of St. Paul's

DEDICATED

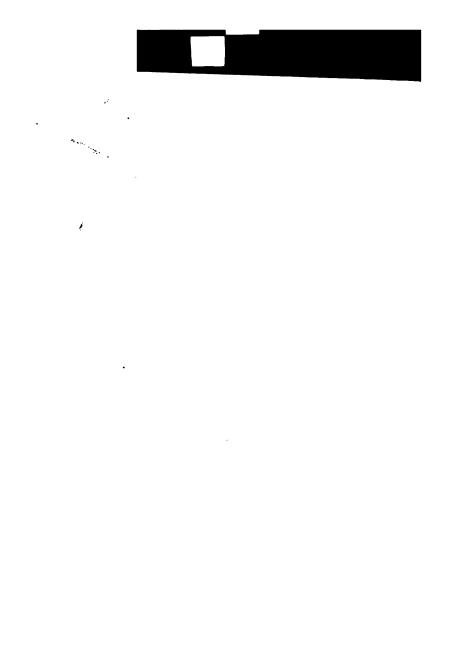
WITH A DEEP SENSE OF GRATITUDE AND REVERENCE

BY

WILLIAM WARREN VERNON







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### PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

My Readings on the three Cantiche of the Divina Commedia grew out of a series of lectures to a few private friends at Florence. In preparing these works, my intention has not been to enter into rivalry with the many excellent prose translations now accessible to the English reader, but I venture to claim the merit of a certain novelty of plan and execution. The Readings are practically lectures to students. They take the reader for the first time step by step with the Poet throughout his dread pilgrimage. They endeavour to make clear the difficulties of language, the obscurities, the vague historical and literary references, and to afford a clue to the extraordinary topographical embarassments which meet the reader at every turn. My method has been to deal with the text a few lines at a time, and to give a literal translation of it, while a running commentary and a plentiful supply of parallel passages, with notes and illustrations drawn from ancient and modern Commentators, show the order and method of the narrative, as well as the general plan of the Poem in relation to the other writings of Dante.

My work represents in outline very much the way we were taught Homer or Virgil at Eton. We prepared seventy lines before going to school. At the beginning of the lesson, the master of the division, either by questioning some of the more advanced scholars, or by a short and succinct narrative, established the connection between the lesson we were beginning and the one we concluded last. Some boy was then put on to construe; he did not read out the whole seventy lines, but was stopped when he had read about eight or ten lines, and then had to translate or construe them. The closest attention was given to the historical incidents, the syntax, the parsing, and to their illustration by analogous passages (this method would correspond to my footnotes): nor did the next boy proceed to construe further, until everything necessary had been said that could explain the first passage. During that week the whole seventy lines had to be learnt by heart. Therefore I would advise that students of Dante should first read through the whole Canto in Italian and English; next that they should work it through with my Readings (or some other Commentary), and then learn the most striking parts of the original with the most minute precision, though never, under any circumstances, from an edition different from that of their own text, which I recommend should be the text of Dr. Moore, known as the Oxford Dante. There are very few, even among Tuscan Italians, who could read Dante without a commentary. A Tuscan proverb says: "Ouante pagnotte bisogna mangiare prima di poter commentar Dante solo!"

There is a close connection between the three

Cantiche, which were intended by their writer as one harmonious work, in which each action, speech and scene has a settled meaning in relation to the entire Poem. "This comprehensive mastery over the whole," says Dean Church (Introduction to Readings on the Purgatorio), " is just what a learner struggling with the difficulties of translation, and the perpetually recurring interruption and entanglement of notes, so easily loses. Striking or hard passages arrest or interest him; but the transitions are so abrupt, and the explanations are so condensed and concise, that he often finds it a hard matter to follow the continuous line of the Poet's thought. But Dante certainly did not intend to be read only in fine passages; with his immense and multifarious detail, he meant us to keep in view the idea which governs the whole from the first part to the last." Dante used the Italian language as an instrument for conveying human thought with a direct force and a conciseness of expression beyond even the might of Tacitus. The translation is offered as a fair representation of the Poet's meaning. I do not pretend to convey the full beauty and power, the marvellous and restrained energy of Dante's chiselled language. That impossible task must be left for abler pens than mine. My chief aim has been to show the beautiful symmetry of the Divina Commedia, planned by its designer on a scale of such magnificence and loftiness of purpose, perhaps unrivalled in the literature of any age or country. We find in the Divina Commedia not only a complete system of civil and ecclesiastical government, but also a microcosm of the thoughts, the aspirations, the learning, the arts, the sciences, the hopes and fears, the loves and hates of the Middle Ages.

My Readings are based generally on the famous lectures in Latin of Benvenuto da Imola (A.D. 1375), which were printed in 1888. These lectures were delivered by one who lived close to Dante's own time, and Benvenuto's remarks on the living persons mentioned in the Poem are, therefore, particularly valuable. His observations on the subtle allegorical meanings also deserve serious attention, as coming from one who may be said to speak in the full light of tradition. The ordinary reader may feel repelled at the enormous bulk of Benvenuto's Commentary (in five large volumes), of which I have endeavoured to give the pith and substance. I have also made full use of the other early Commentators, from Pietro di Dante, the son of the Poet, to Giambattista Gelli, the quaint old hosier of Florence, the Tuscan of Tuscans, who by patient study raised himself to become the lecturer on Dante in his native city, during the cultivated age of Leo X. Above all, and on this I cannot lay too much stress, I have always kept in view the fact, so often lost sight of, that Dante was a Florentine, and wrote for Tuscans. Let any one well acquainted with Italy contrast the harshness of the accent and the poverty of the language spoken both in Piedmont and in Lombardy, with the matchless beauty of the pronunciation, and the boundless wealth of idioms to be found among the Peasantry of the hill country of Pistoja, and they may then be able to understand that every word written by Dante had

a set purpose, and must be always investigated from the Tuscan point of view. In my first edition the text of Dr. Witte was followed. In this second edition, while I am fully sensible of the claims of Dr. Moore's Oxford Text to be considered the textus receptus of the Divina Commedia, I have departed from its readings in some particulars; and I have adopted throughout the accentuation of Fraticelli, to Italian eyes not only welcome, but necessary.

I must offer my heart-felt thanks to Dr. Moore, Canon of Canterbury, and Principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, whom I am proud to call my friend, and to whom few will deny the position of our leading Dantist in England. I thank him for the generous aid he has been good enough to give me through the progress of my work; for the friendly and constant care with which he has ever been willing to supervise it, and for the admirable Introduction with which he has enriched my labours.

I should indeed be ungrateful were I not here to record my unfeigned sense of obligation to another friend, Mr. Henry R. Tedder, the learned Secretary of the Athenæum Club. Not only has he made me the truly valuable gift of the revision of my book, but the patience and attention with which he has at all times, in season and out of season, granted me the assistance of his great literary experience, merit the life-long thanks which I hereby tender him.

To my Wife is due the credit of the ample Index. Throughout the whole eighteen years I have been engaged in writing my different works, her sympathy, help, and encouragement have been of priceless value. The revision of the Italian part of the proofs I have entrusted to Signorina L. de' Castelvecchio, and it has been of no small advantage to me to have been able to secure the services of a genuine Tuscan, who has performed her task with admirable precision.

My thanks are due to Commendator Ulrico Hoepli, the great publisher of Milan, for many of the beautiful works on Dante and Manzoni that have issued

from his press.

Since the publication of my last work, Dante students all over the world have had to lament the death of that devoted and arduous Dante scholar, Dr. G. A. Scartazzini, to whose patient research and profound learning they must ever render a tribute of deep gratitude. I am greatly indebted to his last Commentary (Leipzig, 1900) on the *Inferno*, and to his *Enciclopedia Dantesca*.

Three other distinguished Dantists, Dr. Paget Toynbee, Mr. E. G. Gardner, and Professor Michele Scherillo (of Milan) have frequently written and

kindly elucidated for me difficult points.

I have also derived much valuable information from the Italian Commentaries of Professors Casini and Poletto, as well as from the scholarly notes of Mr. A. J. Butler's Hell. My best thanks are also due to my old and respected friend Prof. Charles Eliot Norton, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for his admirable translations of Dante, and for many kind letters; to the Rev. Charles Dinsmore for his work, The Teachings of Dante; to Dr. Richard Thayer Holbrook, New York, for his Dante and the Animal Kingdom; to Professor Pasquale Villari of Florence, and

to Professor Francesco d'Ovidio of Naples, for many kind letters.

The Dowager Duchess (Enrichetta) di Sermoneta, Signor Agnelli, author of the Topo-Cronografia Dantesca, and his publishers, Messrs. Hoepli of Milan, have obligingly permitted me to reproduce illustrations which will, I hope, add to the usefulness of this work.

The plates of the Vernon Dante no longer exist, and I have therefore had copies made in photogravure of those which I used in my first edition.

While to the writers, living and dead, to whom I expressed my special acknowledgments in 1894, I again record my unfeigned thanks, I am fully aware that I have by no means exhausted the list of those to whom I have been indebted; as I have borrowed words, expressions, illustrations and notes from many more learned than myself. To quote the words of Brunetto Latini, Dante's beloved Mentor in study: "Et si ne di je pas que cist livres soit estrais de mon poure sens, ne de ma nue science; mais il est autressi comme une bresche de miel cueillie de diverses flors; car cist livres est compilés seulement de mervilleus diz des autors qui devant nostre tens ont traitié de philosophie, chascuns selonc ce qu'il en savoit partie."

WILLIAM WARREN VERNON

THE ATHENÆUM
PALL MALL S.W.



### INTRODUCTION.

To the great majority of ordinary readers Dante is known only or chiefly as the author of the Inferno. To a large number indeed, only as the author of selected episodes, and those selected naturally as presenting some of the most vivid descriptions, the most original conceptions, the most highly coloured scenes in the divisions of the Poem which offer most scope for episodes of this particular kind. Obviously the result is a most distorted and one-sided conception of the genius and also of the character of the Poet. Hence many shallow criticisms and offhand condemnations, and that even on the part of such eminent writers and critics as Voltaire, Goethe, and Landor. These when occurring to a casual or superficial reader are excusable, and in some cases almost natural. But when they are pressed upon us by professed teachers or critics, we suspect that our would-be guides have consciously or unconsciously been following the method urged upon Balaam by Balak in reference to the Israelites: "Come . . . unto another place, from whence thou . . . shalt see but the utmost part of them, and shalt not see them all, and curse me them from thence."

The first and most necessary corrective step is to remove from any such isolated position, and before pronouncing judgment, to endeavour to see something more than "the utmost part" of the Poet's mind and heart, by study of the other co-ordinate divisions at least of the great Poem, if of no more of his writings.\* There are, happily, now abundant facilities for such a study provided for students of every degree, and not the least in respect of the Purgatorio by the earlier labours of the indefatigable author of the present work.† It is not too much to say that anyone familiar with the Purgatorio only, would form a conception of the Poet and of the man Dante so totally different from that formed by a reader of the Inferno only, that it would seem inconceivable that both portraits could possibly belong to the same individual. But it would be beyond the purpose of these few pages to dwell further on this. The readers of this book are concerned for the present with the Inferno only. It may be worth while to suggest to such readers some considerations which may prevent the conception formed of the Poet from this partial study of his great work from being wholly false, or at least grievously distorted, though it must necessarily remain imperfect and

<sup>\*</sup>The importance of this, in the case of Dante, arises from the fact that, as Mr. Lowell has observed, "all his works (with the possible exception of the De Vulgari Eloquio) are autobiographic, and all of them, including that, are parts of a mutually related system of which the central point is the individuality and experience of the Poet."

<sup>†</sup>To this may now be added the Paradiso. Of these two Readings a third edition of the Purgatorio, and a second edition of the Paradiso, are already demanded.

<sup>‡</sup> Mr. Ruskin boldly declares that it is only "shallow people who think Dante stern." (Modern Painters, vol. iii, p. 164).

one-sided. It will not be necessary to give detailed references to the passages in Dante which form the main grounds for the adverse criticism to which I have referred. The general result may briefly be summarized thus: Dante, it is urged, often describes the sufferings of the lost with details which to our notions are coarse and revolting (this is a censure as old as Macchiavelli). Such details, moreover, are sometimes so grotesque and contemptuous as to imply utter heartlessness on his part; nay more, he goes out of his way, both in his language and in the actions which he attributes to himself, to insult some of the helpless and hopeless victims, and even to aggravate their sufferings. But let us allow some recent writers to speak for themselves, that it may be seen that the misconception against which we are protesting is not imaginary. Here are some samples: "His treatment is constantly heartless and vindictive." "There are few rays of Christ's spirit, and little echo of His voice." "In his glorious melodrama a terrible spirit of intolerance is with us from first to last (!)." The writer of the last two extracts seems not to have heard of the Purgatorio and Paradiso. He, at any rate, had seen but "the utmost part" of the author he presumes to criticize. "One side of Dante's nature," says another (who at least has the grace to admit the limitation), "is passionate, vindictive, demonic! His use of the Almighty thunders for all who happen to displease him (an absolutely false statement, by the way, as we shall see) is persistent and methodical." Much more of this sort might be added. This is enough

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to show that those who still claim for the author even of the *Inferno* the office of a leader and teacher of men in this Nineteenth \* Century, and as we dare to add, for all time, would do well to deal with, and if possible to dissipate, these clouds of error and misconception.

Let it be clearly understood once more that the considerations which follow are addressed not to mature students or scholars, but rather to that large. and, it is believed increasing, class of readers who certainly (as well as those who are far advanced in the study of Dante) will derive the most valuable help from this work of Mr. Vernon, and in particular will find the copious historical illustrations full of life, interest, and instruction. I refer, more especially, to persons who have but little or moderate proficiency in Italian, and who probably lack the leisure or opportunity for a study of the contemporary or precedent literature, without which Dante (not only like other authors, but perhaps to a degree beyond all other authors) cannot be adequately appreciated. Many persons thus situated have a keen and most natural desire to know and understand something of the man whom Ruskin has ventured, though with perhaps exaggerated enthusiasm, to characterise as "the central man" of all the world, representing in perfect balance the imaginative moral and intellectual faculties, and all at their highest.

I. First of all, as I have just hinted, no poet can be adequately judged "out of his context," if we may

<sup>\*</sup> This Introduction was written in 1894.

so put it; or, in other words, without regard to the age and conditions in which he lived and worked. There is an average level in every age of accepted ideas, feelings, and beliefs, on religious, moral, and social questions, just as there is in physical knowledge, above which indeed a great poet or prophet is bound to some extent to rise, but out of which he cannot wholly emerge. Due allowance must always be made for this inevitable atmosphere of contemporary thought and habits; or, as an old writer has happily expressed it, for the different "climates of opinion" peculiar to different ages.

We must not criticise a writer or teacher of the thirteenth or fourteenth century by the canons andideas of the nineteenth.

" Molto è lecito là, che qui non lece."

(Par. i, 55.)

No one, for example would condemn the pious Nicias in ancient times,\* or the pious Newton in later days, for being a slave-holder, in the way that a pious Christian of the nineteenth century would justly be condemned for such a practice.

Now what were the surroundings, or, to use a phrase now much in fashion, the "environment" in which through many a long year the great Poem was gradually and laboriously wrought out? (See Par. xxv, I, 3). It was an age of greatest corruption of Church and State, when spirituality seemed to be well nigh extinct in the one, and patriotism in the other. It was an age of cruelty, treachery, lawless-

<sup>\*</sup> Freeman's History of Sicily, vol. iii, p. 157.

ness, violence, and general unrest. What is more, Dante himself was no recluse or student, but was whirled along in the very thick of the turbid stream. Remembering this, we are no longer surprised if there are dark passages in the *Inferno* marked, or it may be stained, by some of the prevailing ferocity of the age. We should rather wonder that it contains passages of such pathos as the episodes of Francesca, Brunetto Latini and Pier delle Vigne. But the sustained tenderness, calm, and brightness of the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* remain the greatest marvel of all. That such a plant (to use a metaphor of Dante's own) could be produced in so deadly a swamp is little less than phenomenal.

2. But there is another "context" in connection with which the Poet's work must be viewed, viz., his own fundamental beliefs and deeply-rooted convictions respecting the great problems of Providence and human life. These form the framework by which all the products of his thought in matters speculative or practical are shaped and regulated. This is the more important in proportion to the depth and earnestness of such convictions; and surely, if ever a man were "terribly in earnest," if ever there were a man who felt that he had "a mission," that he was

"else erring greatly, A consecrated spirit;"\*

that man was Dante. He has much more in common with the Hebrew prophet than with the modern

<sup>\*</sup> Wordsworth.

poet. One of the most axiomatic and fundamental beliefs in Dante's mind (as is abundantly clear from the pages of De Monarchia) was that God had declared in unmistakable tones His purpose for the right conduct of the world, viz., that there should be one Universal Emperor for things temporal, one Universal Pope for things spiritual, co-operating with one another in harmony and without jealousy. Dante felt no more doubt of this (whatever we may think of it) than of his own existence or that of the world itself; nor could he imagine any reasonable or unprejudiced Christian entertaining any such doubt.

Feeling and believing this, and regarding any hesitation about it as involving moral perversity rather than, or in addition to, intellectual obliquity, those who in practice opposed the development of the divinely revealed plan, he "found to be fighting against God." The spirit so vigorously expressed by the Psalmist was aroused in like manner in Dante. Through his zeal for God and God's service (as it presented itself to him) he "hated them right sore even as though they were his enemies" (Psalm exxxix, 22). Triumphant exultation over the vindication of God's justice in the punishment of his foes follows naturally. And this feeling also seemed to have received the sanction of the Psalmist. "The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance, he shall wash his footsteps in the blood of the ungodly" (Psalm lviii); and again, "When the ungodly shall perish thou shalt see it" (Psalm xxxvii, 35). As a further corollary, the suppression of natural pity became a religious duty, for

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"Chi è più scellerato che colui Che al giudizio divin passion porta?" (Inf. xx, 29, 30.)

I am not defending this attitude as right, but from such a standpoint as that of Dante it was inevitable. The explanation is nothing more or less than that unhesitatingly accepted as sufficient in respect of the so-called "imprecatory Psalms" by thousands of readers who have no difficulty in believing their author to have been "inspired" in a sense which no one has ever claimed for Dante.

3. If this be true, it goes far to remove the gross misconception or misrepresentation referred to above. that Dante "uses the Almighty thunders for all who happen to displease him." It is clear that much at least of the scorn and hatred which is exhibited in the Inferno is (I am far from saying justified but) certainly lifted on to an entirely different level from the display of merely private animosity or spite. We should, however, find it hard to maintain that personal enmity has never at any time envenomed Dante's pen, though we emphatically deny that it has ever been in any sense a ruling principle of his condemnations. On the other hand it may be observed that he has not allowed personal affection to open the gates of heaven to his friends, since there is only one in Paradise (Carlo Martello of Hungary) who could perhaps fall under this description. His distribution both of rewards and punishments offers many strange anomalies, but, however they may be explained, personal likes and dislikes do not provide the key to them. When critics denounce Dante's

condemnation of those whom they most misleadingly describe as "political opponents," we must remember the totally different associations which would attach to this term under the circumstances of those times, and from the religious point of view of Dante himself. It is the most transparent fallacy thus to employ a familiar modern term which has widely different associations.

4. We next deal with another common fallacy scarcely less mischievous. Dante is often credited or discredited-as no man, and least of all no poet, ought to be-with the full realization or description to be found in his writings; nay more-and this is no uncommon practice in ordinary life, and still more in theological controversy-with the logical consequences of any such statements, without the slightest proof of these having been consciously realized or thought out by the author himself. But let us ask this question. Except that everything is set forth by Dante with a vividness of detail and intensity of imagination which is quite unique; and, further, that as a fundamental part of the plan of the Poem-everything is presented under the form of a supposed personal experience of his own, does he go beyond the theological beliefs and professions, I will not say of his own day, but of much later and even more recent times? Have not many modern Christians, of undoubted piety and sincerity, used language and expressed beliefs of equal severity in regard to not only classes of sinners, but even individuals known to themselves in private or in public life, whom they have held to be (often on most insufficient grounds)

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at enmity with God? Have they not, sadly but surely, anticipated for them an eternal future no less horrible, if perhaps, thanks to some growth in general refinement, somewhat less grotesque in its details, than anything imagined by Dante? The fact is, that men in all ages are better than their creeds or professions, and ought not to be judged by them. As I have elsewhere observed, many things are uttered by the lips which are not in any effective sense believed; and much is believed, and so sincerely that men would even suffer and die for it, which has never been fully realised, much less thought out into its logical consequences.

5. Another consideration must be especially addressed to those whose acquaintance with Dante is limited to the *Inferno*, viz., that this division deals with the *Inferno* and nothing else. It is the detailed description of Hell, and, further, of the most typical and conspicuous sinners in Hell; those guilty of the most odious or contemptible or pernicious crimes; the greatest enemies or oppressors of the human race or of society, in the then recent memory of man; those whose bad pre-eminence in evil places them in a position like that of the saints, when the Poet's theme is Paradise. As Dante says, it is useless to waste words on any others.

"Però ti son mostrate in queste rote, Nel monte, e nella valle dolorosa, Pur l' anime che son per fama note."

(Par. xvii, 136-8.)

The nature of the subject matter being once real-

ized, one scarcely needs to cite such anticipatory apologies as Dante has occasionally made:—

"Qual ella sia, parole non ci appulcro."

(Inf. vii, 60.)

Or again,

"nella chiesa Coi santi, ed in taverna coi ghiottoni."

(Inf. xxii, 14, 15.)

6. After all, Dante makes no claim to infallibility. We certainly will not do him such ill service as to claim it for him. We must never let profound admiration degenerate into an irrational worship. Much harm has been done in his case, as in that of some scriptural writers or characters, by such indiscriminate zeal. In one case as in the other, we must not forget even in the enthusiasm of a moment, that we are dealing with men who, however exalted in genius or in character, are men with like passions with ourselves; and we need not attempt to conceal or deny in Dante the possession of fervid and even impetuous passions, which he shares with many great. many saintly, many inspired characters of all ages. But while we are not concerned to deny his faults and imperfections, we must protest vigorously against their exaggeration or misrepresentation. Such faults as he had are likely to have been present in strength, for there was nothing weak or hesitating about Dante. And if so, we may console ourselves, if consolation is needed, with the reflection of the moralist: "Il n' appartient qu'aux grands hommes d'avoir de grands défauts."

All who are familiar with Mr. Vernon's excellent

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Readings on the Purgatorio,\* which have been so much appreciated that a second edition has some time since been published, will know the sort of help they may look for from him now in respect of the Inferno, and they will certainly not be disappointed. Those who are beginning the study of Dante, will find a singularly careful, clear and accurate prose translation. Further help is given to the reader, by the occasional insertion of a word or two in brackets (like the italicized words in the authorized version of the Bible), by which the sense is often rendered clearer, and the translation is made to run more smoothly without any sacrifice to its literal exactness. Moreover the text is broken up into portions of a few terzine at a time, for separate translation, and the connection of these portions is brought out by a few intermediate sentences of paraphrase or explanation. Mr. Vernon has spared no pains in collecting from a large range of Commentators, ancient and modern, a great wealth of illustrations of the historical and other allusions which abound everywhere in Dante.

The copious extracts which he has given, from a variety of authors, are full of interest and instruction for every class and degree of student of the Divine Poem. Yet the whole is presented in such an unartificial and even familiar manner, that the reader is pleasantly carried along without any feeling that he is being lectured to.

EDWARD MOORE.

<sup>\*</sup> See p. xvi, note t.

### PRELIMINARY CHAPTER.

I.

#### THE COSMOGRAPHY OF DANTE.

Before readers of the Divina Commedia can form a just comprehension of the many allusions Dante makes to the structure of the universe, it is necessary for them to have some notion of the system of cosmography that prevailed in his days. This was known as the Ptolemaic system, so called after Ptolemy of Pelusium, the celebrated astronomer, who died A.D. 161. To this system Dante added certain creations of his own, and we shall find that he has linked the astronomical, or, as they were then styled, the astrological, doctrines of the Schoolmen, with an allegorical system, that is mainly the fruit of his own imagination.

The Ptolemaic system supposes the earth to be stationary in the centre of the universe, and the planets to revolve round it, within concentric spheres and in the following order: (i) The Moon; (ii) Mercury; (iii) Venus; (iv) the Sun; (v) Mars; (vi) Jupiter; and (vii) Saturn. In addition to these seven spheres, there are three others still more vast, namely, (viii) that of the Fixed Stars; (ix) the Crystalline Heaven, more generally known as the Primum Mobile; and last of all, (x) the Empyrean, or Cielo

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Quieto. Besides these, there are two spheres supposed to belong to the earth itself, namely, the sphere of air, and the sphere of fire.

The Empyrean, or Cielo Quieto, is motionless, but the other nine spheres rotate on their axes, their movements being directed by as many choirs of angels, whom Dante styles Intelligenze Celesti, and who are of a greater or less hierarchical order, corresponding to the precedence of that heavenly sphere which they set in motion. The first sphere, that of the Moon, is moved by the Angels; the second by the Archangels; the third by the Principalities; the fourth by the Powers; the fifth by the Virtues; the sixth by the Dominations; the seventh by the Thrones; the eighth by the Cherubim; the ninth by the Seraphim. (Par. xxviii, 93-126).

To the above order of the heavens and the hierarchies of Angels, Dante adapted an allegorical system of his own, which is shown in the following table. We shall see in it that the so-called sciences of the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*, the philosophical and the theological sciences, are severally represented in the ten heavens which as concentric spheres surrounded the earth.

The Cosmical System according to the Scholastic teaching.

The Allegorical System according to the conception of Dante, in Conv. ii. 14, 6, in which he says we must reflect upon a comparison between the order of the heavens and that of the sciences.

The Earth
The Waters
Sphere of Air
Sphere of Fire

1.	The Heave	en of the Moon	V	Grammar   Sciences of	of
2.	27 77	" Mercury	-3	Dialectic the Tri-	
3.	27 27	" Venus	he	Rhetoric J vium.	
4.	17 17	" the Sun	ne	Arithmetic   Sciences	of
5.	27 27	" Mars	l'he seven Planets.	Music the Quar	-
6.	99 99	" Jupiter	. 5	Geometry	
7.		" Saturn		Astrology )	
8.	The Heave Stars.	n of the Fixed	}	Physics and Metaphysic	s.
9.		alline Heaven, m Mobile.	}	Moral Science.	
10.	The Em Firmame Heaven.	pyrean, The ent, or Quiet		Theology.	

The earth is round, and divided into two hemispheres, the one inhabited by man, and the other, which Dante, following the belief of the time, and the opinions of St. Augustine, believed to be wholly uninhabited. In Inf. xxvi, 117, he calls this Southern hemisphere, "il mondo senza gente." In the Convito, iv, cap. 8, Dante describes the earth as having a diameter of 6,500 Italian miles, so that each degree, according to the data of Archimedes, consisted of fifty-six and one-third miles, and the earth's circumference extended to 20,400 miles. Jerusalem is situated in the very middle of our hemisphere (see Purg. ii, 1-3).

In Ezekiel (v, 5) we read: "Thus saith the Lord God, This is Jerusalem: I have set it in the midst of the nations and countries that are round about her."

Dante imagines the Mountain of Purgatory to be on an island in the midst of the ocean in the Southern hemisphere, precisely at the Antipodes to Jerusalem. The two are referred to in the following passages:—

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"E se' or sotto l' emisperio giunto
Ch' è contrapposto a quel che la gran secca
Coperchia, e sotto il cui colmo consunto
Fu l' uom che nacque e visse senza pecca."

(Inf. xxxiv, 112-115.)

"Dentro raccolto immagina Siòn Con questo monte in sulla terra stare Sì, che ambo e due hanno un solo orizzòn E diversi emisperi."

(Purg. iv, 68-71.)

According to these views, a diameter of the earth which would have Mount Sion for one of its extremities, would have the Mountain of Purgatory for the other. Precisely half way between the two, and in the very central point of the terraqueous globe, Lucifer stands fixed in the ice of Cocytus, with his head towards Jerusalem, and his feet towards Purgatory.

#### HELL.

When Lucifer was ejected from Heaven, he fell to the earth on the side of the Southern hemisphere. The velocity of his descent and the weight of sin which he bore, caused him to strike the globe so violently as to invert its conditions, the land of the Southern hemisphere being forced to the North, and the waters changing in their turn to the South. For, to avoid so grievous a sinner, the very earth recoiled in horror; and the matter displaced by his passage through the Southern hemisphere rushed upwards and became the Mountain of Purgatory. In the void thus caused in the bowels of the earth was Hell (see Canto xxxiv). Dante has followed the great writers

of antiquity in placing Hell in the regions beneath the earth, but with this difference, that whereas Homer, Ovid, Virgil and others have been content to leave the form of the Lower World to their readers' conjecture, Dante has given to his Hell determinate shape, plan, and size.

Dante imagines that Hell is situate beneath the surface of the Northern hemisphere, as we have just noticed, in an immense empty space in the form of an inverted cone. The apex of this cone is supposed to be the relatively small sphere of ice called Giudecca, into the centre of which Lucifer is frozen; some have maintained that his navel was the centre of the Universe. The base of the cone is towards the surface of the Northern hemisphere, but at what depth below it is not stated, nor do Commentators agree.

In Inf. ix, 16 et seq., Dante, wishing to ascertain from Virgil, in veiled language, if he has ever been down from Limbo into Hell before, asks him if any one belonging to the first grade (i.e. Limbo) ever descends into this Cavity of woe:—

"In questo fondo della trista conca
Discende mai alcun del primo grado?"

Conca is a perfectly well-known vessel or receptacle used in all Tuscan households either for washing clothes, or for storing oil, or as a vase for orange or lemon trees. It is in the form of a truncated cone, and exactly corresponds to the supposed shape of Dante's Hell, in which, as I mentioned above, the extreme apex of the cone was concealed below the ice that girded Lucifer like a belt. Opposite p. 295

will be found a photograph of a Tuscan woman washing clothes in a conca.\*

The Hell of Dante would seem to be approached from the surface of the earth by a descending hollow way until the gate is reached, on passing through which an enormous subterranean cavern is found, having possibly at its upper edge a circumference of over a thousand miles. From the gate the cavity, being funnel-shaped, narrows more and more at each descending stage, until at last it closes fast round the waist of Lucifer at that point to which all weights are drawn (Al qual si traggon d'ogni parte i pesi).

Along the sides of the funnel-shaped void run a number of concentric terraces of immense extent, called by Dante, Circles, and these by successive degrees narrow down to the bottom of Hell.

Before, however, arriving at the first of these Circles, Dante imagines there to be a kind of Debatable land within the territory of Hell, but not within Hell proper, which latter only begins after the river Acheron has been passed in Charon's ferry boat. Here is the vestibule of Hell, usually spoken of as the Antinferno, and this, added to the nine Circles of Hell, gives in all ten, the symmetrical and perfect number to which Dante aspired.

Opinions have greatly differed as to whether the

<sup>\*</sup>In the fine performance of The Taming of the Shrew in December, 1904, by Mr. Oscar Asche and Miss Lily Brayton (Mrs. Oscar Asche) there was a scene, beautifully painted by Mr. Joseph Harker, representing the gardens of Baptista Minola at Padua, in which orange and lemon trees were depicted growing in large vases of terra-cotta, all of which were different specimens of the conca.

funnel shape of Hell narrowed down gradually and evenly, or whether it did so by more abrupt interruptions of its regular order. There seems rather to be a preference for the latter alternative, and if this view be adopted, then we must imagine that about half-way down the funnel there exists a sort of diaphragm with an immense chasm in the centre; and below this again, a second of lesser size, but of tremendous depth, and a third smaller both in diameter and in depth. The first would be the descent from the City of Dis to the River of Blood; the second, the Great Abyss (Burrato) down to the Circles of Fraud; and the third, the Pit (Pozzo) leading from the Circles of Fraud down to the ice of Cocytus.

Let us now consider the classification by Dante of the sins punished in Hell. His classification is by divisions, sub-divisions, and sub-divisions of subdivisions.

There are two main divisions of Hell proper, namely, the Circles outside the City of Dis, in which sins of Incontinence are more lightly punished, and the Circles within the City of Dis, which form Nether Hell, and at the bottom of these Lucifer is fixed. The Antinferno or Vestibule of Hell, is devoted to the punishment of those who have been alike indifferent to good and evil (Inf. iii).

The sins of Incontinence are dealt with in five Cantos, namely:—

Circle I, called Limbo, in which the unbaptised but blameless heathen abide without punishment. (Canto iv).

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Circle II .- The Unchaste (Canto v).

Circle III.—The Gluttonous (Canto vi).

Circle IV.—The Avaricious and Prodigal (Canto vii).

Circle V.—The Wrathful, with the Sullen or Slothful (Cantos vii and viii).

As Dante considered the sins of Incontinence to be sins of the weakness to which human flesh is liable, the five great Circles representing that class undergo comparatively light penalties.

Circle VI is the City of Dis itself, which is reached after crossing the Stygian Marsh. This is a class by itself, being, in fact, the Vestibule of Nether Hell. In it are those guilty of Heresy and the Epicurean Philosophers (Cantos ix and x). It is here that we reach the first great chasm which separates Upper from Lower Hell.

Below this point there are two great classes :-

- (a) Crimes of Violence (Circle vii), and
- (b) Crimes of Fraud (Circles viii and ix).

Circle VII.—Violence is sub-divided into three rounds (Gironi):—

First Round. Violence against one's neighbour. Here are punished Murderers and Tyrants (Canto xii).

Second Round. Violence against oneself. This class contains Suicides and absolute Dissipators of their wealth (Canto xiii).

Third Round. This class has three sub-divisions:-

- (a) Violence against God, i.e. Blasphemy (Canto xiv).
- (b) Violence against Nature, i.e. Unnatural Crimes (Cantos xv and xvi).
- (c) Violence against Art, by which Usury is meant (Canto xvii).

We now come to the Great Abyss (Burrato), at the bottom of which Fraud is sub-divided into two great classes, namely:—

- (a) Ordinary Fraud, where no trust has been given (Circle viii); and
- (b) Aggravated Fraud, where trust has been given, i.e. Treachery (Circle ix).

Circle VIII.—Ordinary Fraud is further sub-divided into ten classes, namely:—

Bolgia	T.	Panders and Seducers.	Canto xviii.
Bolgia	2.	Flatterers.	Canto xviii.
Bolgia	3.	Simonists.	Canto xix.
Bolgia	4.	Diviners.	Canto xx.

Bolgia 5. Barrators or Traffickers Cantos xxi and xxii,

Bolgia 6. Hypocrites. Canto xxiii.
Bolgia 7. Robbers. Cantos xxiv and xxv.

Bolgia 8. Fraudulent Counsellors. Cantos xxvi and xxvii.

Bolgia 9. Disseminators of Discord. Canto xxviii.

Bolgia 10. Falsifiers of all kinds. Cantos xxix and xxx.

Each of these ten sub-divisions is called a *Bolgia* or Pouch, and the whole group of ten is called *Malebolge*, or Evil Pouches.

After this the third Chasm occurs, and at the bottom of it we find the place of punishment in

Circle IX, of Aggravated Fraud, or Treachery.

This again is sub-divided into Four classes or Rings:-

First Ring. Caina. Betrayers of Kindred (Canto xxxii). Second Ring. Antenora. Betrayers of their Country (Cantos xxxii and xxxiii).

Third Ring. Tolomea. Betrayers of Guests (Canto xxxiii).

Fourth Ring, the small sphere. Giudecca. Betrayers of Benefactors (Canto xxxiv).

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## PURGATORY.

The Mountain of Purgatory is represented as being very similar in form to the great Cavity (conca) of Hell. It is like a truncated cone, and, while not having quite such huge proportions as Hell, is yet of so great an elevation as to soar beyond the Spheres of Air and of Fire, and to terminate only in the Sphere of the Moon. It is here that I would venture to enter a protest against some of the graphic illustrations which represent Purgatory as a small hill or peak, of which the top might easily be seen, with some half-dozen human figures on each terrace or cornice. Immensity is the key-note of all Dante's conceptions, and whereas his Paradise extends into the undefined and boundless expanse of the most distant heavens, so we must picture to ourselves his Hell and his Purgatory occupying the widest limits which the finite proportions of our Planet will allow.

The divisions of Purgatory are described in Readings on the Purgatorio (1897, 2 vols.), and those of Paradise in Readings on the Paradiso (1900, 2 vols.). New editions of these works are in course of preparation.

DIMENSIONS OF HELL.

It is obvious that any ideas as to the dimensions of Dante's Hell must be mainly conjectural. The diameter of the Earth from Jerusalem to the Mountain of Purgatory is not much less than 6,500 miles; and Dante represents himself as having traversed this vast space in a period of forty-five hours, namely, twenty-four hours in descending from the Entrance Gate of Hell down to Lucifer in the Arctic Hemisphere, and twenty-one hours in reascending in the

Antarctic Hemisphere from Lucifer to the shores of the Mountain of Purgatory.

The Divina Commedia is a vision, and allowance must therefore be made for the marvellous and the impossible. Dante has, however, given his readers certain data from which some approximate deductions may be formed of his ideas of the dimensions and measurements of Hell. In Inf. xi, 16-18, Virgil, in explaining to Dante the nature of the various Circles of Hell, while they are on their way down from the Sixth to the Seventh Circle, says:—

"'Figliuol mio, dentro da cotesti sassi,
. . . son tre cerchietti

Di grado in grado, come quei che lassi.'"

In Inf. v. 1-3, Dante says :-

"Così discesi del cerchio primaio Giù nel secondo, che men loco cinghia, E tanto più dolor."

These two passages seem to show that the Circles are formed upon a principle of regular proportion, and upon an evenly diminishing scale. Dante has also given us two measurements in Malebolge, where he and Virgil are in nearly the narrowest regions of Hell. When we compare the two and carry on the comparison upwards from Circle to Circle as far as the topmost Ring of all, we are able to form an idea of the enormous size of the Hell he imagined. In Inf. xxix, 8, 9, Virgil, reproving Dante for taking too much notice of certain personages among the Disseminators of Discord in the Ninth Bolgia, tells him that if he thinks of counting them, he had better remember that the Bolgia has a circuit of twenty-two miles:—

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"' Pensa, se tu annoverar le credi, Che miglia ventidue la valle volge."

In Inf. xxx, 84-89, Maestro Adamo tells Dante that if he could only move along, dropsical as he is, an inch in a hundred years, he would already be on the road to see his former employer, the hated Count of Romena, suffering like himself, but in another part of the Bolgia, which is half a mile broad, and has a circuit of eleven miles:—

"'S' io fossi pur di tanto anco leggiero
Ch' io potessi in cent' anni andare un' oncia,
Io sarei messo già per lo sentiero,
Cercando lui tra questa gente sconcia,
Con tutto ch' ella volge undici miglia,
E men d' un mezzo di traverso non ci ha.'"

This subject was a favourite one among students of Dante in the sixteenth century, and several geometricians of eminence made the most elaborate computations and imaginary plans of Hell, which, however ingenious, all break down in some important detail. The first to deal with the above details was Antonio Manetti, a geometrician of Florence, who wrote at some date previous to the publication, in 1481, of the Commentary of Cristoforo Landino, who in his turn states that he follows in Manetti's footsteps, although he arrives at very different results. Manetti was also followed by Piers Francesco Giambullari, 1544, and by the great Galileo Galilei in 1632, although there are doubts as to the authenticity of the authorship of the two lectures attributed to him in which he supports Manetti. As the system, then, of Manetti remains defective, we will not further consider it, but will rather turn our

attention to the plan of Alessandro Vellutello of Lucca, who published at Venice, in 1596, an illustrated dissertation upon the topography of the Inferno, at the beginning of the joint Commentary of the Divina Commedia by himself and Landino. This system of Vellutello's is the one which, on the whole, Prof. Agnelli prefers; and principally so for the reason of the more marked divisions which it makes between the Incontinent, the Violent and the Fraudulent, than is the case with any other Commentator.

By the kind permission of Prof. Agnelli I have, on p. xxxix, reproduced a plate copied from his beautiful work, *Topo-Cronografia Dantesca*, Milan, 1891, giving the Plan of the *Inferno* after the measurements of Vellutello, and (on a larger scale) his plan of *Malebolge*.

## II.

# THE SYMMETRICAL PLAN OF THE DIVINA COMMEDIA.

In all the divisions of his poem Dante observes a symmetrical order. Each of the three Cantiche has thirty-three Cantos, inasmuch as the first Canto of the Inferno (which has nominally thirty-four) must be considered as the Introduction or Preface to the whole Poem. And in fact in the Inferno, the Invocation is not in the first Canto as it is in the Purgatorio and Paradiso, but in the second. It is evident that Dante in his preliminary plan allotted a definite proportion of space to each of his three great Divisions. In Purg. xxxiii, 139-141, he distinctly states that he cannot exceed his own prescribed limits:—

"Ma perchè piene son tutte le carte
Ordite a questa Cantica seconda,
Non mi lascia più ir lo fren dell' arte."

The hundred Cantos of the Divina Commedia consist of 14,233 verses, of which

The Inferno has 4,720 verses; The Purgatorio has 4,755 verses; The Paradiso has 4,758 verses.

A parallel case is noted by Prof. Charles Eliot Norton, as regards the poems in the Vita Nuova, which Dante has constructed with the most perfect symmetry, namely:—

10 Minor Poems.

- I Canzone.
- 4 Minor Poems.
- I Canzone.
- 4 Minor Poems.
- I Canzone.
- 10 Minor Poems.

#### III.

# THE DATE WHEN THE INFERNO WAS WRITTEN.

We know few facts about the composition of the Divina Commedia, except that it was written between the years 1302 and 1321. It is possible that Dante began to design the outlines of his poem when he had penned these concluding words of the Vita Nuova: "I saw things which made me resolve to speak no more of this blessed one (Beatrice), until I could more worthily treat of her. And to attain to this, I study to the utmost of my power, as she truly knoweth. So that if it shall please Him

through Whom all things live that my life shall be prolonged for some years, I hope to say of her what was never said of any woman. And then may it please Him, who is the Lord of Grace, that my soul may go to behold the glory of its lady, namely, of that blessed Beatrice, who in glory looketh upon the face of Him, qui est per omnia (saecula benedictus)." (Vita Nuova, Norton's Translation, Boston, 1867,

pp. 96, 97).

From this we see that Dante had already commenced his work of preparation, most probably by drawing out the plans of the edifice which he purposed to erect. But this framework alone was not a thing he could accomplish in one year or even in two. He had probably sketched out the intended argument of every Canto. It is beyond question that the Commedia was worked out to its completion during the last eight years of Dante's life, but such a supposition need not in the least preclude long vears of previous preparation. Scartazzini thinks the frame-work of the whole had been reared: vast stores of materials had been collected; here and there episodes had been already put in, as it were, to clothe the bones of the skeleton with flesh. One may recall the story of the first seven Cantos of the Poem having been found in a secret cupboard in Dante's house by his nephew, after he had gone into exile, and having been sent on to him at the Castle of the Malaspina family. The story relates Dante's joy at regaining possession of the MS., and his saying that now he could go on with his work. Scartazzini doubts whether this manuscript consisted of the seven Cantos, as he feels sure that, from Ciacco's words, Canto vi was written after Dante's exile. He thinks rather that what was found was the precious outline plan and materials for the whole *Commedia*, and if one believes that, one can more easily believe the story, which would then only err as to small inaccuracies.

Dr. Karl Witte (Dante-Forschungen, Heilbronn, 1868, vol. i, pp. 134-140), after examining the conflicting opinions which assign to the Inferno a date varying from 1308 to 1318, admits that he must confess the impossibility of tracing at every step the date of a work which was only published after reiterated corrections and interpolations. The only place in which Dante gives the slightest hint as to the time of his conceiving his majestic poem, is the passage, quoted above, at the end of the Vita Nuova. We have therefore good grounds for concluding that he did not commence the work before 1300. Witte observes that the chronicler Dino Compagni, who wrote in 1312, makes no sort of allusion to the Divina Commedia. If he had known it, he would have found it full of passages to gall and sting the Florentines, which no doubt he would have used to good purpose. But there is besides this another and convincing argument. In Inf. vi, 68, Ciacco predicts that within three years (Infra tre soli) of the expulsion of the Neri (which took place in the summer of 1300) the Bianchi, whom he calls la parte selvaggia, would also have a fall. Furthermore it was well-known that in 1310 there occurred a tremendous landslip in the Valley of the Adige, which tallies better with Dante's description in Inf. xii, 6, than that of the Slavino di Marco, which is said to have occurred

in the ninth century. In Inf. xxviii, 55-60, Dante puts into the mouth of Mahomet a prophecy as to the fate of a certain religious impostor named Fra Dolcino. Mahomet (according to the Vision of the Poem) is supposed to be speaking in 1300, and as it is a known fact that Fra Dolcino was put to death in 1307, we are able to determine the date before which this Canto was not written. In Inf. xxi, 41, there is an allusion to Bonturo. Witte records in his Commentary that this person was believed to be still alive in 1314. While admitting that some of these instances quoted may not be altogether free from objections, Witte says he will cite another which appears to him quite conclusive. In Inf. xix. 79, the shade of Pope Nicholas III tells Dante that Boniface VIII, when he dies, will take his place at the mouth of the fiery oven, but will remain there for a shorter period than he himself has done, inasmuch as Clement V, the successor of Boniface. would, at his death, come down and take his place. Nicholas III died in August, 1280, and at the time of Dante's Vision, he had been "roasting his feet" for nineteen years and eight months. In October, 1303. Boniface died and replaced Nicholas, who dropped into the bottom of the oven. But Clement V died in April, 1314, so that the period Boniface remained at the mouth of the oven was ten years and seven months, a shorter period than that of Nicholas.

For Dante to speak so positively he must have known the date of Clement's death. Therefore Witte thinks that 1314 would be somewhere about the date of Dante's publication of the *Inferno*, for not only does Dante in his Latin *Ecloques* (written it was xliv

believed about 1319) speak of the *Inferno* as being completed, but from that time onwards other authors make frequent allusions to episodes in the *Inferno*. Cecco d'Ascoli, who wrote his *Acerba* in Dante's lifetime, mentions, often with abuse, nearly all the most stirring episodes in it.

About the same time Passera della Gherminella of Lucca, in a sonnet \* published by Crescimbeni (Storia della volgare poesia, vol. iii, p. 116) wrote:—

"Già di prodezza non se' il vecchio Alardo.

(Inf. xxviii, 78.)

Nè 'l comte Guido quel da Monte Feltro.

(Inf. xxvii.)

Nè Uguccion da Faggiuola, o Mainardo.

(Inf. xxvii, 50.)

Non val la vita tua un grosso di peltro.

(Inf. i, 103.)

Alle guagnele, che tu se' più codardo, Che non è un conigilio a petto un veltro."

(Inf. i, 101.)

Cino da Pistoja, in one of his sonnets written during the life-time of the lady of his love, Selvaggia (who died soon after 1313), makes allusion to the episode, in the *Divina Commedia*, of Francesca da Rimini:

". . . Dille, che un sol rimedio ha 'l tristo cuore, Che, secondo uman corso di natura, A nullo amato amar perdona Amore."

But by far the most important argument, in Witte's opinion, which supports the date proposed by him (1314), is one which can only be convincing to those who, like him, see in the *Veltro*, Can Grande

<sup>\*</sup> Quoted by Witte, op. cit.

della Scala. Witte observes that although in quite recent times very ingenious treatises have been written, displaying great historical erudition, to prove that Uguccione della Faggiuola, or Pope Benedict XI, or some other personage, was intended by the Veltro, yet he believes that the opinion held by the early Commentators, and which prevailed, with good reason he thinks, for three centuries and a half, is the right one, that by the Veltro Dante meant Can Grande. Up to A.D. 1308 Can Grande was far too young to have merited such a prediction as is made by Dante respecting the Veltro. Nor had he any opportunity till after the death, in October, 1311, of his brother Albuino, of concentrating on himself all the hopes of the Ghibellines. But as soon as Henry VII, in September, 1309, announced his intention of crossing the Alps, and fulfilled that intention in October, 1310, the Italian Ghibellines, who after such a long period of adversity had been reduced to so abject a condition as for Dante to speak of quell' umile Italia (that humbled Italy), would then look with ardent hope upon the Luxembourg prince as their sole salvation (salute), and would think no more of any Municipal Dynasty. Only when the great Henry (l' alto Arrigo) died in August, 1313, Dante, seeing all the hopes of the Ghibelline party nipped in the bud, could well substitute for Henry, his Imperial Vicar, Can Grande della Scala, saying of him: "Di quell' umile Italia fia salute." Therefore let us consider that the Inferno was probably completed after the death of Henry VII at some date between 1314 and 1319.

## IV.

## BEAUTIES OF THE INFERNO.

Although perhaps there are more beautiful passages in the Purgatorio, yet the Inferno contains episodes of unsurpassed splendour; and among them two which are admittedly among Dante's greatest masterpieces. These are the love-tale of Francesca da Rimini (Canto v), and the tale of horror related by Count Ugolino (Canto xxxiii). Including these two we may note: the description of nightfall (Canto ii): the entrance gate of Hell and the torments of the wretches who were rejected both by Heaven and Hell; followed by the comparison of the shades about to cross the Acheron to autumn leaves (Canto iii); the majestic advance of the four great Poets in Limbo to meet Virgil and Dante (Canto iv); the whirlwind and the melancholy tale of the sorrows of Francesca da Rimini (Canto v); the approach of the Angel to open the gates of the City of Dis (Canto ix); the conversation, primarily with Farinata degli Uberti, and in a lesser degree with Cavalcanti (Canto x); the episode of Pier delle Vigne (Canto xiii); the beautiful lines in which Dante's old friend (and reputed master) Brunetto Latini commends the promise of Dante's early life, and predicts his ill-treatment at the hands of his countrymen (Canto xv); the fall of the Phlegethon into the Great Abyss, and the ascent of Geryon (Canto xvi); the descent of Gervon compared to the wheeling of a falcon (Canto xvii); Dante's indignant denunciation of the Simoniacal Popes (Canto xix); the story of Manto (Canto xx); the description of the Arsenal at Venice (Canto xxi); the marvellous transformation of two robbers, the one from a human form into that of a serpent, and the other from a serpent into a human being (Canto xxv); the shipwreck of Ulysses in the Southern Hemisphere (Canto xxvi); the singularly beautiful episode of Guido da Montefeltro (Canto xxvii); the allusion to the Casentino (Canto xxx); the crowning horror of the *Inferno* in Count Ugolino's narrative of the starvation of himself and his family (Canto xxxiii); and finally, the description of Lucifer (Canto xxxiv).

No greater contrast can be imagined than the comparative serenity of Purgatory and the glorious radiance of Paradise, on the one hand; and on the other, the gloom and the horror which in Dante's downward journey increase at every step. All his senses seem to be assailed at once. Even his own better feelings in several regrettable instances appear to be in abeyance, and his violent repulse of Filippo Argenti, followed by the malicious complacency with which he sees him soused in the marsh, reaches a climax of inhumanity when he tears out by tufts the hair of Bocca degli Abati, and refuses to extend a pitying hand to wipe away, as he had promised to do, the frozen tears from the eyes of the traitor Fra Alberigo.

V.

# ASSUMED DATE OF THE JOURNEY.

There is great divergence of opinion among the Commentators of the *Divina Commedia* in establishing the assumed date of the journey through the worlds unseen, which forms the subject of the poem.

By far the larger number have thought that the time indicated is the spring of the year 1300. A much smaller number contend it to be 1301. Some again think the journey began on the 13th March; others give various dates from the 15th of March to the 5th of April. Lubin considers the 7th of April to be without doubt the only true date to assign to the commencement of Dante's supposed journey. Dante has himself indicated, with apparent clearness and precision, the day on which he found himself lost in the forest, and also that in which he entered into Hell.

When the Poets are quitting the Fourth Bolgia, that of the Diviners, Virgil urges Dante to hasten his steps, as the moon is already setting, and, he adds, see *Inf.* xx, 127-129:—

"E pur iernotte fu la Luna tonda:

Ben ten dee ricordar, che non ti nocque
Alcuna volta per la selva fonda,"

which means: "Yesterday the moon was full, and she was of assistance to thee when thou wast in the thick wood."

But perhaps the central landmark is to be found in Inf. xxi, 112, from which it appears that it was then Easter Eve, it being universally agreed that the ruins here and elsewhere referred to in the Inferno, resulted from the earthquake recorded at the moment of Christ's death. This is certain from Inf. xii, 34, 35.

Dante then seems to have passed the night between Holy Thursday and Good Friday in the Selva oscura. He encountered the Tre Fiere on the morning of Good Friday, the season being that of spring, and the sun among the same stars as when he and they were first created, i.e. according to tradition, in the constellation of Aries. The whole day is spent in continual advance and retreat (from the dread of these three beasts), and also in the interview with Virgil, who came at last to Dante's aid, so that it was nightfall on Good Friday before they two together approached the Entrance Gate of Hell.

Inf. vii, 97-99, shows Dante to be leaving the Fourth Circle just after midnight, and passing from the Sixth to the Seventh Circle between three and five on the morning of Saturday, Easter Eve. See xi, 113, 114 compared with xv, 52, ier mattina.

He is leaving the Fourth Bolgia of Malebolge in the Eighth Circle about sunrise, or, as he prefers to describe it, at moonsetting on Easter Eve.

Canto xxi, 112, distinctly shows him to be in the Fifth Bolgia of Malebolge at 7 A.M. He was in the Ninth Bolgia early in the afternoon of the same day, when the moon was directly under their feet (xxix, 10). He passed the centre of the earth to the other hemisphere between 7 and 8 P.M. (xxxiv, 68), and found that in the new hemisphere (see xxxiv, 96 and 105) the hour was between 7 and 8 A.M., and was probably, not as we might at first suppose, the morning of Easter Day, but apparently the morning of Easter Eve over again in that hemisphere. During that second Easter Eve. about twenty-one hours were spent in the journey from the centre of the earth to its surface at the Mountain of Purgatory, so that he would reach the latter shortly before sunrise on Easter Day.

## VI.

## DANTE'S ITINERARY THROUGH HELL.

#### Canto I.

i.D. 1300. rth April, Thursday, ill night. 300d Friday, ith April,

and all day.

- 1. Dante loses his way in the forest (1-3).
- 2. He reaches the foot of a mountain (13-18).
- 3. He encounters a leopard (31-43).
- 4. And a lion (44-48).
- 5. And a wolf (49-60).
- 6. He meets Virgil (61, 62).
- 7. He follows Virgil (136).

#### Canto II.

# ith April, aightfall.

 Dante's hesitation being overcome, the Poets commence their journey (141, 142).

#### Canto III. Antinferno.

- 9. Dante reads the inscription above the gate of Hell (1-11).
- 10. Virgil leads him into Hell (21).
- 11. They turn contemptuously away from the Negligent (49).
- 12. The Poets reach the Acheron, and encounter Charon (81-83).

#### Canto IV. First Circle.

#### Good Friday, night.

- 13. They enter the First Circle, Limbo (23, 24).
- 14. They meet a noble band of Poets (83, 84).
- 15. They reach a castle (106-108).
- 16. Within its walls they see the spirits of the great men of old times (118-120).
- Virgil leads Dante away and they wend their way to a region of tempest and darkness (149-151).

#### Canto V. Second Circle.

- 18. They descend into the Second Circle, and see the punishment of those who have sinned against Chastity (1 et seq.).
- Dante swoons on hearing the narrative of Francesca da Rimini (142).

## Canto VI. Third Circle.

20. Dante finds himself in the Third Circle (7).

Good

- They pass over the gluttonous wallowing in the mire and friday, rain (34-102).
- 22. They find Plutus at the descent into the Fourth Circle (114, 115).

#### Canto VII. Fourth Circle.

- 23. They enter the Fourth Circle (10).
- 24. They see the torments of the Misers and Prodigals (25-27).
- 25. Virgil invites Dante to descend into the Fifth Circle (97-99). 8th April, midnight.

## Fifth Circle.

- 26. They enter the Fifth Circle by crossing a rivulet (100, 101).
- 27. The rivulet widens into the Stygian marsh, submerged in which are the shades of the Wrathful, and of the Sullen or Gloomy (106-124).
- 28. They arrive at the foot of a tower (130).

## Canto VIII. On the Styx.

9th April, Easter Eve, but still night.

- A cresset light from the tower is answered by a signal in the far distance (1-4).
- In obedience to the signals, the ferryman, Phlegyas, comes for them (15-17).
- 31. They enter the boat and cross the marsh (28-30).
- 32. Filippo Argenti tries to intercept them (31-63).
- Virgil announces their approach to the City of Dis (67-69). Easter Eve,
   They encounter innumerable Fiends (82, 83).
- 35. The Fiends close the gates in Virgil's face (115, 116).

before morning.

# Canto IX. The City of Dis.

- 36. The appearance of the Furies (35-37).
- 37. A crash of thunder announces the approach of the messenger of God (64-72).
- 38. The Angel opens the gate (89, 90).
- 39. The Poets enter into the city (104-106).
- 40. They find it full of uncovered tombs full of fire (112-123).
- 41. In these tombs are punished the Heresiarchs (128-130).

#### Canto X. Sixth Circle.

42. The Poets proceed along a narrow path between the city walls and the fiery tombs (1-3).

lii Itinerary.

- 43. Appearance of Farinata degli Uberti (32, 33).
- 44. Farinata's haughty demeanour (34-42).

before morning.

- Early hours 45. Cavalcante Cavalcanti appears, and enquires after his son, the Poet Guido (52-60).
  - 46. They quit the wall, and strike right across the Circle preparatory to descending into the Seventh Circle (134, 135).

#### Canto XI.

- 47. To avoid a foul odour they take refuge behind the tomb of Pope Anastasius (4-9).
- 48. Virgil indicates the hour by describing certain movements in the skies, which in Hell they cannot see (113, 114).

#### Canto XII. Seventh Circle.

Between 4 A.M. and 6 A.M. 49. The Poets encounter the Minotaur (11-27).

## First Round of the Seventh Circle.

- 50. The river of boiling blood in which the Violent against their neighbours are punished (46-48).
- 51. Escorted by the Centaur Nessus the Poets skirt the edge of the river (100-102).
- 52. They cross the river by a ford, from the First Round to oth April, Easter Eve, the Second (124-139). between 4 A.M. and 6 A.M.

# Canto XIII. Second Round of the Seventh Circle.

- 53. The Forest of the Suicides (124-139).
- 54. The Harpies on the trees (10-15).
- 55. The shade of Pier delle Vigne (31-108).
- 56. The penalty of the Squanderers of their own substance (109-151).

## Canto XIV. Third Round of the Seventh Circle.

oth April, Easter Eve, between A.M. and M.

57. They reach the Third Round (4, 5).

# The Violent against God.

- 58. The Blasphemous lying under a rain of fire (19-30).
- 59. The river Phlegethon (76-78).
- 60. Virgil makes Dante walk on the hardened margins of this river, which are protected from the flames (141-142).

# Canto XV. The Violent against Nature.

61. Dante meets his old master Brunetto Latini (23-30).

- Brunetto tells Dante that he foresaw his renown when he drew his horoscope (55-57).
- 63. But he also foretells the ill-treatment Dante will receive from his countrymen (61-64).

#### Canto XVI.

- 64. They draw near to the spot where they can hear the roar of the Phlegethon falling down the Great Abyss (1-3).
- 65. Dante is accosted by three renowned Florentines (4-18).
- 66. The tremendous cascade compared with the Falls of the river Montone at San Benedetto (91-105).
- 67. Dante hands Virgil the cord he was wearing round his waist, and Virgil casts it down the Great Abyss (106-114).
- 68. The Monster Geryon, the image of Fraud, comes up swimming in the air (130-136).

## Canto XVII. The Violent against Art. The Usurers.

- 69. While Virgil parleys with Geryon, Dante walks up to a group of Usurers seated on the burning sand on the edge of the Great Abyss (34-75).
- 70. The Poets mount upon the back of Geryon, who wheels downwards by a spiral descent, and sets them at the foot of the lofty cliffs that encircle Malebolge (79-136).

# Canto XVIII. The Eighth Circle, called Malebolge. First Bolgia.

- The Poets dismount from the back of Geryon. They look down into the First Bolgia, and see the shades of Panders and Seducers being scourged by Demons (19-39).
- 72. Dante accosts Venedico Caccianimico of Bologna (46-66).
- 73. The Poets ascend the first of the bridgeways that cross the Bolge (67-72).

## Second Bolgia of the Eighth Circle.

74. They pass over the rampart dividing the First Bolgia from the Second, ascend the Second Bridgeway, and look down into the Second Bolgia, where they see the Flatterers immersed in filth, and among them the shade of Alessio Interminei of Lucca (100-126).

# Canto XIX. Third Bolgia of the Eighth Circle.

75. They cross the Third Bridgeway and descend on to the Fourth Rampart to get a nearer view of the Third Bolgia, in which are tormented the Simoniacal Popes.

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# Itinerary.

- Virgil carries Dante down into the Bolgia (7-45). Dante converses with Pope Nicholas III (46-87).
- The Greed of Gain in the Pastors of the Church reproved (88-117).
- 78. Virgil carries Dante up the side of the precipice, and sets him down on the central point of the Fourth Bridge, from where he can see down into the Fourth Bolgia (124-133).

## Canto XX. Fourth Bolgia of the Eighth Circle.

 The penalty of the Diviners. Virgil relates the story of Manto (7-99).

Daybreak in 80. Virgil summons Dante to leave the Fourth Bolgia (124-the world, 130).

6.15 A.M., 9th April, Easter Eve.

## Canto XXI. Fifth Bolgia of the Eighth Circle.

- The Poets look down from the Fifth Bridge into the Fourth Bolgia, and see a flood of boiling pitch (7-21).
- They see a black-winged Demon, one of the Malebranche (29-33).
- 83. On seeing a large troop of hostile Demons, Virgil makes Dante hide behind a rock, while he himself crosses the bridge and meets the Demons on the Sixth Rampart (58-87).
- Virgil summons Dante to issue from his hiding-place (88-93).
- Easter Eve. 85. The chief Demon, Malacoda, tells the Poets that 1266
  years ago, on Good Friday, five hours later than the
  time in which their conversation is taking place, the
  bridge from the Sixth to the Seventh Rampart fell into
  ruins. This was the moment of the death of Jesus
  Christ. (This is considered to be the most important
  time-reference in the whole of the Divina Commedia)
  (106-114).
  - 86. Malacoda promises the safe escort of the Demons to show the Poets the way, and they set out along the Sixth Rampart (115-136).

# Canto XXII. Fifth Bolgia of the Eighth Circle.

87. The Poets, in company of the Demons, skirt the shore of the boiling pitch, in which are tormented the Traffickers in Public Offices (13-18).

88. Two of the Demons fall into the pitch, and the Poets slip away unobserved (151).

## Canto XXIII. The Sixth Bolgia of the Bighth Circle.

89. Dante's terror of being pursued by the Malebranche (13-33).

90. Seeing the Fiends approaching, Virgil, by supernatural Easter Eve.
power, slips down the side of the precipice with Dante forenoon.
in his arms, and reaches the Sixth Bolgia, into which
the Malebranche may not follow them (34-57).

91. The Hypocrites marching slowly along, enveloped in cloaks and cowls that are golden outside but of lead

within (58-148).

92. On finding out how false Malacoda's information had been about the existence of a means of exit from the Bolgia, Virgil hastens away in great indignation, followed by Dante (145-148).

## Canto XXIV. Seventh Bolgia of the Eighth Circle.

93. On reaching the ruins of the bridge that used to cross the Sixth Bolgia, Virgil lifts Dante up some crags, and they clamber up until they attain the rampart that leads to the Seventh Bolgia (19-63).

94. They reach the crest of the bridge which spans the Seventh Bolgia, in which are the Robbers (67, 68).

95. They descend the side of the causeway on to the Eighth Rampart, and see the *Bolgia* swarming with serpents (79-84).

## Canto XXV. Seventh Bolgia-(continued).

 The blasphemy of Vanni Fucci avenged on him by the serpents (1-9).

The shades of the Robbers in the Seventh Bolgia, continually interchanging forms with serpents (142-144).

## Canto XXVI. Eighth Bolgia of the Eighth Circle.

98. The Poets remount on to the Causeway, and then ascend the bridge that overhangs the Eighth Bolgia, wherein the Fraudulent Counsellors, each enwrapped in a flame, resemble fireflies in June (13-42).

99. The shade of Ulysses, concealed inside a double-pointed flame, in which also is the shade of Diomede, relates his last voyage, shipwreck and death (90-142).

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# Itinerary.

## Canto XXVII. Eighth Bolgia-(continued).

100. Guido da Montefeltro tells his story (61-132).

101. The Poets quit the Eighth Bolgia, and ascend the next bridge, from which they look down upon the Disseminators of Discord (133-136).

## Canto XXVIII. Ninth Bolgia of the Eighth Circle.

102. They see the Disseminators of Discord being perpetually slashed by the sword of a Demon (1-142).

## Canto XXIX. Tenth Bolgia of the Eighth Circle.

103. Virgil tells Dante, as they are leaving the Ninth Bolgia, that the Moon is now beneath their feet, i.e., early in the afternoon, about 1 P.M. (10-12).

104. They cross the last bridge and descend on to the lower level of the lowest rampart. There they see the Falsifiers of different kinds, tormented by loathsome diseases (37-72).

## Canto XXX. Last Bolgia of Malebolge—(concluded).

105. The Coiner, Maestro Adamo, recalls the cool rills and verdant herbage of the Casentino, where he used to dwell (64-72).

## Canto XXXI. The Verge of the Pit (Pozzo).

- 106. The Poets turn their backs on Malebolge, and cross the intermediate Plateau between it and the Pozzo (7-9).
- 107. They see on the verge of the Pozzo huge giants whom Dante mistakes for towers (19, 20).
- gth April, Easter Eve, 108. Virgil corrects the mistake (22-33).
  - 109. The Poets approach Antaeus (112-114).
  - 110. Antaeus takes the Poets up in his hands, and lifts them down from the verge of the Pit upon the frozen surface of Cocytus (130-145).

## Canto XXXII. Ninth Circle. Cocytus.

- 111. They are now upon the first ring of the Ninth Circle, called Caina, in which are frozen Traitors to Kindred (16-39).
- 112. One of the shades mentions the name Caina (55-60).
- 113. Further on, they pass on into Antenora, the Second Ring, wherein are Traitors to their Country. A shade mentions the name Antenora (88-90).

I P.M.

I P.M.

114. In Antenora they find Count Ugolino frozen close up to Easter Eve, his enemy, Archbishop Ruggieri, whose head he is in the gnawing (124-139).

#### Canto XXXIII. Antenora, then Tolomea.

- 115. Count Ugolino's terrible narrative of the death by starvation of himself and his family (1-90).
- 116. The Poets pass on to the Third Ring, which one of the shades names Tolomea. In it are punished Betrayers of Guests (91-126).

## Canto XXXIV. The Centre of the Earth.

- 117. The last Ring of the Ninth Circle called Giudecca, after Judas Iscariot, who is here tormented by Lucifer himself. Here are the shades of traitors to their benefactors. Here Virgil discloses Lucifer to Dante (4-67).
- 118. Virgil tells Dante that he is to clasp him round the neck as they must now quit Hell. Dante obeys, and they clamber down Lucifer's hairy side (68-75).
- 119. When Virgil, with Dante clinging to him, has got down to the hip of Lucifer, he finds himself upside down, and to Dante's wonder, is seen to go upwards instead of downwards (76-81).
- 120. With difficulty overcoming the excess of attraction supposed to exist in the centre of the Earth, Virgil issues forth from the mass of rocks which form the base of Giudecca, and the Poets sit down to rest (85, 86).
- 121. The Poets are now in the Southern Hemisphere, and it is Easter Eve, morning in place of the evening they have just left. 7.30 morning (We have chosen the view which puts the clock back again, and it is therefore 7.30 over again on the morning of Easter Eve) (94-120).
- 122. They reascend to the surface of the Earth, in an opposite Hemisphere to that in which they descended, by a dark spiral path, extending as far from Satan as he does from the surface of the Earth from which they originally descended (127-135).
- 123. They complete their ascent, and issue forth into the 10th April.

  Southern Hemisphere "again to see the stars" in the Easter Day,
  early morning before daylight on Easter Day (136-139). about 5 A.M.

#### VII.

#### CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

#### TABLES OF THE AGE OF DANTE.

Popes, Emperors and Kings.

Dante.

June, baptized in San Giovanni. (Par. xxv, 8).

Other Personages mentioned

in the Divina Commedia,

1270. Guido Novello,

Lord of Polenta, obtains

the sovereignty of Ra-

venna. (/nf. xxvii, 41).

1216 to 1272. Henry III (England). 1226 to 1270. Louis IX (France). 1249. Pier delle Vigne (de Vineis), Chancellor of Frederick II dies 1249 to 1285. III (Scotland). Alexander 1250. The Emperor Frederick II dies at Firenzuola in (Inf. xii). Apulia. 1250. Jacopo da Len-1250. Interregnum till 1312. tino, surnamed Il No-tajo, fl. (Purg. xxiv). 1250. King of Navarre, Thibaylt III, distinguished French poet. 1254. Pope Alexander IV (Rainaldo de' Conti di Segni Manfred, son 1258. of Frederick II, crowned ed Anagni). King of Sicily at Palermo. 1257. Richard, Duke of Cornwall, elected King of Manfred ex-1259. Germany by one faction. communicated. Alfonso the Wise, King of 1264. Farinata Degli Castille, elected King of Ger-Uberti dies. many by another faction. Important republics still exercised their right in the 1266. Beatrice born election of the Roman Embetween May and June. (Vit. N. § ii). peror. 1265. Dante Alighieri, born at Florence in May or

Pope Clement IV (Guy Foulquois de St. Gilles

1270 to 1285. Philippe III

(le Hardi), King of France.

Purg. vii, 103-106).

1265.

sur Rhone).

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

#### TABLES OF THE TIMES OF DANTE.

Florence.

Italy and Sicily.

Europe.

1250. Defeat of the Ghibellines at Figline by the fugitive Guelphs from Florence.

tagi. The Guelphs re-enter the city, create new municipal offices, and change the municipal arms from a white lily on a red field for a red lily on a white field. (Par. xvi, 152). About this time the Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello) built, it is supposed, by the architect Lapo, master of Arnolfo di Cambio. All the towers of the nobility reduced to a height of fifty braccia (ells).

1252. The first gold florins coined, eight to an ounce, stamped on one side with the lily, on the other with St. John the Baptist.

1258. The Ghibellines expelled from Florence. The palaces of the Uberti razed to the ground.

1266. The Ghibellines again expelled from Florence. Reascendancy of the Guelphs.

r266, Roderigo degli Andalò and Catalano dei Malavolti Frati Gaudenti are named joint Podestàs of Florence. Every man at Florence obliged to belong to one of the seven "arts."

1250. Guido delle Colonne, 1253. Sorbonne foundfl. Guido Bonatti, astronomer, fl.

1260. Battle of Montaperti. The Ghibelline forces under Provenzano Salvani (Purg. xi) totally defeat the Guelphs, expel them from Florence, and then take possession of that city in the name of King Manfred.

Congress of Empoli. Farinata degli Uberti prevents the destruction of Florence, meditated by the victorious Ghibellines. (Inf. x).

1262. Barons' wars in England.

1263. Balliol College, Oxford, founded.

1264. Battle of Lewes.

1264. Merton College, Oxford, founded.

1265. Monfort's Parliament.

1265. Battle of Evesham. Simon de Montfort defeated and slain.

1265. Duns Scotus born.

1266. Roger Bacon proposes to Pope Clement IV a reform in the calendar.

1266. Battle of Benevento. Defeat and death of Manfred (Purg. iii) by Charles of Anjourney, who becomes King of Apulia and Sicily.

# Chronological Tables.

#### TABLES OF THE AGE OF DANTE.

Dante.

Popes, Emperors and Kings.

Other Personages mentioned in the Divina Commedia.

1274. First meeting with

Beatrice. (Purg. xxx, 41, 42).

Pope Gregory X 1271. (Tebaldo Visconti da Piacenza).

1272. Edward I (England).

1273. Rudolph of Haps-

burg elected Emperor (Purg. vii, 91-96); died in 1291.

Pope Innocent V 1276. (Pietro Tarantasia of Savoy, the first Pope of the order of the Predicatori).

1276. Pope Adrian (Ottobuono Fieschi, de' Conti di Lavagna). (Purg. xix).

1276. Pope John XXI (XX), Pietro da Lisbona.

1277. Pope Ivicani Gaetano Orsini Pope Nicholas III Rome) introduces nepotism. (Inf. xix).

Ottocar, King of 1278. Bohemia, dies. (Purg. vii and Par. xix).

1283. Dante writes his first sonnet.

1281. The papal chair vacant six months. Charles of Naples procures the election of his creature, Simon de Brie de Montpilloi, in Champagne, who succeeds as Pope Martin IV. (Purg. xxiv).

1282. Peter of Aragon becomes King of Sicily.

1285. Philippe IV (le Bel), King of France, (Purg. vii and xxxii, and Par. xix).

1285. Pope Honorius IV (Jacopo Savelli, of Rome).

T288. Pope Nicholas IV (Girolamo Mascio, of Alessiano, near Ascoli).

1274. St. Thomas Aquinas poisoned by order of Charles of Anu. (Purg. xx, 70). St. Bonaventura dies.

1275. Branca d' Oria treacherously killsMichel Zanche, and takes his place as Judge of Logo-doro in Sardinia. (Inf. xxii and xxxii).

1276. Guido Guinicelli of Bologna (called by Dante in Vulg. Eloq. 15, Maximus Guido) dies. (Purg. xxvi).

1276. Giotto di Bondone born at Colle di Vespignano. Some give the date 1266, others 1270.

1279. Albertus Mag-us dies. He was master nus dies. of St. Thomas Aquinas. (Par. xxiv).

1281. Maestro Adamo of Brescia burnt for coining false florins. (Inf. xxx).

The city 1282. Faenza betrayed by Tribaldello.

1288. Count Ugolino della Gherardesca, with two sons and two grandsons, starved to death at Pisa. (Inf. xxxiii).

1289. Buonconte (son of Guido) da Montefeltro slain at the battle of Campaldino (Purg. v, 88), in which battle Dante is a combatant.

1289. Dante takes part in the battle of Campaldino when twenty-four years of

1289. Dante at the siege of Caprona. (Inf. xxi).

#### TABLES OF THE TIMES OF DANTE.

Florence.

Italy and Sicily.

Europe.

1267. By a treaty of peace Ghibellines re-admitted. King Charles of Anjou sends to the Guelphs of Florence a reinforcement of 800 knights under Guy de Monfort. (Inf. xii).

1267. The Ghibellines again exided. The Florentines confer Signory of the city upon King Charles for ten years. He sends a vicar to rule over it, with whom are associated ten Buonuomini.

at Florence. Two bridges carried away.

1273. Pope Gregory X, King Charles, and the Emperor Baldwin, of Constantinople, visit Florence, and make peace between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines.

1278, Cardinal Latino Frangipani, the Legate of Nicholas III, comes to Florence to re-arrange the peace between the Guelphs and Ghibellines.

r278, First stone laid of the Dominican Church of Sta. Maria Novella. Architects, Fra Ristoro da Campi, Fra Sisto, and Fra Giovanni. It took seventy years to build.

1278. A parley takes place between the Guelphs and Ghibellines in the Piazza Vecchia dí Sta. Maria Novella, and a molus vivendi arranged.

1285. The Comune of Florence decrees an enlargement of the city. (Par. xvi, 46 et seq.).

1267. All Tuscany except Pisa and Lucca become Guelph. Conradino, grandson of Frederick II, at the invitation of the adherents of Manfred, passes into Italy.

1268. Battle of Tagliacozzo. Conradino defeated and taken prisoner by Charles of Anjou, and afterwards beheaded at Naples. (*Purg.* xx, 69).

1269. The Sienese and other Ghibellines under Provenzano Salvani and Count Guido Novello defeated by the Florentine Guelphs near Colle in the Valdelsa. (Purg. xiii, 115).

r270. Cino da Pistoja (Guittoncino dei Sinibaldi), jurist and poet, born. Dante addressed to him his Epistle iv, entitled Exulante Pistoriensi.

1272. Guy de Monfort assassinates Henry, son of Richard of Cornwall, in a church at Viterbo. (Inf. xii).

1278. Niccolò Pisano dies.

1278. Giovanni Pisano begins building the Camposanto of Pisa.

1279. John of Procida foments discontent of French sway in Sicily.

1281. About this time the chronicler Ricordano Malespini is supposed to have died.

1281. Charles of Navarre punishes disaffection in Sicily by cruel oppression.

1269. Oxford. St. Edmund's Hall founded, but some say 1226. Roger Bacon forbidden to teach at Oxford, and confined to his monastery.

Occam born about this time.

1270. Louis IX (Saint Louis) dies of the plague at Tunis during the last crusade.

1271. Marco Polo, the Venetian, sets out from Acre on his travels into Tartary.

1278. Pier de la Brosse, Secretary of Philippe le Hardi, King of France, put to death by reason of malignant calumny. (Purg. vi, 19).

# Chronological Tables.

#### TABLES OF THE AGE OF DANTE.

Dante.

1290. Death of Beatrice. (Purg. xxxii).

1291. Dante begins to write the Vita Nuova and perhaps contemplates the Commedia.

1291. He marries Gemma de' Donati.

1294. Dante meets Carlo Martello at Florence (Par. viii).

1295. Dante is named a member of the special Council of the Republic, composed of eighty of the most influential citizens of Florence (Biscioni).

1295. Dante is inscribed on the roll of Doctors and Chemists (Medicie Speziali), so as to have a qualification for public employment.

1299. Dante is sent as Ambassador to the *Comune* of San Gemignano.

1300. Dante matures his ideas of the Divina Commedia. The vision is supposed to have taken place in this year.

1300. Dante made one of the *Priori*. In an epistle now lost he is said to have attributed all his misfortunes to this appointment. Quoted by Leonardo Bruni (*Vita di Dante*).

r300. Dante, though hated by the *Neri*, takes no special part with the *Bianchi*, but as much as possible holds aloof from both parties. (/n/c, xv, 70; and *Par*, xvii, 64-69). Popes, Emperors and Kings.

1290. Carlo Martello crowned King of Hungary.

for two years and three months.

1292. Adolphus of Nassau succeeds Rudolph of Hapsburg as King of Germany,

1294. Celestine V (Pietro di Morrone), a hermit from the Terra di Lavoro, elected Pope. Resigns the papacy, and dies in prison 1296.

1295. Pope Boniface VIII (Benedetto Gaetani of Anagni). (Inf. xix, 53; xxvii, 70; Par. xxvii, 22).

1296. Frederick of Aragon succeeds his brother James as King of Sicily. (Purg. iii, 116; viii, 129; Par. xix, 131).

1298. Albert, son of Rudolph of Hapsburg, crowned King of Germany and the Romans at Aix-la-Chapelle. (Purg. vi, 97; Par. xix, 115). Other Personages mentioned in the Divina Commedia.

1289. Francesca da Rimini murdered by her husband, Gianciotto. (*Inf.* v, 97). Some give the date 1285.

1290. Michael Scott dies. (Inf. xx, 116).

1291. Can Grande della Scala born. (Par. xvii, 80).

1292. William, Count of Monferrato, captured in 1290 by citizens of Allessandria, who expose him in an iron cage, wherein he dies in 1292. (Purg. vii, 134).

Dante's reputed preceptor, dies. (Inf. xv, 28).

1294. Giano della Bella expelled from Florence after a popular tumult. (Villani, viii, 8).

d' Arezzo dies. (Purg. xxiv, 56).

King of Hungary, dies. (Par. viii).

1295. Forese Donati, brother of Corso and Piccarda, dies. (Purg. xxiii, 40).

Cassero murdered at Oriago. (Purg. v, 64, 84).

#### TABLES OF THE TIMES OF DANTE.

Florence.

Italy and Sicily.

Europe.

1288. Arnolfo di Lapo or di Cambio lives about this time.

1289. Folco Portinari, the father (according to Boccaccio) of the Beatrice beloved by Dante, dies. 1282. For li besieged by French army, which Guido da Montefeltro annihilates. (Inf. xxvii, 43).

1282. The Sicilian Vespers. The French expelled from Sicily. (Par. viii, 73).

1282. Peter of Aragon, son - in - law of Manfred, crowned King of Sicily.

1284. Great naval battle at Meloria, in which Genoa extinguishes Pisa as a sea power.

Florence, Lucca and Genoa join in a league against Pisa.

ra84. Ruggieri di Lauria, Admiral of Peter of Aragon, King of Sicily, defeats the fleet of King Charles, and makes hisson, Prince Charles, a prisoner. (Purg. xx).

1288. At the skirmish of La Pieve del Toppo the Sienese Guelphs are cut to pieces by the Ghibellines of Arezzo. (/nf. xiii, 121).

1295. Marco Polo returns to Venice from his Eastern travels.

1297. Great discord between Pope Boniface VIII and the Colonna family.

rag8. Boniface VIII proclaims a crusade against the Colonna family. In this same year Boniface VIII, aided by the fraudulent counsels of Guido da Montefeitro, by deceitful promises, gets possession of Palestrina and other strongholds of the Colonna family. (Inf. xxvii), 1284. The infant son (afterwards Edward II) of Edward I born at Carnarvon, with title of Prince of Wales,

1291. By the treacherous help of the renegade Christians Acre falls into the hands of the Saracens. (Inf. xxvil, 89).

1292? Roger Bacon dies.

1296. The Coronation Stone from Scone brought to London and placed in Westminster Abbey.

1295. The long feud between the families of the Cerchi and Adimari brought to an end in the Church of San Piero Scheraggio.

1295. Church of Sta. Croce begun.

r296. The Piazza San Giovanni enlarged as not being extensive enough for public functions and festivities.

1297. About this time Arnolfo (see 1288) receives the order to build the Church of Sta. Reparata, of which the name was changed to Sta. Maria del Fiore the present Cathedral.

1298. First stone laid.

1298. The Palazzo Publico (now Palazzo Vecchio) commenced, lxiv

1300.

# Chronological Tables.

### TABLES OF THE AGE OF DANTE.

Dante.

child of the Caviciulli family,

Dante to save a

Popes, Emperors and Kings.

Other Personages mentioned in the Divina Commedia.

1298. Guido da Montefeltro dies. (Inf. xxvii, 40).

1299. Niccolò Acciajuoli and Baldo d'Aguglione falsify the quaderno or register of public
accounts; and Durante
de' Chiaramontesi falsifies the measures. (Purg.
xii, 105; Par. xvi, 56,
v, 105).

1299. Oderisi da Gubbio dies. (Purg. xi).

1301. Guido Cavalcanti dies (Inf. x) after being banished from Florence in the preceding year.

1301. Alberto della Scala, Lord of Vecona, dies, and is succeeded by his son, Bartolommeo (il gran Lombardo). (Par. xvii).

1303. Taddeo, a famous wealthy physician of Florence, dies. (Villani, viii, 65, and Par. xii, 83).

breaks to pieces one of the standing places of the baptizers, at the font of San Giovanni, and is accused of sacrilege. (Inf. xix).

1301. Dante goes as Am-

1301. Dante goes as Ambassador from the Republic to Rome to dissuade the Pope from summoning Charles de Valois into Tuscany.

1302, 27th Jan. In his absence, Dante is condemned on a false charge of trafficking with public offices (baratteria) during his magistracy, and of having opposed the Pope and Charles de Valois. Is fined 5,000 florins and condemned to two years' banishment.

On the roth March following, Dante, in his absence, is condemned to be burnt alive by the Podestà of Florence (Cante de' Gabrielli). His house is sacked and his possessions confiscated. He becomes the guest, first of Uguccione della Faggiuola, and then of Bartolommeo della Scala. (See Villani and Boccaccio). Henceforth he is an exile.

1304. Dante said to be at Bologna writing Tr. i of the Convito and commencing the De Vulg. Elog., but date of Convito very uncertain.

1306. Dante visits Giotto, who is painting the Chapel of the Scrovigni at Padua. (Inf., xvii, 64). In October he goes as the guest of the Malaspina family into Lunigiana. (Purg. viii, 115 et seg.).

1303. Pope Benedict XI (Niccolò Boccasini of Treviso) elected, but dies by poison the following year.

1304. Papal Throne vacant on death of Benedict XI.

1304. Albert of Austria invades Bohemia. (Par. xix, 115-117).

1305. Pope Clement V (Bertrand de Goth, Archbishop of Bordeaux) elected at the instigation of Philippe le Bel. (Inf. xix, 82; Par. xxvii, 58).

Papal seat transferred to Avignon. (Purg. xxii, 148-160).

# TABLES OF THE TIMES OF DANTE.

### Florence.

Italy and Sicily.

Europe.

1300. Giovanni Villani commences writing his chronicle (Gino Capponi).

1300. Cimabue dies.

1300. Casella (Purg. ii) dies.

1300. Cardinal Acquasparta comes to Florence as the Pope's Legate to restore peace between the Neri and Bianchi; but failing in his endeavours returns to Rome.

the Neri. (Inf. xxiv, 143 et seq.).

1301. Charles de Valois arrives at Florence and remains there six months. A popular assembly resigns the signory and guardianship of the city into his hands.

1301. Corso Donati, with his followers the Neri, returns from banishment. The new municipal elections are all in favour of the Neri.

1302. The Bianchi completely routed at the battle of Campo Piceno, in the territory of Pescia (1/nf, xxiv, t48), and finally expelled from Florence.

1302. Carlino de' Pazzi betrays the castle of Piano di Travigne to the Florentines. (Inf. xxxii, 69).

1302. Fulcieri da Calboli succeeds Cante de' Gabrielli as Podestà and commits terrible atrocities. (*Purg.* xiv, 58-72). 1300. Commencement of the factions of the Bianchi and Neri at Pistoja, so called from two sides taken in a brawl between two branches of the Cancellieri family there. (Inf. xxxii, 63). Focaccia dei Cancellieri was the primary aggressor. From this time the Guelph party is divided.

1300. The first jubilee instituted by Boniface VIII. (Purg. ii).

1302. Disputes between the Pope and the King of France. (Villani).

1303. In September, Boniface VIII, in consequence of the above disputes, is taken prisoner at Anagni by Sciarra Colonna and Guillaume de Nogaret, and suffers great indignities. Set free by the people, he returns to Rome (Purg. xx, 86 et seq.), but dies in October.

# Chronological Tables.

### TABLES OF THE AGE OF DANTE.

#### Dante.

1307. Story told of the rough copy of the first seven cantos of the Commedia being found in Dante's house and sent by Dino Frescobaldi to the Marchese Malaspina, Dante, on receiving it, is said to have resumed writing his poem. (Boccaccio and Benvenuto da Imola).

1308. Dante is said to have been at Forll.

1309. Dante is thought to have been in Paris.

1310. Dante writes a letter to the princes and peoples of Italy begging them to give their allegiance to the King, Henry VII. (Epist. v).

1311, 16th April. Dante, seeing Henry VII tarrying in Lombardy, writes to him, when engaged in the siege of Brescia, a letter reproving him for his delay and beseeching him in the name of all the exiles of Florence to push on into Tuscany. (Epist. vii).

1312. Dante writes the De Monarchia.

1314. The letter of doubtful authenticity, attributed to Dante, written to the Cardinals of Italy, entreating them to use their influence to get the Papal seat restored to Rome. (Epist, ix).

1314. It is at this time that Dante is supposed to have paid a visit to Uguccione della Faggiuola at Lucca and to have been acquainted with Gentucca. (Purg. xxiv, 34-48).

# Popes, Emperors and Kings

1306. Robert Bruce crowned King of Scotland after stabbing Comyn, the heir of Balliol.

1307. Edward II, King of England.

1308. Albert of Austria assassinated. (Purg. vi, 97-102).

1309. Henry VII of Luxembourg crowned King of the Romans at Aix-la-Chapelle, but not as Emperor till 1312.

1309. Charles II, King of Naples, dies; succeeded by his son Robert.

T311. At the beginning of this year Dante proceeds to Milan to do homage to Henry VII, and it is thought that he was present there when Henry VII was crowned with the iron crown on the day of the Epiphany, and when, says G. Villani, "ambassadors were present from almost all the cities of Italy, except Florence and its league." (Villani, ix, 10).

1312. Henry VII crowned Emperor at Rome, 29th June.

1313. Henry VII dies 24th August, at Buonconvento, in the Sienese territory. Is buried in the Cathedral at Pisa.

Interregnum for a year.

1314. Clement V dies. Papal seat vacant. (Inf. xix, 82; Par. xvii, 82; Par. xxvii, 58).

1314. Philippe le Bel dies. (Par. xix, 118-120). Other Personages mentioned in the Divina Commedia.

1307. Fra Dolcino captured and cruelly executed, (Inf. xxviii, 58).

1308. Death of Corso Donati. (Purg. xxiv, 83).

1311, 31st March. Dante writes the Epistle, scelestissimis Florentinis intrinsecus, urging them to open their gates to the Emperor. (Epist. vi).

1312. Riccardo da Camino, son of "il buon Gherardo," Lord of Treviso, is assassinated. (Par. ix, 49-51).

### TABLES OF THE TIMES OF DANTE.

Florence.

Italy and Sicily.

Europe.

Niccolò da Prato, 1304. Cardinal of Ostia, sent as Papal Legate by Benedict XI as pacificator to Florence, but his mission fails and he excommunicates the city.

A rash expedition of the Bianchi against Florence is

repulsed.

1304. Great loss of life by the fall of the Ponte alla Carraia (perhaps alluded to, Inf. xxvi, 10, 11).

In October the 1310. Florentines refuse to receive VII into Italy. the Ambassadors of Henry VII. (G. Villani).

1311. In June the Florentines make a league with the Bolognese and all the Guelphs in Tuscany against Henry

1311. In November, when Henry is at Genoa, he cites before his court the Florentines, and on Christmas Eve condemns them, depriving them of every liberty and privilege. Florentine merchants at Genoa are compelled to depart, with the loss of all their property.

King Robert of Naples sends troops to the assistance of the Florentines. (G. Villani).

1312. In October Henry VII commences, but soon abandons, the siege of Flor-

The Florentines fortify their frontiers against Pisa.

upon King Robert for five named general, years.

1304. Petrarch born at Arezzo.

1305. William Wallace executed. Scotland submits.

1310. Descent of Henry 1307. Philippe le Bel

1311. All feudatories of the Empire in Italy are summoned to present themselves before the Emperor, to have the feofs confirmed which had been granted to them by previous Emperors, and among them even the Bishop of Volterra. (Diplomatic Ar-chives of Florence, Carte di Volterra).

1311. Albuino della Scala, Lord of Verona, dies. His brother, Can Grande, succeeds him.

suppresses the order of the Templars in France with great cruelty.

1308. Edward II marries Isabella, the daughter of Philippe le Bel.

1308. The Island of Rhodes occupied by the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.

1312. The Nobles of Parma and Reggio on the one part, and the cities of Bologna, Florence, Lucca and Siena, and the Guelphs, banished from Cremona and Modena, on the other part, form a league against Henry VII. 1313. Boccaccio da fer the Signory of the City Ghiberto da Correggio is Certaldo born at Paris,

1312. The Barons of England capture and behead Gaveston.

1313. Boccaccio da

# Chronological Tables.

### TABLES OF THE AGE OF DANTE.

Dante.

Popes, Emperors and Kings.

Other Personages mentioned in the Divina Commedia.

1315. Final judgment on Dante on 6th November by Ranieri di Zaccaria d' Orvieto, King Robert's vicar in Florence, who condemns him to death.

1316. Dante refuses to accept the pardon of the Government of Florence, by accepting which he might have returned there. (Epist. x).

1316. Dante writes his epistle to Can Grande della Scala, explaining to him the fundamental principles of the Divina Commedia, being a consideration of the soul after death, and in its allegorical sense, Man, liable to reward or punishment.

He dedicates to him the Paradiso, not yet, however, completed. (Epist. xi).

1318. Dante at the Monastery of Fonte Avellana, near Gubbio, in Umbria. Is afterwards the guest of Busone de' Raffaelli at Gubbio. (Balbo, Vita di Dante).

1319. Dante the guest of Pagano della Torre at Udine, where he continues to write the Paradiso.

1320. Dante the guest of Guido da Polenta at Ravenna.

1321. Dante dies at Ravenna, aged 56. Interred with great pomp, by order of Guido da Polenta, who himself died the following year.

1314. Louis X (le Hutin) succeeds him.

1314. Frederick of Austria (crowned at Bonn) and Louis of Bavaria (crowned at Aixla-Chapelle), by rival factions, to be King of Germany and of the Romans.

1316. Pope John XXII (Jacques d'Euse de Cahors). (Par. xxvii, 58).

1316. Louis X dies. His successor, John I, dies five days after his birth.

1316. Philip V (le Long).

At the time of Dante's death the following sovereigns were reigning:—

Pope:
John XXII.
Constantinople:
Andronicus II.
France:

Phillipe le Long. Germany: Throne contested.

England: Edward II. Scotland:

Robert I (Bruce). Savoy:

Amadeus V. Venice: Doge Giovanni Soranzo.

Bohemia: John of Luxembourg.

Navarre: Joanna II.

Aragon: James II (the Just).

Castile: Alfonso XI. Portugal:

Dionysius (who reigned forty-six years).

1314. Can Grande defeats the Paduans, who thereupon resign to him their claims over Vicenza. (Par. ix, 46-48).

1318. Giotto's preeminence as a painter,

# Chronological Tables.

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### TABLES OF THE TIMES OF DANTE.

Florence.

Italy and Sicily,

Europe.

1312. In March, when at Pisa, the Emperor Henry VII deprives the city of Florence of every honour and jurisdiction, and gives leave to Spinoli of Genoa to coin false florins with the stamp of Florence. He leaves Pisa in August to make war upon King Robert, but dies on the 24th at Buonconvento. (G. Villani, ix, 49).

1314. Uguccione della Faggiuola, commanding the forces of Pisa, captures Lucca.

1314. Battle of Bannockburn.

1315. The Ghibellines de-feat the Florentine Guelphs at Montecatini.

1314. Exeter College, Oxford, founded.

1315. Battle of Morgarten, in which Leopold of Austria is defeated by the Swiss Cantons.

6, 11th December. Gen-unnesty permitting all out of Lucca. to return to Florence.

1316. Salic Law es-tablished in France to exclude Louis le Hutin's daughter Joanna, who inherits Navarre only.

1317. Can Grande Imperial Vicar at Verona and Vicenza.

8. King Robert con-d in the Signory of nce for another three

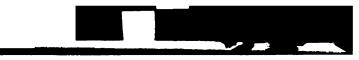
1318. Can Grande elected Captain of the Ghibelline League at Soncino. (G. Villani).

1319. Faggiuola dies.

Uguccione della the poet, said to have been born.

I. The Signory of King t over Florence termi-having lasted eight and six months. (Vilix, 137).

1321. Attainder of the Despencers by the English Parliament. Edward II forcibly reverses the Attainder.



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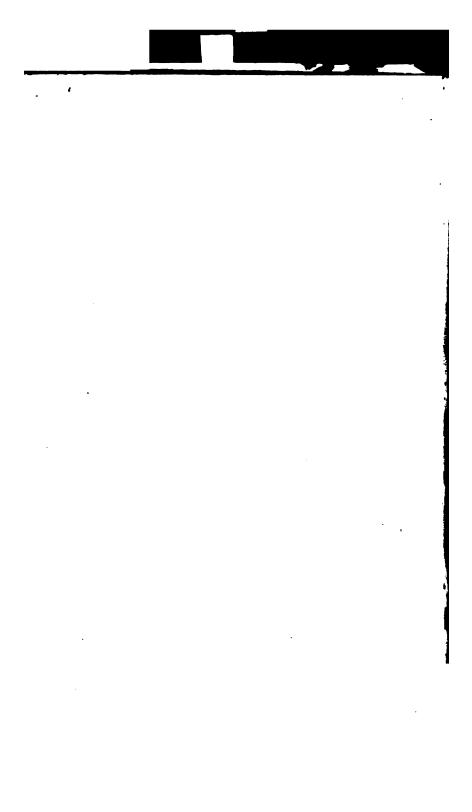
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# INFERNO.

# CANTO I.

THE DARK FOREST-THE MOUNTAIN-THE THREE WILD BEASTS-VIRGIL-THE VELTRO.

BENVENUTO DA IMOLA\* remarks in the Introduction to his Commentary that the matter or subject of the Divina Commedia is the condition of the human soul, alike when it is joined to the body, as after it is separated from it. Dante's object is an admirable, one, namely to make men good both by the fear of punishments for sins, and by the encouragement of rewards for the practice of virtue. Horace has said: Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore, Oderunt peccare mali + formidine poenae.

The first Canto of the Inferno is generally considered to be Dante's Introduction to the entire Divina Commedia, rather than the mere commencement of the Cantica of the Inferno. Dante is always symmetrical in the arrangement of his writings, and this is especially seen in the Divina Commedia. The whole poem consists of one hundred Cantos; the

second line is (1 Epist. xvi, 52, 53): "Tu nihil admittes in te, formidine poenae."

<sup>\*</sup>Benvenuto de Rambaldis de Imola, Comentum super Dantis Aldigherii Comediam, nunc primum integre in lucem editum, Sumptibus Guilielmi Warren Vernon, curante Jacobo Philippo Lacaita, Florentiae, 1887, 5 vols., large 8vo. + Benvenuto has somewhat misquoted Horace here, for the

three Cantiche, of the Inferno, the Purgatorio, and the Paradiso, each containing thirty-three, leaving this first Canto of the Inferno, as we have just noticed, as an Introduction to the complete work.

Benvenuto says that the *Inferno* may be divided into two principal parts, namely, the <u>Preface (Procemium)</u> consisting of the first three \* Cantos, and the main subject (tractatus), † which extends over the remainder.

He divides this first Canto into five parts.

In Division I, from ver. 1 to ver. 12, Dante supposes himself to have awakened to consciousness in a dark wood.

In Division II, from ver. 13 to ver. 30, he shows how he reached a certain mountain.

In Division III, from ver. 31 to ver. 60, he relates how, on attempting to ascend the mountain, his progress was opposed by three wild beasts.

In Division IV, from ver. 61 to ver. 90, he describes how the shade of Virgil suddenly came to his assistance.

In Division V, from ver. 91 to ver. 136, Dante

<sup>\*</sup>Benvenuto has evidently made a mistake here, for at the beginning of Canto iii he says that Dante, having completed his two introductory Cantos, in the first of which he laid down his proposition, and in the second made his Invocation, now in this third Canto commences the main subject (tractatus). He must have meant to say that the Preface (procemium) consists of the two first Cantos.

<sup>†</sup> tractatus: On reading over this Canto (4th January, 1904) after completing the entire writing of this second edition, I would refer my readers to an exhaustive discussion of the word trattato by Dr. Paget Toynbee, in the Romania, No. 128, October, 1903, entitled Dante's Uses of the Word Trattato in the Convivio and Vita Nuova.

shows how he resigned himself to the guidance of Virgil.

Division I.—Dante opens the Poem by telling his readers that, at the time of his vision, he had reached half-way through the number of years usually allotted to man, and that his life was dark and shadowed, because he was not walking in the straight way, nor in the path of virtue.

Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita Mi ritrovai \* per una selva oscura, † Che la diritta via era smarrita.

\*Mi ritrovai: Most of the translators render this "I found myself," which does not give the full meaning of ritrovarsi, "to find oneself again," "to recover one's senses," etc. It means a great deal more than simply mi trovai. Giuliani (Metodo di commentare la Divina Commedia, Florence, 1861) writes on mi ritrovai: "che fu un dire, mi riscossi e vidi: ovvero, a parlare più spiegato, riscuotendomi dal sonno onde io era preso in su quel punto che io abbandonai la verace via (ver. 11), riconobbi, m' avvidi, m' accorsi, che io era dentro una selva oscura. Questi verbi, quantunque di molto significativi, pure non bastano di per sè soli a rappresentarci il complesso delle idee volute inchiudere nel mi ritrovai."

chiudere nel mi ritrovai."

† per una selva oscura: "È di necessità a supplire verbo, che serva alla proposizione per, come sarebbe Andare, Errare, e non Essere: altramente si sarebbe detto In una selva." (Castelvetro, Sposizione di Lodovico Castelvetro a xxix canti dell' Inferno Dantesco ora per la prima volta data in luce da Giovanni Franciosi, Modena, 1886, 4to.) The above extract from an old Commentator is well worthy of notice, as, to construe per una selva oscura "in a dark wood" is but a slip-shod translation. Scartazzini remarks that the forest is the symbol of the life of sin into which Dante had strayed after the death of Beatrice, and from which Virgil delivered him. He adds that the best commentary on this passage is to be found in the reproofs that Beatrice administered to Dante in the later Cantos of the Purgatorio, and especially in xxx, 124-141. Longfellow says of selva oscura that it is the dark forest of human life, with its passions, vices and perplexities of all kinds; politically, the state of Florence with its factions, Guelph and Ghibelline. In Convito, iv, 24, Il. 123-127,

4

In the middle of the pathway of our life (i.e. when I was thirty-five years old), I awoke to the consciousness that I was (passing) through a dark wood, for that the straight way was lost.

In the six following lines Dante laments the difficulty of adequately describing the path of sin.

Dante says: "così l' Adolescente, ch' entra nella selva erronea di questa vita, non saprebbe tenere il buon cammino, se dalli suoi maggiori non gli fosse mostrato," Dante (Purg. xxiii, 115-121), addressing Forese de' Donati, tells us what the forest was from which Virgil delivered him:

"Perch' io a lui: 'Se ti riduci a mente

Qual fosti meco e quale io teco fui, Ancor fia grave il memorar presente. Di quella vita mi volse costui Che mi va innanzi, l' altr' ier, quando tonda

Che mi va innanzi, l' altr' ier, quando tonda Vi si mostrò la suora di colui (E il sol mostrai).'"

(E il sol mostrai)."

Compare also 2 Pet. ii, 15: "Which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray." On the whole, I prefer to understand the dark wood to mean "the path of sin," rather than human life generally.

Canto I. Readings on the Inferno.

5

E\* quanto a dir qual era è cosa dura Questa selva selvaggia † ed aspra e forte, Che nel pensier rinnuova 1 la paura! Tanto è amara, s che poco è più morte: Ma per trattar del ben || ch' i' vi trovai, Dirò dell' altre T cose ch' io v' ho scorte.

\* E quanto a dir qual era è cosa dura: Castelvetro (op. cit.) remarks that two interpretations may be put upon these words, namely (a) what a hard, difficult thing it is to find words adequate to describe the ruggedness of this wood, or (b) that it is a grievous, painful thing "to me to recall to mind the terror and the agony that I underwent during that night that I passed in it". But Castelvetro thinks that I. 7, tanto è amara che poco è più morte points unmistakably to the latter interpretation, for the not being able fully to describe anything would not be mortal bitterness, but mere impossibility. The more common reading is Ahi! quanto, but Blanc (Saggio di una interpretazione filologica della Divina Commedia, versione italiana di O. Occioni, Trieste, 1865, sm. 8vo) says that the oldest MSS. read E or Et, and the particle et (Modern Ital. ed) is solely a copula, and befits the narrative manner. Others read Eh, ah, or E with the signification of Ahi!

t selvaggia: Biagioli remarks that one should note the graduation of the epithets selvaggia, meaning "uncultivated and deserted," whence the word comes to be aspra, "rough," and from the two preceding epithets we get to forte, i.e. "tangled

like a jungle.'

rinnuova la paura: Compare Virgil, Æn. ii, 3: "Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem."

Scartazzini, comparing the two passages, observes that infandum is the hard thing to tell, and dolorem the bitterness.

§ Tanto è amara, che poco è più morte: Compare Ecclus. xli, I (Vulgate): "O mors, quam amara est memoria tua homini pacem habenti in substantiis suis!"

|| ben: Benvenuto remarks that if it should be asked what is the good that Dante found in Hell, the answer is that the good is manifold (multiplex), for by the sight and contemplation of the vices and their punishments one may discern the chastisement of the wicked, the emendation of many, and the perfecting of the good. Boëthius (Philosophiae Consolationis libri quinque, recensuit Rudolfus Peiper, Lipsiae, 1871, sm. 8vo, Lib. iv, Pros. iv) says: "Habent igitur improbi, cum puniuntur, quidem boni aliquid adnexum, poenam ipsam scilicet, quae ratione justitiae bona est!... Multo igitur infeliciores improbi sunt injusta impunitate donati, quam justa ultione puniti.

I altre cose: Giuliani prefers the reading alte cose, but no

And how grievous a thing it is to tell what this forest was, barren, rough and impenetrable, which in the (mere) thought renews the dread! So bitter is it, that death is little more so: but to treat of the good that I found in it, I will speak of the other things that I saw there.

In the next three lines, says Benvenuto, Dante answers an imaginary question. Some might ask him: "If to have been in the forest is such a bitter experience, why didst thou go there?"

To this Dante would reply that he cannot tell, for he was so full of sleep at the time that he entered therein. This sleep may be interpreted according to the view of St. Augustine and other theologians, who held that the soul is created by God in an instant of time, when it is infused into a body conceived basely, and therefore this sleep is sin. The main point that Dante wishes to enforce is this: "Do not ask me how I entered into this forest, i.e. into the path of sin, for all are born evil: therefore I cannot possibly recollect anything about my first entrance into the forest."

> I' non so ben ridir \* com' io v' entrai Tant' era pien di sonno † in su quel punto,

IO

Tuscan Commentator adopts it. Alte, preceded by ben ch' io, would scarcely apply to Hell itself, though it would do so to Purgatory and Paradise, besides which, alte is not a good antithesis to ben. The Padre Giuliani, be it noted, was a Piedmontese, though he wrote in such loving terms of Tuscany and Tuscans in his charming work Delizie del Parlare Toscano.

\* non so ben ridir et seq.: Compare John xii, 35 (Vulgate):

"Qui ambulat in tenebris, nescit quo vadat."

t pien di sonno: Compare Rom. xiii, 11: "Knowing the time, that now it is high time to awake out of sleep: for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed." And Jer. li, 39: "I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep Che la verace via \* abbandonai.

Canto 1.

How I entered therein I cannot well recall, so full was I of sleep at that time when I abandoned the true way.

This, according to Benvenuto, means the period of Dante's life, when he deserted the path of virtue. Man at the commencement of his life walks in the slumber of ignorance and original sin, until he is a young man, but he is not deserving of praise or blame, because he has not yet acquired the use of free-will, and therefore Dante rightly says that he cannot well recall how he entered into that forest, so full was he of slumber when he quitted the way of truth.

Division II. - After wandering for some time

a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the Lord." And Isa. xxix, 10: "For the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes." Compare also St. Augustine (Augustinus, S. Aur., Opera Omnia, studio Monachorum Ord. S. Benedicti, Bassani, 1797-1807, 18 vols. in 9, 4to), Enarratio in Psalmum lxii, vol. v, p. 807, D: "Bonus somnus corporis, quo reparatur valetudo corporis. Somnus autem animae est oblivisci Deum suum. Quaecumque anima oblita fuerit Deum suum, dormit . . . Dicit ergo quibusdam Apostolus, Surge qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis, et illuminabit te Christus."

\*verace via: Compare Conv. iv, 12, ll. 181-191: "Veramente così questo cammino si perde per errore, come le strade della terra . . . nella vita umana sono diversi cammini, delli quali uno è veracissimo, e un altro fallacissimo, e certi men fallaci, e certi men veraci." And ibid. iv, 22, ll. 60, 61: "Uno solo calle è quello che noi mena alla nostra pace." Compare also 2 Pet. ii, 2 (Vulgate): "Multi sequuntur eorum luxurias, per quos via veritatis blasphemabitur." And ibid. 15: "Derelinquentes rectam viam erraverunt, secuti viam Balaam ex Bosor, qui mercedem iniquitatis amavit." Compare also John xiv, 6: "Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, and the truth, and the life."

through the forest, Dante at length reaches a mountain, which, on looking up, he sees is illumined by the rays of the Sun. Benvenuto asks what this mountain represents. Certainly Virtue, he thinks, which being high, leads Man up to Heaven, and in like manner the valley is an emblem of Vice, which being low leads Man down to Hell; for the mountain is near to Heaven, and consequently to God: the valley is nearer to the centre, and consequently to Hell, which is the centre of the Earth.

Ma poi ch' io fui al piè d' un colle \* giunto,
Là dove terminava quella valle †
Che m' avea di paura il cor compunto,
Guardai in alto, e vidi le sue spalle
Vestite già de' raggi del pianeta ‡
Che mena dritto § altrui per ogni calle.

\*colle: "Hic accipit auctor collem pro virtutibus, et vallem vel silvam pro vitiis." (Codice Cassinese). "Si quaeritur quid significet mons, bene intelligitur significare majora praecepta justitiae." (St. Augustine, lib. 1, de Serm. Dom. in Monte): "Quis ascendet in montem Domini, aut quis stabit in loco sancto ejus? Innocens manibus et mundo corde." (Psalm xxiii, 3, 4, Vulgate.)

+valle: We must understand valle and selva oscura as iden-

†valle: We must understand valle and selva oscura as identical terms. See Inf. xv, 50, 51, where Dante says to Brunetto

Latini:

"'mi smarri' in una valle, Avanti che l' età mia fosse piena."

Compare Conv. iv, 20, ll. 74-78: "Questi cotali, la cui anima è privata di questo lume, che essi sieno siccome valli volte ad aquilone, ovvero spelonche sotterranee, dove la luce del sole mai non discende."

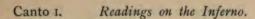
† pianeta: According to the Ptolemaic system the Sun was a planet. In Conv. iii, 12, ll. 50-52: "Ora è da ragionare per lo Sole spirituale e intelligibile, ch' è Iddio." The Sun is also used as a figure of God. Compare Par. xxv, 53, 54:

"... com' è scritto

Nel sol che raggia tutto nostro stuolo."

Compare also Mal. iv, 2: "The Sun of righteousness [shall] arise with healing in his wings."

Sche mena dritto: Compare John viii, 12: "I am the light



9

But after I had reached the foot of a hill, there, where that valley ended which had pierced my heart with fear, I looked far upward, and beheld its shoulders already clothed with the rays of that planet (the Sun) which leads other men straight, through every path.

Benvenuto observes that up to this time Dante had been contemplating only the lowest temporal matters of the senses (ista infima sensibilia temporalia), but that now he begins to raise his heel, that is, his thoughts, towards exalted and eternal excellences (ad alta virtualia et aeterna).

Dante finds that his contemplation of the Sunillumined heights has given a little respite to his fears.

> Allor fu la paura un poco queta Che nel lago \* del cor m' era durata La notte † ch' i' passai con tanta pièta. I

20

of the world: he that followeth Me shall not walk in darkness,

but shall have the light of life."

\* lago del cor: Under the head of Lago the Gran Dizionario (§ 10) gives the signification of "Concavità, Profondo." Compare Bacco in Toscana, Ditirambo di Francesco Redi, 921-923:

"I buon vini son quegli che acquetano Le procelle si fosche e rubelle,

Che nel lago del cor l' anime inquietano." + La notte: Used here, as very frequently in Holy Scripture,

as a symbol of ignorance, error and security that is both carnal and sinful.

pièta: Blanc (Vocabolario Dantesco) remarks that Dante has preferred to make use of this poetical form, instead of pictà, in the sense of "anguish, torment, grief," or for anything that would be calculated to excite pity. Compare Inf. vii, 97: "Or discendiamo omai a maggior pièta."

See however conversely, Inf. vi, 2:

" Dinanzi alla pietà de' due cognati," where pietà is explained by Scartazzini as pietoso aspetto. Then was the terror somewhat quieted, which had continued in the depth of my heart throughout the night that I had passed in so much anguish.

On lago del cuore Boccaccio (Comento) explains: "È nel cuore una parte concava, sempre abbondante di sangue, nella quale, secondo l' opinione d' alcuni, abitano li spiriti vitali; \* . . . ed è quella parte ricettacolo d' ogni nostra passione; e perciò dice che in quello gli era perseverata la passione della paura avuta." Longfellow aptly describes lago as the deep mountain tarn of Dante's heart, dark with its own depth, and the shadows hanging over it.

Benvenuto says Dante is right in laying aside his fears, for from the moment that he began but in a slight degree to recognise the light of virtue, he could immediately conceive a hope of finding his way out of the dark forest.

Dante now describes the disposition of his mind, and likens himself to a shipwrecked mariner, who, having through much anxiety and danger reached the shore, looks back, and gazes with awe upon the tempestuous waves.

> E come quei che con lena affannata Uscito fuor del pelago alla riva, Si volge all' acqua perigliosa e guata; †

† guata: Guatare is not precisely the same as guardare here. In the Tancia of M. A. Buonarroti (the younger). Act I, sc. i, we find a special meaning assigned to it in the [christening feast on birth of a boy] following passage:

<sup>\*</sup>spiriti vitali: Compare Vita Nuova, § ii, ll. 19-29: "lo spirito della vita, lo quale dimora nella segretissima camera del core, cominciò a tremare . . . In quel punto lo spirito animale, il quale dimora nell' alta camera, nella quale tutti li spiriti sensitivi portano le loro percezioni, si cominciò a maravigliare."

Così l' animo mio che ancor fuggiva,\* Si volse indietro a rimirar lo passo. Che non lasciò † giammai persona viva.

And even as he, who with panting breath, having emerged from the ocean on to the shore, turns to the perilous water and gazes; so did my spirit, which still was fleeing, turn itself back to contemplate that pass (the dark wood), which no person ever quitted alive.

Benvenuto points out how appropriate is this comparison, for Dante, like a shipwrecked mariner, having escaped from the bitter ocean of the world, and after struggling through so many billows of vice,

"Quand' e' si fece un di la scapponata

In Pian Mugnone, il vidi stralunare, E sentii ch' e' diceva: Ella mi guata." Anton Maria Salvini (Annotazioni sopra la Fiera e la Tancia di M. A. Buonarroti il giovane, Firenze, 1726, folio) in a note explains guata: "Cioè mi guarda spesso, e vagheggia. Non isdegnò d' usare questa parola, che si usa in contado, per la forza di sua proprietà, il nostro Dante in questo verso: Si volge all' acqua perigliosa e guata; cioè guarda con istupore; e appunto gli amanti così guardano presi di maraviglia.

\* l' animo . . . che ancor fuggiva : Compare Homer, Iliad, iii, 33-35, where is most vividly expressed the terror of Paris on meeting Menelaus in battle:

> "'Ως δ' ότε τίς τε δράκοντα ίδων παλίνορσος απέστη Οὔρεος ἐν βήσσης ὑπό τε τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα, "Αψ τ' ἀνεχώρησεν, ὧχρος τέ μιν εἶλε παρειάς."

+ Che non lasciò et seq. : Compare Jer. ii, 6 : "The Lord . . that led us through the wilderness, through a land of deserts and of pits; through a land of drought, and of the shadow of death; through a land that no man passed through, and where no man dwelt." Compare Rom. viii, 6: "For to be carnally minded is death; but to be spiritually minded is life and peace." Compare Conv. iv, 7, ll. 119, 120: "vivere nell'uomo è ragione usare." Compare also Spenser, Faerie Queen, Book I, Canto v, st. 31:

> "There creature never past, That backe returned without heavenly grace."

had at length reached the quiet haven of virtue, and was looking back in anguish at the mortal peril to his soul in which he had so long remained.

Castelvetro thinks that in one respect Dante was unlike the shipwrecked mariner, in that it was not with his body that he turned to look back upon the danger which he had escaped, but only with his mind and his awe-stricken thoughts.

Dante now compares himself to a traveller, who, having taken a short rest at the foot of the mountain, girds himself up to commence the ascent.

> Poi ch' ei \* posato un poco il corpo lasso, Ripresi via per la piaggia diserta, Sì che il piè fermo sempre era il più basso; † 30

" Però m' ei dipartuto Da essa, e qua venuto."

Dante da Majano:

"Che mai in ciò non ei consideranza."

Cino da Pistoja:

"Or foss' io morto quando la mirai, Che non hei poi se non dolore e pianto."

+ St che il piè fermo sempre era il più basso: I cannot agree with some English Commentators who hold that because mano stanca signifies "left hand," ergo, piè fermo must signify "right foot." There is no sort of evidence that I can find that it ever was so understood among the old Commentators, all of whom, with the exception of the Ottimo and Lana, express some opinion, and almost invariably that the words are to be taken in the allegorical sense, of the upper foot signifying man's affection for things heavenly, the lower foot for things earthly (see Pietro di Dante; Falso Boccaccio; Anonimo Fiorentino; Codice Cassinese; Buti, etc.).

<sup>\*</sup>ei, from ere, for avere, stands here for ebbi. Nannucci (Analisi Critica dei Verbi Italiani, Firenze, 1843, 8vo, 499, § 9) gives the following: "Da ere sono: ei, este, ee o è, emmo, este, erono, ero, eno o enno." The expression is frequent among old Italian writers, e.g. Fra Guittone:

After that I had for a while rested my weary body, I resumed my way over the lonely steep, in such wise that the lower foot was always the firmly planted one.

Benvenuto explains that whereas in plain language (simpliciter loquendo) the lower foot of a man ascending a hill is always the one upon which his whole body is supported, in the moral or allegorical sense the lower foot means love, which was dragging Dante down to the lower things of earth (ad inferiora terrena), and this lower foot was more firmly planted and more powerful than the upper foot, which also means love, but the love that tends to things on high. Benvenuto says the line must be taken in the following order: sicchè il piè più basso sempre era il fermo, which translated would be: "So that the lower foot was always the firm one." Likewise Serravalle: " "Per pedem inferiorem intellige amorem terrenorum: superior significat amorem supernorum. Modo vult dicere auctor, quod amor terrenorum trahebat eum ad vallem fortius quam pes superior, idest quam amor supernorum trahebat eum ad superna." Lubin remarks that the passage must undoubtedly be taken in its allegorical sense, the feet signifying the affections.+

t We find many instances of the feet used to signify the affections, as well in the works of Dante, as in those of the theologians. Compare Purg. xviii, 43-45:

<sup>\*</sup> Translatio et Comentum totius libri Dantis Aldigherii Fratris Johannis de Serravalle cum textu Italico Fratris Bartholomaei a Colle, nunc primum edita. Prato, 1891, 1 vol., folio.

<sup>&</sup>quot;'Chè s' amore è di fuori a noi offerto, E l'anima non va con altro piede, Se dritta o torta va, non è suo merto.'" And Par. iii, 27:

Division III.—Dante now relates how his advance up the mountain is opposed by three wild beasts, namely, a Leopard, a Lion and a Wolf, who seek to hinder him from carrying out his good intentions.

> Ed ecco, quasi al cominciar dell' erta, Una lonza \* leggiera e presta molto, Che di pel maculato era coperta.

"Poi sopra il vero ancor lo piè non fida."

And Par. v, 6:
"Così nel bene appreso move il piede."
"In E

Also St. Gregory (quoted by Lubin as being "In Ezek. Hom. 14"; but I cannot verify the reference): "Post agnitionem suavitatis Dei unus in nobis pes sanus remanet, atque alius claudicat. Omnis quippe qui uno pede claudicat, soli illi pedi innititur, quem sanum habet : quia et cui terrenum desiderium jam arefactum fuerit, in solo pede amoris Dei tota virtute se sustinet, et in ipso stat; quia pedem amoris seculi, quem ponere in terra consueverat, jam a terra suspensum portat." Lubin remarks that Dante expresses the converse of this: his firmly planted foot was the downward one; that is, his love for the things of this world was still strongest in him. "Pes animae amor est; qui si rectus est, dicitur charitas, si curvus, dicitur cupiditas." (St. Augustine (?), quoted by Lubin.) Richard de St. Victor (Part I, Lib. i, 33) observes that when with our affections we follow after sensual pleasures, or, on the other hand, seek intelligently to avoid them, are we not struggling to walk with our two feet, first one way, and then the other; now to the right, now to the left, in order to open for ourselves the way to our desires which lies between prosperity and adversity?

\*lonza: Benvenuto, after discussing at great length the different meanings claimed for lonza, namely, lynx, panther or leopard, decides emphatically for the last [pardus] as follows: "Credo tamen quod autor potius intelligat hic de pardo, quam de aliis, tum quia proprietates pardi magis videntur convenire luxuriae [sensuality], ut patet ex dictis, tum quia istud vocabulum florentinum lonza videtur magis importare pardum, quam aliam feram. Unde, dum semel portaretur quidam pardus per Florentiam, pueri concurrentes clamabant: vide lonciam, ut nihi narrabat suavissimus Boccatius de Certaldo." The whole passage relating to the three beasts may be compared to Jerem. v, 6: "Wherefore a lion out of the forest shall slay them,

And behold, almost at the commencement of the ascent, a Leopard, light and exceedingly nimble, which was covered with a spotted hide.

Nearly all the ancient, and many of the modern Commentators, take the Leopard as a symbol of concupiscence of the flesh, or Sensuality. Some have considered it to mean Florence, and its variegated hide to refer to the factions of the Bianchi and Neri.

It would appear from the remarkable passage in Inf. xvi,\* that Dante had at this point made an attempt to capture the Leopard with the cord that was about his waist. This Lombardi interprets as signifying that Dante had endeavoured to restrain his sensual appetites by girding himself with the Franciscan cord.

Benvenuto considers the comparison of the two passages to be a distinct proof that the Leopard signifies Sensuality, and not Vain Glory, as some have supposed.

Benvenuto begs his readers here to notice that Dante pictures only three wild beasts as opposing

and a wolf of the evenings shall spoil them, a leopard shall watch over their cities." Compare also Habakkuk i, 8: "Their horses are swifter than the leopards, and are more fierce than the evening wolves."

<sup>\*</sup> See Inf. xvi, 106-108:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Io aveva una corda intorno cinta, E con essa pensai alcuna volta Prender la lonza alle pelle dipinta."

See also Inf. xxvii, 67, 68:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Io fui uom d' arme, e poi fui cordelliero, Credendomi, sì cinto, fare ammenda."

his progress towards the hill of virtue, for there are three principal vices which commonly assail Man at three different periods of his life, namely, Sensuality in youth, Pride or Ambition in manhood, and Avarice or Cupidity in old age.

Dante finds it impossible to evade the attacks of the Leopard.

> E non mi si partia dinanzi al volto; Anzi impediva tanto il mio cammino, Ch' io fui per ritornar più volte vôlto.\*

35

And it would not withdraw from before my face; nay, rather it was impeding my way so much, that many times did I turn round to retrace my steps.

Benvenuto observes that in good sooth Dante fought hard against the malady of Sensuality. He is so assailed by it now, that he turns again and again, being tempted to fall back into his former life of sin.

Dante now defines the time at which he commences his journey through the regions of eternity, about which there is much disagreement among the different Commentators. Having first described the time of day and the season of the year, he next relates how there appeared to him a second wild beast, namely, a Lion, which is supposed to be a figure of Pride or Ambition, but politically, is thought to refer to the Royal House of France.

<sup>\*</sup> per ritornar . . . volto: In Rom. vii, 21, St. Paul says: "I find then a law, that, when I would do good, evil is present with me."

## Canto I. Readings on the Inferno.

17

Tempo era dal \* principio del mattino; E il sol montava su con quelle stelle Ch' eran con lui, quando l' amor divino Mosse da prima quelle cose belle; † 40 Sì che a bene sperar m' era cagione Di quella fera alla ‡ gaietta pelle,

\* dal principio: "dal" is here equivalent for "al."

t cose belle: Compare Purg. xiv, 148, 149, where in two exceptionally beautiful lines Virgil says to Dante:

"Chiamavi il cielo, e intorno vi si gira,
Mostrandovi le sue bellezze eterne."
In the Commentary of Di Siena I find the following quotation from Maserello da Todi, which is not however in the copy of the Poeti del Primo Secolo which I possess; where Christ addressing the sinner, says:

> "Io feci cielo, sole, luna e stelle, Come con gli occhi tuoi tu puoi vedere Ed altre cose, che son vie più belle Perchè tu le venissi a possedere."

t alla gaietta pelle: Dr. Moore (Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia, Cambridge, 1889, 1 vol., 8vo, pp. 259-262) observes that the reading alla gaietta, though found in comparatively few MSS.—(in about 1 in 6 as compared with la gaietta—is still probably the true one, because the general sense of the passage is better suited by it. "How could the panther's gay and spotted hide be a ground of hope in any case? On the other hand, everything falls into its place when (reading alla) we interpret, that the brightness of the early dawn, and the sweet spring tide caused Dante to have a good hope of overcoming the beast with the gaietta pelle. On this, and many other grounds, an original alla is more likely to have altered Serravalle reads la gaietta, and transinto la than vice versa. lates accordingly, but interprets as though it were alla gaietta; "Dabat mihi bonam spem vincendi bestiam pellis maculate, sive gaiete pellis."

There is much discrepancy among the older Commentators as to whether gaietta ought to be interpreted "beautiful" or Cayley translates "comely-checkered skin," " variegated." which certainly represents the opinion of some of the old

Commentators. Compare Virg. Æn. i, 323: " maculosae tegmine lyncis."

Boccaccio and Gelli, both Florentines, understand "beautiful," and I follow them.

45

L' ora del tempo, e la dolce stagione : Ma non sì, che paura non mi desse La vista che mi apparve d' un leone. Questi parea che contra me venesse Con la test' alta \* e con rabbiosa fame. Sì che parea che l' aer ne temesse: †

The time was at the opening of the morn; and the Sun was mounting upwards with those stars which were with him, when Divine Love first set in motion (i.e. created) those beauteous things; so that the hour of the day (the morning), and the delightful season (the Spring) gave me good cause of hope respecting that beast with the beautiful skin: yet not so much, but that there filled me with affright the aspect of a Lion which appeared to me. He seemed to be coming against me with head upreared, and with raging hunger, so that the air appeared to be in fear of him.

We will take it that the day was Good Friday; the season, the Spring; and that the Sun was in

"Troppa è più la paura, ond' è sospesa anima mia, del tormento di sotto, Che già lo incarco di laggiù mi pesa. In Par. ix, 50 he says of the pride of Riccardo da Camino: "Tal signoreggia e va con la testa alta," etc.

+ temesse: Dr. Moore (Text. Crit. p. 263) finds this reading in 187 MSS., and tremesse or tremasse in 21. The latter seems to him the more obvious and commonplace reading, and therefore more likely to have been substituted for temesse than vice versa. See also Moore's Studies in Dante i, p. 222, § 20: "It is not impossible that the expression in Ovid, Met. xiii, 406: 'latratu terruit auras,' may have suggested this use of temesse, and it might in that case be held to support the reading temesse against tremesse, especially as we know from Inf. xxx, 16-21 that this passage in the Metamorphoses was familiar to Dante."

<sup>\*</sup> la test' alta: Pride was Dante's own besetting sin; he was proud of his learning, of his descent, and of his association with distinguished personages. In Purg. xiii, 136-138, he confesses his fear that this sin will have to be chastened after death:

Aries. Benvenuto remarks that, according to the opinion of the astrologers and theologians, God in the beginning placed the Sun in Aries, in which sign of the Zodiac we get the Spring: that when the Sun enters into Aries, he touches the circle of the Equinox, and becomes temperate to us; and that the time when he begins gradually to ascend is when it seems good for us to commence any undertaking, for he (the Sun) must necessarily increase, and proceed from good to better.

Benvenuto further remarks that before the Creation the stars were motionless, although that is not in accordance with the opinion of Aristotle, who contended that motion and the world were both eternal.

Although Dante had good hope of overcoming the Leopard (Sensuality), his hope diminished again at the sudden apparition of the Lion (Pride or Ambition), for Fear is contrary to Hope, in that it applies to future evil. And the Lion comes against Dante con la testa alta, in the true attitude of the proud ambitious man, who walks with his head held lofty, and aims at high things. It comes with the rage of hunger, for the appetite of the ambitious man is never sated, he is greedy after everything, and seeks to get all things under his feet, on which account he often enters into a fury that resembles madness.

Dante now describes the third Beast, which is a She-Wolf, usually taken to be a symbol of Avarice or Cupidity. He mentions it last, because, in Benvenuto's opinion, when old age comes upon man, his other vices grow old, but only Avarice remains in its prime, and as the Wolf is the most voracious and

. .

50

insatiable of all beasts, so is Avarice inordinate in its unbridled rapacity. Those who have sought to give a political sense to the allegory maintain that the Wolf stands here for the Papal Court.

> Ed una lupa,\* che di tutte brame Sembiava carca + nella sua magrezza, E molte genti fe' già viver grame.

And a She-Wolf, that in her leanness appeared to be laden with all cravings, and many has she ere now caused to live in sorrow.

Dante, having spoken of the injury the Wolf has done to others, now relates how it molested and terrified him.

> Questa mi porse tanto di gravezza Con la paura che uscia di sua vista, Ch' io perdei la speranza dell' altezza.

She brought me such a weight (of care) with the terror that issued from the sight of her, that I lost the hope of attaining the height.

\*lupa: In Purg. xx, 10-12, Dante thus speaks of Avarice: "Maledetta sie tu, antica lupa, Che più di tutte l' altre bestie hai preda,

Per la tua fame senza fine cupa!"

The three beasts are therefore symbols of the three principal classes of sins mentioned in 1 John ii, 16: "For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world." Inf. vii, 8, 9, Virgil thus addresses Plutus, the god of riches:

. . . 'Taci, maledetto lupo: Consuma dentro te con la tua rabbia."

+ Sembiava carca: Compare I Tim. vi, 9, 10: "But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil; which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows." Compare also Juvenal, Sat. xiv, 139: "Crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crevit."

Benvenuto points out how Dante completes his account of the effect of this terror by aptly comparing himself to a merchant, who, travelling over sea and land in the hope of becoming rich, if he falls among robbers, pirates, rocks, or any other unforeseen mischances, deplores his hard lot, and laments having expended so much toil and so much wealth in vain; and thereupon losing all hope, abandons the journey he had commenced. Dante, grieving over his wasted efforts, yielding to the attack of the wild beasts, and losing all hope of reaching his goal, begins to fall back into the Valley of Sin.

giunge

E quale è quei che volontieri acquista,\*

E giugne il tempo che perder lo face,
Che in tutt' i suoi pensier piange † s'attrista:

Tal mi fece la bestia senza pace, ‡
Che venendomi incontro, a poco a poco
Mi ripingeva là, dove il Sol tace. §

60

\*che volontieri acquista: This is an idiom. Volontieri acquistare means "esser desideroso di guadagnare." See Fraticelli and Brunone Bianchi, both Florentines.

tin tutt' i suoi pensier piange: The gamester's grief is the grief of lost hope, of disappointed expectation, which does not find vent in tears, but which eats up his very soul. Compare a passage in the Rime of Guido Cavalcanti:

"L' anima mia dolente, e paurosa Piange nei sospiri, che nel cor trova."

And Cino da Pistoja in the Rime Antiche:
"Lasso! di poi mi pianse ogni pensiero

Nella mente dogliosa.

† la bestia senza pace: Biagioli remarks that no epithet or expression can better render the restless state of a wolf. Some have placed senza pace between two commas, applying the words to Dante himself.

§ il Sol tace: Fraticelli says that tacere in its figurative sense

And as is he, who is eager for gain, and the time comes which makes him lose, and he weeps and is sorrowful in all his thoughts: such made me that beast ever restless, which advancing against me, was gradually forcing me back to that place (the dark wood) where the Sun is silent (i.e. gives no light).

Castelvetro remarks that while the Leopard really impeded Dante's progress, the other two beasts terrify him, and the last one (the Wolf) to the extent of making him despair.\*

Division IV.—Dante now relates that while he is being thus molested by the three beasts, and is gradually relapsing into his former blind condition of ignorance and sin, there suddenly appears before him one who is to put to flight the clouds that overwhelm his soul. This is the shade of the Poet Virgil, who, representing Natural or Human Know-

signifies to cease from one's accustomed operations. Compare Inf. v, 95, 96:

"e parleremo a vui, Mentrechè il vento, come fa, ci tace."

And ibid. v, 28:

"Io venni in loco d' ogni luce muto."

Compare also Virg. An. ii, 255:

"per amica silentia Lunae."

And Pliny (Nat. Hist. lib. xvi, cap. xxxix, sec. 74) says that the day of the Moon's conjunction with the Sun is sometimes called "dies silentis lunae." And Milton, Samson Agonistes, 86:

"The sun to me is dark
And silent as the moon,
When she deserts the night,
Hid in her vacant interlunar cave."

<sup>\*</sup> Landino observes on these last lines: "Per questa cura de le cose momentanee e transitorie l'animo aggravato perde la leggereza del montare. E da quella è ripinto dove non è sole: cioè dove regna solo l'appetito e la sensualità piena d'ignorantia e di tenebre e dove el sole de la ragione non luce."

ledge, is to be Dante's guide through Hell and Purgatory. Benvenuto remarks that some have objected that Virgil, who was in Hell, should have been able to guide Dante through Purgatory, with which he was neither acquainted in life, not having the true Faith, nor yet in death, seeing that he was condemned to Hell. But Human Knowledge is acquainted with virtue and vice, rewards and punishments, which are described in the Inferno and in the Purgatorio both in their moral and in their poetical sense.

Whenever in Purgatory any matters are touched upon which are beyond the province of Human Knowledge, Dante puts them into the mouth of Statius, who accompanies him and Virgil. In accordance with the fiction of Statius having become a Christian, as Dante makes him relate (Purg. xxii, 55-93), he would be better fitted for this duty than Virgil.

> Mentre ch' io rovinava \* in basso loco, Dinanzi agli occhi mi si fu offerto Chi per lungo silenzio + parea fioco. 1

\*rovinava: The primary meaning of rovinare as given in the Gran Dizionario is "Cader precipitosamente o con impeto d'alto in basso." Compare Inf. xx, 33-36:

"Perch' ei gridavan tutti: 'Dove rui, Anfiarao? perchè lasci la guerra?' E non restò di ruinare a valle

Fino a Minòs, che ciascheduno afferra." See also Prov. iv, 19 (Vulgate): "Via impiorum tenebrosa, nesciunt ubi currunt."

t per lungo silenzio: This is probably an allusion to the great neglect of classical studies in the period which preceded the time of Dante.

fioco: "debole per aver molto taciuto." (Fraticelli). Moore (Studies in Dante, 1st series, p. 181) is very decidedly in favour

While I was stumbling down into the region below (i.e. the valley of sin), there was presented to me before mine eyes one who from long silence appeared faint of voice.

Benvenuto thinks that it was in truth a silence of a very considerable duration, seeing that it had lasted 1300 years! The illuminating voice of Reason (represented here by Virgil) is, or at the first awakening of the sinner seems to be, so low that he can hardly distinguish its accents; but after a while it becomes more loud and distinct according as man shakes off his slumber of sin.

Dante appeals to the new comer for pity and assistance.

Quand' io vidi costui nel gran diserto,\*

-" Miserere di me,"-gridai a lui,

-" Qual che tu sii, od ombra od uomo certo."-

of "feeble," and against "hoarse." Nearly all the old Commentators understand the word to mean "hoarse," but a few interpret it, as I think rightly, to express weakness of voice. "Quasi deletum ex longa taciturnitate et tenuis ac modice sonoritatis quia dudum fuerat ex vita sublatus." (Bambaglioli). "Possiamo anchora dire che Virgilio parea fioco per lungo silenzio, perchè insino a Dante era stata la lingua latina molti secoli male intesa, e quasi in silenzio, e maxime Virgilio." (Landino). See Dante's use of fioco in the sense of "weak" in Inf. iii, 75, fioco lume, "dim light"; Inf. xxxi, 13, avrebbe ogni tuon fatto fioco, "would have made any thunder weak"; xxxiv, 22, divenni allor gelato e fioco; Par. xi, 133, se le mie parole son fioche; and Par. xxxiii, 121:

"O quanto è corto il dire, e come fioco

Al mio concetto!" See also Virg. Æn. vi, 492, 493:

"Pars tollere vocem Exiguam," etc.
\* nel gran diserto: Compare Deut. xxxii, 10: "He found him in a desert land, and in the waste howling wilderness; he led him about, he instructed him, he kept him as the apple of his

When I beheld him (Virgil) in the great desert: "Have pity upon me," cried I unto him, "whoe'er thou art, whether shade or real man."

Virgil tells Dante who he was in life, as well as his parentage, province and country.

Risposemi:—" Non uomo, uomo già fui,
E li parenti miei furon Lombardi,\*
Mantovani† per patria ambo e dui.
Nacqui sub Julio, ‡ ancorchè fosse tardi,
E vissi a Roma sotto il buon Augusto,
Al tempo degli Dei falsi e bugiardi.

70

\* li parenti miei furon Lombardi: Dr. Moore (Text. Crit. p. 342) observes that Dante's practice in the anachronistic use of national titles is curious, and throws light upon the interpretation of [several] passages, e.g. Troiani for Romani (Inf. xxviii, 10); Conv. iv, 5, Il. 161-163, where the attack on the Capitol by the Gauls is curiously described as "quando li Franceschi... prendeano di furto Campidoglio." And probably Arabi for Carthaginians (Par. vi, 49). In his Studies in Dante, second series p. 2, note, Dr. Moore says: "As a characteristic specimen of captious and flippant criticism, we may quote his [Voltaire's] comment on Inf. i, 68, where Virgil says 'li parenti miei furon Lombardi': 'C'est précisément comme si Homère disait qu'il était né Turc.'—Surely," adds Dr. Moore, "we may fairly apply to such a writer the scornful protest of Tennyson:

'Vex not thou the poet's mind
With thy shallow wit.
Vex not thou the poet's mind,
For thou canst not fathom it.'"

+ Mantovani: Compare Purg. vi, 72-75, where Virgil and Sordello, both Lombards, embrace each other upon the former

merely uttering the single word "Mantua . . . .

† Nacqui sub Julio: Virgil really was born B c. 70, during the censorship of Pompey and Crassus, when Julius Cæsar was away in Gaul, but in the Middle Ages, Julius Cæsar was commonly held to have been the first Roman Emperor, and therefore Dante makes Virgil say that, though he was born in the reign of Julius Cæsar, it was too late in his reign for him to be able to say that he lived under him, or to be known by him. And he says it with regret, as Cæsar gave great honour to distinguished men of letters.

Poeta fui, e cantai di quel giusto \* Figliuol d' Anchise, che venne da Troia, Poichè il superbo Ilion fu combusto. †

75

He answered me: "Not a man (any longer), a man I was formerly, and my parents were Lombards, both of them Mantuans by country. I was born under Julius (Caesar), though it was late (in his life-time), and I dwelt at Rome under the good Augustus, in the time of the false and lying gods. I was a Poet, and I sang of that just son of Anchises (Æneas), who came from Troy after proud Ilion had been burnt.

Why did Dante select Virgil as his guide through the regions of Hell and Purgatory? Three reasons may be given: (1) because, as he tells us in the lines that follow, he had always considered Virgil his master in language, and had set him before himself as the model of a Poet whom he might imitate; (2) Virgil was regarded in the Middle Ages both as a prophet of the Redeemer, and of the universal Empire of Rome (see Readings on the Purgatorio, second edition, vol. ii, pp. 242-244); and (3) in the Middle Ages, when Homer was scarcely known, Virgil was the only poet who was known to have written a description of a descent into the Infernal Regions.

Benvenuto remarks that Virgil questions Dante somewhat sharply as to why he returns to his sins like a dog to his vomit, and seems to say: "Thou

<sup>\*</sup>quel giusto: In Æn. i, 544, 545, Virgil speaks of Æneas:

"Rex erat Æneas nobis, quo justior alter,
Nec pietate fuit nec bello major et armis."

til superbo Ilion fu combusto: Compare An. iii, 2, 3:
"ceciditque superbum
Ilium, et omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troja."

85

canst well understand from my words who I am, but why do I find thee, whom I know well, in the act of relapsing into this vale of sin?"

Ma tu\* perchè ritorni a tanta noia?

Perchè non sali il dilettoso monte,

Ch' è principio e cagion di tutta gioia?"—

But thou, why art thou turning back to so much trouble, why dost thou not ascend the mountain of delights which is the beginning and the cause of every joy?"

Dante replies: first expressing his astonishment and delight at meeting Virgil; then pointing out to him the danger in which he finds himself, and imploring his protection.

-"Or se' tu quel Virgilio, e quella fonte
Che spande di parlar sì largo fiume?"

80
Risposi lui † con vergognosa fronte.

—" O degli altri poeti onore e lume, Vagliami il lungo studio e il grande amore, Che m' ha fatto cercar lo tuo volume.

Tu se' lo mio maestro e il mio autore:

Tu se' solo colui, da cui io tolsi

Lo bello stile 1 che m' ha fatto onore.

\* Ma tu, etc.: It is probably at this point of Virgil's speech that Dante notices in him that gentle expression to which he alludes in Inf. xxiv, 20, 21:

"Lo Duca a me si volse con quel piglio Dolce, ch' io vidi prima a piè del monte."

† Risposi lui: Benvenuto reads rispuosi io a lui. The a is used by all non-Tuscan Italians, but Dante was a Tuscan, and would certainly have used the expression risposi lui rather than risposi io a lui. Benvenuto says that Dante was ashamed because men are wont to be so, when convicted of an error before their superiors.

Lo bello stile: Dante had already won for himself an

honourable name by his lyric poetry.

Vedi la bestia,\* per cui io mi volsi: Aiutami da lei, famoso saggio, Ch' ella mi fa tremar le vene + e i polsi."-

"Art thou then that Virgil, and that fountain-head that pours forth so vast a flood of eloquence?" replied I unto him with abashed countenance, "O glory and light of other poets, may the long zeal and the intense affection, that has made me unfold thy volume, (now) avail me. Thou art my master and my author: thou alone art he from whom I have derived the pure style which has done me honour. Behold the Beast (the Wolf), for which I turned back, protect me from her, Illustrious Sage, for she makes my veins and my pulses to tremble."

From this last line Biagioli absurdly contends that Dante must have had a kind of foreknowledge of the circulation of the blood, the discovery of which, in later times, was to render immortal the name of Harvey.

Division V.—In this portion of the Canto we have Virgil's answer to Dante's petition for assistance, his prophecy as to a mysterious personage who is to be the saviour of Italy, and his advice to Dante to accept his guidance through the regions of Hell and Purgatory, after which a blessed spirit will guide him still higher.

Benvenuto says that many might object that Dante should be told by Virgil that he will have to travel

<sup>\*</sup> la bestia: Dante only mentions one beast from the moment when Virgil appears, although three had opposed his progress. t le vene e i polsi: Compare Inf. xiii, 62, 63:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Fede portai al glorioso offizio, Tanto ch' io ne perdei lo sonno e i polsi." [which some read le vene e i polsi.]

by a different way from what he is doing, when he is in fact striving to walk in the best path up the mountain, namely, the way of virtue.\* Virgil's meaning probably is that he will guide Dante to Hell through the valley of sin into which Dante was receding; the time has not yet come for ascending the mountain, for a man cannot with any success go from one extreme to another, and from being a sinner become a saint in an instant of time. Rather must he go by degrees, first descending into Hell, that is, to the self-conviction for his sins. Such conviction is the beginning of penitence, and, if evil be not recognised, it cannot be avoided. He must first see his sins in Hell, and then expiate them in Purgatory, or he will not be fit to ascend to the Hill of Virtue.

—" A te convien tenere altro viaggio,"—† Rispose, poi che lagrimar mi vide,

\*Virgil had begun by asking Dante (l. 77):

"Perchè non sali il dilettoso monte?"

We shall see however in ll. 114 et seq. that he has changed his purpose concerning Dante, for he then says:

"E trarrotti di qui per loco eterno, Ove udirai le disperate strida Di quegli antichi spiriti dolenti,

Che la seconda morte ciascun grida."
Beatrice also (Purg. xxx, 136-138) shows that the desperate spiritual abasement in which Virgil found Dante had necessitated a different mode of treatment:

"Tanto giù cadde, che tutti argomenti Alla salute sua eran già corti, Fuor che mostrargli le perdute genti."

+ tenere altro viaggio: Man cannot arrive at the truth until he has acquired a conviction of error. See Boëthius, Philos. Consol. iii. Metr. 1:

Consol. iii, Metr. 1:
"Tu quoque falsa tuens bona prius
Incipe colla jugo retrahere.
Vera dehinc animum subierint."

95

—" Se vuoi campar d' esto loco selvaggio:
Che questa bestia, per la qual tu gride,
Non lascia altrui passar per la sua via,
Ma tanto lo impedisce che l' uccide:
Ed ha natura sì malvagia e ria,
Che mai non empie la bramosa voglia,
E dopo il pasto ha più fame che pria.

"Thou must journey by a different path," he answered, when he saw me weep, "if thou wouldst escape from this desolate spot. Because this Beast, on account of which thou criest (for help), allows no other men to pass her way, but so hinders them that she slays them. And she has a nature so malevolent and evil, that never does she glut her insatiable appetite, and, after her food, is more hungry than before.

We have now before us one of the most disputed passages in the whole of the *Divina Commedia*, one, as to the meaning of which the greatest authorities have ever been in entire discord with one another.

The following are the principal opinions as to the identity of the person signified by the Veltro, or Grey-

- (1) Our Lord Jesus Christ. This view is supported by Benvenuto and Pietro di Dante; and it must be remembered that in the Middle Ages there was a very prevalent belief in the second coming of Our Lord, and that at no distant period. Boccaccio strongly dissents from this view.
  - (2) A determinate Pope-Benedict XI.
  - (3) An indeterminate Pope.
- (4) A determinate Emperor Henry VII of Luxembourg.

- (5) An ideal Emperor-indeterminate.
- (6) Some great Ghibelline leader, but no one special personage.
- (7) The famous Ghibelline leader Uguccione della Faggiuola. This is contended at great length by Count Carlo Troya (Veltro Allegorico di Dante, Firenze, 1826).

(8) Can Grande della Scala, Lord of Verona.

- (9) Other Ghibelline leaders, such as Louis of Bavaria, Matteo Visconti, Cino da Pistoja, Botticello Buonacasso of Mantua, or Castruccio Castracani.
- (10) Dante himself, and his Poem. This view was first propounded by Missirini (Vita di Dante, Milano, 1844); and later on by Count Ruggero della Torre (Poeta-Veltro, Cividale, 1887).
- (II) A person of lowly birth, an idea supported by Boccaccio, born tra feltro e feltro, "between felt and felt," i.e. in the garb of poverty (in quanto questa spesie di panno è oltre ad ogni altra vilissima).

Tommaséo remarks that it is a well-known fact that every interpreter of Dante tries to slip his own collar on to the famous "Greyhound" (Veltro).

Père J. Berthier (La Divina Commedia, Freiburg [Switzerland], 1892) contends that Dante took the idea of his Veltro, and perhaps also of the three Beasts, from the celebrated Chanson de Roland, in which on two occasions a Greyhound appears in a dream to Charlemagne to fight against a panther and a bear.

Dean Church wrote to me in 1889: "The Veltro, I fear, is hopeless: nothing better can be suggested

than Can Grande. But Dante himself must come to explain tra Feltro e Feltro." \*

In so far as I myself venture to have any opinion on the subject, I rely chiefly on Par. xvii, and prefer to think that Dante, who had set his heart on an ideal Emperor yet to be discovered, had cast his eyes upon Can Grande of Verona, a vouth possessing such regal qualities that no elevation in dignity seemed beyond his reach. His dominions were to be tra Feltro e Feltro, the one being Feltre a city of Friuli, and the other the mountain district of Montefeltro in the Romagna. It is a fact that the entire plain of the Po, which came under the dominion of Can Grande after his victory over the Paduans in 1314, actually did thus lie between Feltro and Feltro. This view was first pointed out by Vellutello.

Since writing this latter part of the first Canto of my second edition, I received the sad news of the sudden death at Fahrwangen, Aargau, on the 10th February, 1901, of my friend Dr. J. A. Scartazzini, to whom all writers on Dante owe so much. There is a touching tribute to his memory in the Allgemeine Zeitung of Munich (15th February, 1901) by the distinguished Dantist and Theologian Professor Franz Xavier Kraus.

<sup>\*</sup> In my first edition I quoted Dr. Scartazzini's views on the subject, as well as extracts from the notes of his commentaries, and a long letter kindly written to me by that learned Commentator 20th Jan. 1893. In his latest edition however of the Inferno (Leipzig, 1900), he sums up the pros and cons as follows: "Queste diverse interpretazioni, difese alle volte con grande energia, parlano da sé. Dal canto nostro crediamo di dover lasciare la questione indecisa, la scienza non avendo ancora tanto in mano da poterla decidere."

While among all these discrepant views most people have thought that the Veltro in this passage, and DXV in Purgatorio xxxiii, refer to one and the same person, there has recently (14th February, 1901) appeared a most interesting monograph by Dr. Moore, entitled, The DXV Prophecy in the Divina Commedia. In it he contends that by the mysterious Messo di Dio an Emperor is undoubtedly signified, and most probably Henry VII of Luxembourg, while he admits that the Veltro prophecy has a much more limited range, as this Veltro is to be the saviour of prostrate Italy, and will purge her cities in succession of the presence of the Wolf, whatever that may mean. Dr. Moore speaks of Can Grande as the most commonly accepted signification of the Veltro, and does not argue against such an interpretation.

The mysterious Veltro is now mentioned, his mission against the She-Wolf, his indifference to wealth, and his much disputed birthplace.

Molti son gli animali a cui s' ammoglia.

E più saranno ancora, infin che il veltro
Verrà, che la farà morir con doglia.

Questi non ciberà terra nè peltro,\*

Ma sapïenza e amore e virtute,

<sup>\*</sup> non ciberà terra nè peltro: Compare Par. xvii, 83, 87, where Cacciaguida predicts of Can Grande:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Parran faville della sua virtute
In non curar d'argento nè d'affanni.
Le sue magnificenze conosciute
Saranno ancora sì, che i suoi nimici
Non ne potran tener le lingue mute."
(See Readings on the Paradiso, vol. ii, pp. 19-23.)

Di quell' umile Italia † fia salute,

Per cui morì vergine Cammilla, †

Eurialo, e Turno, e Niso di ferute:

Many are the animals with whom she is wedded, and more will there be yet, until there shall come the Greyhound, who will make her die of grief. He will not nourish himself on territories nor on riches, but on wisdom and love and virtue, and the place of his birth will be between Feltro and Feltro. He shall be the salvation of that (now) humbled Italy, for which the maid Camilla, Euryalus, Turnus, and Nisus died of wounds.

There are different versions as to the meaning of quell' umile Italia. Some contend that the words are spoken ironically, and signify "that proud land." Others take them literally, as "poor degraded Italy," now fallen from its high estate, and this interpretation I have adopted. Others again consider it to refer to the low-lying plains of Lombardy, and to be simply "the Lowlands of Italy."

Virgil now goes on to speak of the war that the Greyhound will wage against the She-Wolf.

+ umile Italia: Compare in Purg. vi, 76 et seq. Dante's magnificent denunciation of the abasement of the Italy of his time. Compare also Virg. Æn. iii, 522: "humilemque videmus

Italiam."

<sup>\*</sup>sua nazion, etc.: According to Gelli, who follows Vellutello in taking the Veltro to signify Can Grande, sua nazion would mean Verona, where he was born: "significando il luogo dove egli nacque, che fu in Verona città della Marca Trivisana; posta, benchè alquanto lontano, tra Feltro di Romagna, altrimenti Monte Feltro, e Feltro città tra l'Alpi e Trevisi, vicina alla Concordia."

<sup>†</sup> Cammilla, Eurialo, e Turno, e Niso: Camilla, Euryalus, Turnus and Nisus are all characters in the Æneid. Benvenuto devotes many pages to them.

Questi la caccerà per ogni villa,\*

Fin che l' avrà rimessa nello inferno,
Là onde invidia † prima dipartilla.

110

He shall chase her through every city, until he have put her back into Hell, there whence the first Envy sent her forth.

The Envy is that of Satan with respect to Man in the Garden of Paradise. Benvenuto thinks it is

\*caccerà per ogni villa: The Veltro was to be the liberator or salvation of Italy. In Par. xvii, 89, 90, Dante says of Can Grande:—

"Per lui fia trasmutata molta gente, Cambiando condizion ricchi e mendici."

Moreover, after the death of Henry VII, Can Grande became the Imperial Vicar, and was the representative of the Imperial power and authority in Italy; and although it may appear a somewhat exaggerated hope that either the Emperor or his Vicar would be able to destroy Concupiscence, yet it is evident from Dante's own words in De Mon. i, passim, that he did entertain such a hope in his ideal of a monarch. And if Can Grande was the Vicar of the universal monarch, and if he had already rendered himself deserving of the encomiums lavished upon him in Par. xvii, Dante might well found his hopes upon him. Villa is for città. In Inf. xxiii, 95, it is used to speak of Florence:—

"Sopra il bel fiume d' Arno alla gran villa."

And in Purg. xv, 97-99:-

". . . 'Se tu se' sire della villa,

Del cui nome ne' Dei fu tanta lite, Ed onde ogni scienza disfavilla."

And Purg. xviii, 83:-

"... più che villa Mantovana."

Though I cannot quite abandon my preference for Can Grande as the personage intended, I bow respectfully to Boccaccio's pithy summing up of the case: "Io manifestamente confesso che non intendo." On which Scartazzini (in his recent edition) remarks still more pithily: "Dal canto nostro stiamo col Boccaccio."

tinvidia: Compare Wisdom ii, 24: "Nevertheless through envy of the devil came death into the world: and they that do

hold of his side do find it."

115

spoken against the avarice of the priesthood, and that fin che l' avrà rimessa nello inferno means that the unknown leader will exterminate all avaricious prelates, who, on account of their sinful exactions, will go to Hell.

Virgil has told Dante that he will have to turn his steps into a different path from that in which he was impeded by the three Beasts, and especially by the She-Wolf representing Avarice or Cupidity. He has told him that a deliverer might be expected, who would combat and conquer this demon of Avarice or Cupidity, and now gives it as his opinion that what will tend most to the benefit of Dante's soul will be to journey under his guidance through the realms of Hell, and over the Mountain of Purgatory, after which one holier than himself will guide Dante still further.

Ond' io per lo tuo me'\* penso e discerno,
Che tu mi segui, ed io sarò tua guida,
E trarrotti di qui per loco eterno,
Ove udirai le disperate strida
Di quegli antichi spiriti dolenti,
Che la seconda morte t ciascun grida;

\* per lo tuo me': Me' is here for meglio, i.e. per la tua salute, per il tuo vantaggio.

<sup>+</sup> Che la seconda morte, etc.: I am much indebted to the late Dean Church for kindly helping me with this most difficult passage. He wrote to me in 1889: "The whole passage seems to me rather an account of the Inferno as a whole, than to refer specially to the great men in Limbo. The disperate strida coming first, seem to show that the three stanzas correspond to the three Cantiche: and the Limbo seems hardly sufficient to have a place to itself apart from the three great divisions." I have followed Lubin in taking Che as an ellipsis for in che or di che, but have not followed him thinking the line refers to the spirits in Limbo. Some read Ch' alla, but Dr. Moore

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37

E poi vedrai color che son contenti Nel fuoco, perchè speran di venire, Quando che sia, alle beate genti: Alle qua' poi se tu vorrai salire,\* Anima fia a ciò di me più degna; Con lei ti lascerò nel mio partire: Chè quello imperador t che lassù regna, Perch' io fui ribellante I alla sua legge, Non vuol che in sua città per me § si vegna.

(Text. Crit. p. 7, footnote) remarks: "Che la seems certainly right. Against Ch' alla is (a) the construction of grida in Purg. viii, 125. (B) Grida here, as in Purg., l. c., does not mean to 'cry out to,' but 'proclaim, declare, set forth.' (γ) If, as is possible, the idea in gridare alla was intended to correspond with such passages as Job iii, 21, or Rev. vi, 16, etc., this is inappropriate, as Scripture never uses such expressions of the 'second death.' (8) Finally, Zani de' Ferranti appropriately illustrates grida by Virgil's use of testatur in En. vi, 619." Compare Rev. xxi, 8: "Which is the second death."

\*se tu vorrai salire, et seq.: Virgil has told Dante that he

will guide him through Hell and Purgatory, into which human Reason can enter, but he must be conducted into Paradise by the spirit of Beatrice, which illuminated by revelation, can discern what is denied to mere human Reason. Dante can only be delivered from the three Beasts on the condition of visiting Hell and Purgatory, but it is left to the option of his own free will whether or no he wishes to ascend into the Realms of Bliss (se tu vorrai salire).

+ imperador: Compare Par. xii, 40:—
"... lo Imperador che sempre regna."

Compare also Convito, ii, 16, ll. 100-103: "la bellissima ed onestissima figlia dello Imperadore dell' universo, alla quale Pittagora pose nome Filosofia."

† ribellante: Compare Inf. iv, 37, 38:-"E se furon dinanzi al Cristianesmo,

Non adorâr debitamente Dio."

In Purg. vii, 25-27, Virgil says of himself to Sordello:—
"Non per far, ma per non far, ho i' perduto
Di veder l' alto Sol che tu disiri,
E che fu tardi da me conosciuto."

§ per me si vegna: I follow Brunone Bianchi, who interprets this: "che vale in somma, ch' io venga." Others take it in the sense of "per mezzo di me," i.e. "under my guidance."

Wherefore I think and pronounce it for thy good that thou follow me, and I will be thy guide, and will lead thee hence through a place of Eternity (Hell), where thou shalt hear the shrieks of despair of the spirits of days gone by, wailing in agony, for that each one proclaims the second death (i.e. Hell). And then shalt thou see those (spirits) that are contented in the fire (of Purgatory), because they have hope of coming, whensoever it be, among the hosts of the Blessed: and if thereafter thou desirest to ascend among these latter, for that shall there be a spirit more worthy than I (namely, Beatrice): with her will I leave thee at my departing; for that King of Kings Who reigns vonder on high, because I was rebellious to His law (by being a heathen), willeth not that I should enter into His City.

Virgil having described himself as a rebel against God, either from not having become a Christian, or from his being a representative of merely human Reason, now demonstrates his profound belief in the power of God, and in the boundless extent of His dominions.

In tutte parti impera,\* e quivi regge,

<sup>\*</sup>impera . . . regge: "Imperare è l' atto di esercitar imperio con potenza: reggere, quello di governar con amore." (Biagioli). Of the present passage, the Gran Dizionario (s.v. imperare, § 2) says: "Nell' impero è la forza e il comando nel reggimento, la direzione più prossima ed intima." Dr. Moore calls my attention to the following very appropriate definition of the two words in Tasso's Postille sopra xxiv, Bologna, 1829 (in a footnote): "Che si impera a coloro anche che non volontieri obediscono, come sono i diavoli; e che si reggono i contenti d' esser retti." Compare Psalm cxxxix, 7: "If I go down to hell, thou art there also." But "The Lord's seat is in heaven." (Psalm xi, 4). Compare Inf. x, 80:—

"La faccia della donna che qui regge."

Quivi \* è la sua città e l' alto seggio: O felice + colui cui ivi elegge !"-

In all parts He governs, and there He reigns, there is His City and His exalted Throne. O happy he whom thereto He elects!"

Dante at once acquiesces in the advice and in the proposition of Virgil.

> Ed io a lui :- " Poeta, io ti richieggio 130 Per quello Dio che tu non conoscesti, Acciocch' io fugga questo male e peggio Che tu mi meni là dov' or dicesti, Si ch' io vegga la porta di san Pietro, I E color § cui tu fai cotanto mesti."-135 Allor si mosse, ed io li tenni retro.

\* Quivi, et seq.: Compare Psalm xi, 4 (or in Vulgate x, 5): "The Lord is in his holy temple, the Lord's throne is in heaven: his eyes behold, his eyelids try, the children of men." And Psalm ciii, 19: "The Lord hath prepared his throne in the heavens; and his kingdom ruleth over all." And Isaiah lxvi, 1: "Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool." And Boëthius (De Consol. Philos. iv, Metr. i, 19, 20) :-"Hic regum sceptrum dominus tenet

Orbisque habenas temperat."

+ O felice colui cui ivi elegge!: Compare Psalm lxiv, 5, in the Vulgate (A.V. lxv, 4): "Beatus quem elegisti et assumpsisti!"

† porta di san Pietro: "idest portam Paradisi, cujus est custos sanctus Petrus or, custos ponitur Petrus" (Benvenuto). Many however think that the Gate of Purgatory is meant, the keys of which (Purg. ix, 127) the Angel Warder says he holds from St. Peter: "Da Pier le tengo." But I agree with Benvenuto. It seems to me that we have here an expression of the general popular belief that to St. Peter were confided the keys of the Gate of the Kingdom of Heaven and moreover that Dante mentions the spot where his guidance by Virgil will cease, and be entrusted to Beatrice.

§ color . . . mesti : "Sic et talitur quod ego videam portam Sancti Petri, et illos cruciatos, tam in Inferno, quam in Purgatorio." (Serravalle). "Non prende se non i due estremi, tralasciando il mezzo che erano que' nel purgatorio, e volendo

che s' intendano essere compresi." (Castelvetro).

And I to him: "Poet, I entreat thee by that God Whom thou knewest not; in order that I may escape this evil (i.e. Sin), and worse (i.e. Hell), that thou wilt lead me where thou saidst but now, so that I may see the Gate of St. Peter (i.e. Paradise), and those whom thou describest as so full of anguish (in Hell and in Purgatory)." Then he moved on, and I followed after him.

[The digression on l. 37 at pp. 39-42 of the first edition is, in this second edition, introduced into the Preliminary Chapter.]

END OF CANTO I.

## CANTO II.

DANTE'S INVOCATION OF THE MUSES—HIS MISGIVINGS AS TO HIS STRENGTH—VIRGIL RELIEVES HIS FEARS—THE THREE LADIES OF HEAVEN—COMMENCEMENT OF THE JOURNEY.

In the last Canto Dante stated his proposition, touching upon the place, the time, and the cause of his Poem, the obstacles that he encountered, and the timely succour of Virgil.

As we have already noticed on p. I, this Second Canto is really the first of the *Inferno*,\* the previous one being the Introduction to the *Divina Commedia* as a whole.

Benvenuto divides it into four parts:-

In Division I, from ver. I to ver. 9, after mentioning that it was the close of the day, Dante invokes the aid of the Muses.

In Division II, from ver. 10 to ver. 42, Dante confides to Virgil his doubts as to his sufficiency for the arduous task before him.

In Division III, from ver. 42 to ver. 126, Virgil removes Dante's doubts and tells him how he had

<sup>\*</sup>This is to be seen in the fact that whereas in the Purgatorio and the Paradiso Dante makes his Invocation at the beginning of the first Cantos, here in the Inferno we have it in the second Canto.

received a mandate from Beatrice to guide Dante through Hell and Purgatory.

In Division IV, from ver. 127 to ver. 142, Virgil receives Dante's thanks, and the two Poets set out on their way.

Division I .- Before commencing his account of the journey, Dante mentions at what time of day this took place. Benvenuto thinks that a doubt might arise as to how Dante has got through a whole day so quickly, for in the last Canto Dante said that the time was morning (Tempo era dal principio del mattino). and now he says it is night-fall. The answer is to be found in the fact that Dante spent much time in deliberating whether or no he could undertake so great a labour (io fui per ritornar più volte vôlto). What he now wishes to emphasise is, that this evening hour, the time when all animate nature seeks quiet and repose, was to him alone the commencement of a double toil, both of the body and of the mind. Benvenuto remarks on the appropriateness of Dante making his entrance into Hell occur at night. The time corresponds with the place, for as night is the time of darkness, blindness and sin, so is Hell a place of punishment, obscurity, and ignorance; and as the fall of night deprives us of the light of the Sun, so does Dante rightly picture himself as entering into the gloom of Hell, where the sun never shines after it has set on Earth. It will be noticed on the other hand, later on, that the Poets enter into (1) Ante-Purgatory, (2) Purgatory proper, and (3) Earthly Paradise, at Sunrise.

Lo giorno se n' andava,\* e l' aer bruno †
Toglieva gli animai ‡ che sono in terra,
Dalle fatiche loro; ed io sol uno
M' apparecchiava a sostener la guerra §

\*Lo giorno se n' andava: Compare the opening lines of Gray's Elegy:—

'The curfew tolls the knell of parting day,
The lowing herd winds slowly o'er the lea,
The ploughman homeward plods his weary way,
And leaves the world to darkness and to me."

And Milton, Par. Lost, iv, 598-602:-

"Now came still Evening on, and Twilight gray Had in her sober livery all things clad; Silence accompany'd; for beast and bird, They to their grassy couch, these to their nests, Were slunk."

And Virgil, Æn. viii, 26, 27:-

"Nox erat; et terras animalia fessa per omnes Alitum pecudumque genus sopor altus habebat."

And again, An. ix, 224, 225 :-

"Caetera per terras omnes animalia somno Laxabant curas, et corda oblita laborum."

And Chaucer, Assemble of Foules, st. 13:-

"The day gan failen, and the darke night, That reveth beastes from hir businesse, Beraft me of my booke for lacke of light."

t l' aer bruno: Ruskin (Modern Painters, III) speaks of Dante's use of the word bruno in the sense of "brown." But in Tuscan idiom bruno means "black," not "brown." Portare il bruno is "to be in mourning"; portare il bruno al cappello, "to wear crape on one's hat." "Vestimento bruno vale Vestimento spanish dictionary: "bruno = color ater, niger.'" Skeat (in Etym.) says "brown"="burnt." Marrone is the Tuscan for "brown."

‡ animai : "Animated beings." In Convito, iii, 2, ll. 121, 122 : "È l' uomo divino animale da' filosofi chiamato."

§ guerra here really means "difficulty, hardship, obstacle, perplexity." Dante is referring to the twofold strain to which he is about to be subjected, namely, the bodily strain of traversing the vast depths of Hell la via aspra e forte in twenty four hours, he, sol uno of the animai che sono in terra, while Virgil moves as a spirit without fatigue; and the mental strain of the pity he will not be able to help feeling, but which he must perforce refrain from showing, for, as Virgil tells him

44

Sì del cammino e sì della pietate, Che ritrarrà la mente, \* che non erra.

The day was departing, and the darkening air was releasing all living things that are on earth from their toils; and I alone was preparing myself to endure the conflict both of the journey as well as of the pity (for the agonies I was about to witness), which Memory, that errs not, shall describe.

The evening is that of Good Friday, 1300, in which year Dante supposes his vision to have taken place.

Dante now, following the example of Homer and Virgil, makes his Invocation to the Muses, and it is remarkable that he begins it at 1. 7, which corresponds exactly to his Invocation at 1. 7 of the first Canto of the Purgatorio. This is one of the many instances of the symmetrical method of the Divina Commedia.+

> O Muse, o alto ingegno, † or m' aiutate : O mente, che scrivesti ciò ch' io vidi, Qui si parrà la tua nobilitate.

(Inf. xx, 28-30) "Who is more wicked than he who has compassion in antagonism to the Judgment of God?"

"Qui vive la pietà quando è ben morta. Chi è più scellerato che colui

Che al giudizio divin passion porta?"

\* mente, che non erra: "la memoria, che pone fedelmente

dinanzi all' animo le cose vedute." (Brunone Bianchi).

+ Benvenuto says that for the better understanding of this Invocation, "est breviter notandum, quod autor consideravit tria maxime necessaria sibi ad perfectionem sui operis; quorum primum est scientiae profunditas vel universitas: secundum, intellectûs perspicacitas; tertium, memoriae vivacitas."

alto ingegno: Compare Inf. x, 58, 59, where Cavalcante

Cavalcanti says to Dante:-

"'Se per questo cieco

Carcere vai per altezza d' ingegno,' " etc. Benvenuto speaks of Dante as a man of wonderful capacity, perspicuous intellect, the loftiest genius, and the most subtle Canto II.

O Muses, O lofty genius! now aid me; O memory, that didst record what I saw, here will be made manifest thy nobility!

What Dante would say in this Invocation is, that having lately taken upon himself to describe so noble a subject, it will soon become evident whether his mind is noble and wonderful, having such an opportunity of displaying its exalted faculties.

Division II.—Dante now confides to Virgil his doubts as to his adequacy to perform the great work which he has undertaken.

Benvenuto's remarks are so interesting, that I give them at length:—

"For the better understanding of the matter that follows, we must premise by observing that this question which Dante represents himself as putting

invention, and says that his outward appearance gave strong evidence of the qualities of his mind. He adds: "This respected Dante was of medium stature, and when he had passed middle age he was wont to walk somewhat bent; his gait was quiet and dignified, his garb very becoming, and suited to his profession as a poet; his face was long, his nose aquiline, his eyes somewhat large, his jaws full, his under lip projecting, his complexion dark, his hair and beard thick, black and curling, his expression always melancholy, thoughtful, and contemplative. It happened to him once in the noble city of Verona, when, after the publication of the Inferno, his reputation was already spread abroad, as he was passing through a street before the gate, where many ladies were assembled, that one of them said in a low voice, but yet loud enough to be heard: 'Look at the man who goes in and out of Hell just when he pleases, and brings news of those who are sent there.' 'Thou sayest truly,' answered another, 'seest thou not how the heat has made his hair to curl, and the smoke has given a dark tint to his face?' Dante, who seldom or never was wont to laugh, could not but do so on hearing these remarks."

to Virgil, is nothing but a kind of mental struggle, and an antagonism between Man and Reason. Dante has been inwardly examining his strength, and had made within himself these arguments and objections: 'Thou art not Homer, nor Virgil, nor canst thou ever attain to the excellence of such famous poets, and consequently thy work cannot for long remain a thing of value; nay rather, as Horace says in his book,\* it will soon be carried away as waste paper to the grocer's, and be torn up to wrap soap in.' Having these thoughts in his mind, Dante had at first begun to write in Latin. the language of literature, but afterwards he wrote in the vulgar tongue. The same struggle of mind (says Benvenuto of himself) I experienced in myself before I dared to begin writing upon this book (the Divina Commedia) of such world-wide reputation.

"But here arises the question which is often asked: Why should a man of such great literary and scientific attainments as Dante, have written in the popular style and in the mother tongue? To answer this briefly, we may say, for many reasons; First, that it might be of use to many, and chiefly to Italians, who more than other nations take pleasure in poetry. For if he had written in the language of literature, he would only have profited literary

<sup>\*</sup>Benvenuto probably intended to refer to the concluding lines II Epist. i, 266-270:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Nec prave factis decorari versibus opto;
Ne rubeam pingui donatus munere, et, una
Cum scriptore meo, capsa porrectus aperta,
Deferar in vicum vendentem thus et odores,
Et piper, et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis."

people, and not even all of them, but only a few. Therefore he executed a work never done before. which the most literary and learned men can examine. Secondly, because Dante, observing that all liberal studies, and chiefly poetry, had fallen into neglect among princes and nobles, who had been wont to take delight in poetical works-which indeed used formerly to be dedicated to them-and observing that the works of Virgil and other preeminent poets were lying unseen and uncared for, cautiously and prudently brought himself to write in the popular style, when in fact he had already commenced the Divina Commedia in Latin.\* But many others say that Dante recognised the fact that his style did not come up to the standard necessary for so exalted a subject; and I might also have believed this, had not the idea been put out of my head by the authority of our latest poet, Petrarch, who, speaking of Dante, writes to my revered +

<sup>\*</sup> The following are the opening lines of this Latin version:

"Ultima regna canam, fluido contermina mundo,
Spiritibus qui lata patent, quae proemia solvunt
Pro meritis cuicumque suis," etc.

t The character of Boccaccio is greatly misunderstood by those who only know him as a writer of amatory romances; and chiefly as the author of the Decameron. Among Italians at all times he has been accepted as a great master of Italian prose, and his works are written in a style that preserves classic dignity and elegance. It must be remembered that Boccaccio's life, during its concluding fifteen years, was that of an honoured citizen, of a diplomatist, entrusted with public affairs, of a most learned scholar, the intimate friend of Petrarch, and the "revered master" in literature of Benvenuto da Imola. When first it was decided to found chairs for the elucidation of the works of Dante, all with one consent summoned Boccaccio, though in his extreme old age, to hold the

teacher Boccaccio of Certaldo as follows: 'I have a strong opinion, as to his genius, that all was within his reach that he might have attempted."

In Boccaccio's Life of Dante almost the same words are used, only where Benvenuto says scripsit vulgariter et materne, Boccaccio's expression is idioma fiorentino.

The dialogue between Dante and Virgil now begins.

Io cominciai :- " Poeta che mi guidi, Guarda la mia virtù, s' ella è possente, Prima che all' alto passo tu mi fidi.

I began: "Poet that guidest me, examine my strength, if it be sufficient, before thou committest me to the arduous enterprise.

Dante then anticipates a possible answer of Virgil to his request. The latter might have replied: "Why shouldest thou be incapable of going to the Unseen World? Did not Æneas, according to my narration (Æn. vi) do so? Did not St. Paul, as we are told in the Scriptures?" Anticipating such an answer, Dante would point out, that in the case of Æneas, a special grace was, in Virgil's poem, supposed to have been granted to him in order that he might have the strength to go forward and form a kingdom in Italy; but why, Dante asks, should such a grace be granted to himself?

chair at Florence, as Francesco da Buti held that at Pisa, and Benvenuto da Imola that at Bologna. Boccaccio's last years were chiefly passed in retirement at Certaldo in deep penitence for the follies of his youth. His course of lectures on the Divina Commedia remained unfinished, the pen apparently falling from his wearied hand; for the last lecture on Inf. xvii breaks off abruptly in the middle of a sentence.

Canto II. Readings on the Inferno.

49

Tu dici che di Silvio lo parente,\*

Corruttibile ancora, ad immortale
Secolo † andò, e fu sensibilmente.‡

Però se l' avversario d' ogni male

15

Cortese § i|| fu, pensando l' alto effetto,

\* di Silvio lo parente: Dante follows Virgil in making Sylvius the posthumous son, not of Ascanius as some do (e.g. Livy, 1-4), but of Æneas. See Æn. vi, 763-766:—

"Silvius, Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles, Quem tibi longaevo serum Lavinia conjux Educet silvis regem regumque parentem,

Unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba."

† immortale Secolo: Fanfani (Vocabolario della Lingua Italiana,
Firenze, 1865) says that secolo, besides signifying the space of
one hundred years, also has the meaning of "world, life," etc.;
secolo mortale = human life; secolo immortale = eternal life.

Compare Purg. xvi, 135:—
"In rimproverio del secol selvaggio,"

where secol selvaggio means "this ferocious age" in contrast to the "ensample of an extinct generation" (saggio della gente spenta) in the previous lines. Compare Fra Guittone, Letter to Donna N. N. (in Nannucci, Manuale della Letteratura del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana, vol. ii, p. 148): "Perchè [that is why] non degni fummo che tanta preziosa e mirabile figura, come voi siete, abitasse intra l'umana generazione d' esto seculo mortale."

‡ sensibilmente: "e fu sensibilmente, cioè secondo il corpo ove sono li strumenti de' sensi, a ciò che non s' intenda che

v' andasse spiritualmente." (Buti).

§ Cortese: The word is used here to signify Divine condescension or Grace, but in Par. vii, 91, 92, we find it has the sense of clemency:—

"Oche Dio solo per sua cortesia Dimesso avesse," etc.

Ciacco dell' Anguillara (in Nannucci's Manuale, vol. i, p. 193) uses cortesia for condescension:—

"Pregovi in cortesia Che m' aiutate, per Dio."

And Dante da Maiano, Rime, in Poeti del Primo Secolo, vol. ii, p. 467:—

"S' eo v' amo, non vi spiaccia in cortesia."

|| i fu : "I. A lui. Lat. illi o Ei." (Gran Dizionario, s.v. i). Compare Purg. xii, 83:-

"Sì che i diletti lo inviarci in suso."

And Par. xxix, 17: "come i piacque."

Che uscir dovea di lui, e il chi, e il quale, \*
Non pare indegno ad uomo d' intelletto:
Ch' ei fu dell' alma Roma e di suo impero
Nell' empireo † ciel per padre eletto:
La quale e il quale ‡ (a voler dir lo vero)
Fu stabilito per lo loco santo,
U' § siede il successor del maggior Piero.

\* il chi, e il quale: Chi and quale are expressions of the Schoolmen, the first (quis) signifying the substance, and the second (quid) the quality. "L' eccellenza di una cosa si considera nella forma essenziale e nella forma accidentale, e quindi fondare l' impero Romano fu cosa due volte grande, cioè per la sostanza e per la qualità." (Berthier).

† empireo ciel: The Empyrean Heaven was believed to be the most exalted of the Spheres of Heaven, and the especial abode of the Deity. Compare Conv. ii, 4, ll. 15-32: "Veramente... li Cattolici pongono lo cielo Empireo, che tanto vuol dire, quanto cielo di fiamma ovvero luminoso; e pongono esso essere immobile... E quieto e pacifico è lo luogo di quella Somma Deità che Sè sola compiutamente vede. Questo è lo luogo degli spiriti beati, secondo che la santa Chiesa vuole, che non può dir menzogna."

† La quale e il quale: "La quale e il quale seems undoubtedly the true reading; the other (lo quale e il quale with many variants) being in fact nearly unintelligible. The depravation of the text probably arose from a blind notion that there was no reason for the distinction of gender, the author of the change having failed to see the reference back to Roma and suo impero in 1. 20, 'La qual Roma e il qual impero,' as Bargigi paraphrases it." (Moore, Text Crit. p. 265).

§ U': An ancient poetic form derived from the Latin ubi. Compare Par. vii, 31, 32:-

"U' la natura, che dal suo fattore S' era allungata," etc.

And Petrarch, Rime, part ii, Sestina, st. 3:—
"U' sono i versi, u' son giunte le rime
Che gentil cor udia pensoso e lieto?"

| del maggior Piero: "cioè di san Piero apostolo, il quale chiama maggiore per la dignità papale, e a differenza di più [many] altri santi uomini nominati Piero." (Boccaccio, Comento). See Par. xxv, 14, 15: "la primizia che lasciò Cristo de' vicari suoi."

Per questa andata, \* onde gli dai tu vanto, Intese cose, che furon cagione Di sua vittoria e del papale ammanto.

Thou sayest that (Æneas) the father of Sylvius, while still subject to corruption (i.e. living), went to the immortal world, and was there in the flesh. Wherefore if the Adversary of all evil (God)-considering the mighty outgrowth that was to issue from him (Æneas, namely, the Roman Empire), and the who (the Roman people), and the what (i.e. their greatness)—was gracious to him, it does not appear unmeet for a man of intelligence: since he (Æneas) was chosen in the Empyrean Heaven to be the progenitor of great Rome and its Empire: the which (Rome) and the which (Empire)-if one would speak the truth-were ordained as the holy place where sits the successor of Peter the supreme. During this journey, for which thou givest him due honour (in the Eneid), he learned things which were the cause of his victory (over Turnus) and of the Papal Mantle.

Dante wishes it to be understood that the great deeds, and the heroes that made Rome famous, were a preparation to render her worthy to become at a future time the seat of the pontifical dignity.

Dante next argues that because St. Paul was caught up to Heaven while alive, that is no reason why he (Dante) should be able to go there, for St.

<sup>\*</sup> Per questa andata, onde gli dai tu vanto, etc.: Dante is referring to Virgil's description of the entrance to Hades, in Æn. vi, 127-131:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Noctes atque dies patet atri Janua Ditis, Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras, Hoc opus, hic labor est. Pauci quos aequus amavit Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus, Dis geniti potuere."

Paul was taken up there for the confirmation of the Catholic Faith.

> Andovvi \* poi lo Vas d' elezione + Per recarne conforto a quella fede Ch' è principio alla via di salvazione. 30 Ma io perchè venirvi? o chi 'l concede? Io non Enea, io non Paolo sono: Me degno a ciò nè io nè altri 'l crede. Perchè se del venire io m' abbandono, t Temo che la venuta non sia folle: 35 Se' savio, intendi me' ch' io non ragiono."

Afterwards the Chosen Vessel (St. Paul) went there to bring back thence confirmation of that Faith which is the beginning of the way of Salvation. But I, why go thither? or who vouchsafes it? I am not Æneas, I am not Paul: neither do I, nor do others, believe me worthy of it. Wherefore, if I resign myself to go, I fear that my going may prove foolishness: Thou art wise, and understandest better than I can speak."

<sup>\*</sup> Andovvi: The terminal vi refers to the secolo immortale, the unseen worlds of spirits, into which St. Paul penetrated when caught up to Heaven. See 2 Cor. xii, 2-4: "I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago, (whether in the body, I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;) such an one caught up to the third heaven. And I knew such a man, (whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;) How that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter."

t lo Vas d'elezione: St. Paul was so spoken of by God, when he sent Ananias to lay his hands upon him. See Acts ix, 15: "But the Lord said unto him, Go thy way: for he is a chosen

<sup>†</sup> del venire io m' abbandono: Magalotti (Comento) explains this: "S' io mi lascio andare a venire, assai dubito del ritorno." Abbandonarsi del venire is a singular construction, "del" having the sense of "al." Berthier (L'Inferno) says it is a Provençal idiom. Compare Chanson de Roland, l. 390: "Kar cascun jour de mort il s' abandunet."

Dante now explains to Virgil the state of irresolution in which he finds himself, although he had, as related in the last Canto, immediately acquiesced in Virgil's decision that he should visit the abodes of the dead.\*

> E quale è quei che disvuol ciò che volle, E per† nuovi pensier cangia proposta,

\* It has been remarked that in this description of his own state of mind Dante shows a profound knowledge of the human heart, as well as of the means of obtaining salvation. When a man first awakes from his slumber of sin he is full of good intentions. With a certain amount of enthusiasm he determines to change his life, and to abandon the paths of sin that are leading him to perdition. In these first moments he has no fears of his own powers being inadequate to carry out his resolution. But he soon experiences the truth of Christ's words in John xv, 5: "Without me ye can do nothing." Sin does not allow its slaves to escape so cheaply. Man cannot of himself be converted, if Divine Grace does not assist him. After the first emotions have passed away, his powers become enfeebled. Enthusiasm vanishes; cowardice, cold calculation and dry Reason-which from his want of faith deceive his own self-contend to make him go astray from his healthy purpose. "He that received the seed in stony places, the same is he that heareth the word, and anon with joy receiveth it; Yet hath he not root in himself, but dureth for a while; for when tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by he is offended." False pusillanimous humility suggests, "Is your strength sufficient for so exalted an undertaking? It is true that others have done it before you, but they were quite different people from you." Against these unworthy thoughts there arises illuminated Reason, of which Virgil is here the representative, and encourages the sinner desirous of repentance by reminding him of Divine Grace and succour from Heaven. Thus Man finds out by experience that if on the one hand it is true what Christ says, "Without me ye can do nothing," it is, on the other hand, no less true that Man can, as St. Paul says (*Philip.* iv, 13), "do all things through Christ which strengtheneth (him)"; and in 2 Cor. xii, 10, he may find, "when I am weak, then am I strong."

ther nuovi pensier: I understand per here as "through, on account of," and not as meaning "for new thoughts." Both

Gelli and Trissino support my interpretation.

Sì che dal cominciar tutto si tolle; \* Tal mi fec' io in quell' oscura costa: Perchè pensando consumai + la impresa, Che fu nel cominciar cotanto tosta.

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And as is he who unwills what he willed, and owing to new thoughts changes his purpose, so that he wholly withdraws from his (original) design; such did I become on that gloomy hill-side: for when I thought thereon I brought to an end the enterprise which had been so hasty in its inception.

Already at the very commencement of his journey new doubts had arisen in Dante's mind.

Division III.—Virgil, while removing Dante's misgivings, begins by showing him that they arise from cowardice.

-" Se io ho ben la tua parola intesa,"-Rispose del magnanimo quell' ombra, 1 -" L' anima tua è da viltate § offesa :

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\* si tolle: "abbandona del tutto la cominciata impresa." (Andreoli.) The Gran Dizionario (s.v. togliere, ad fin.), has: "Tôrsi da checchessia; Desistere da alcuna cosa.

+ consumai la impresa: Of consumare Andreoli says that it is

equivalent to "annullare, ridurre al niente."

‡ del magnanimo quell' ombra: This is a metathesis for l' ombra di quel magnanimo. In Inf. x, 73, Dante, alluding to the lofty-mindedness of Farinata degli Uberti, calls him: "Quell' altro magnanimo."

villate: In the next Canto (Inf. iii, 14, 15) we see Virgil enjoining Dante, on his entering into Hell, to put away all

irresolution or cowardly fears :-

"Qui si convien lasciare ogni sospetto; Ogni viltà convien che qui sia morta."

Dr. Moore, in a letter to me, invites comparison of ll. 45-47 with Aristotle, Eth. 4, iii, 35 (Δ, 1125Λ, 25-27): "Ό δ' ἐλλείπων, μικρόψυχος · ὁ δ' ὑπερβάλλων χαῦνος. οὐ κακοὶ μὲν δοκοῦσιν εἶναι οὐδ' οὖτοι · οὐ γὰρ κακοποιοί εἶσιν · ἡμαρτημένοι δέ. ὁ μὲν γαρ μικρόψυχος άξιος ων αγαθων έαυτον αποστερεί ων αξίος έστι, καὶ ἔοικε κακὸν ἔχειν τι ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἄξιοῦν ἐαυτὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ άγνοείν δ' έαυτόν · ωρέγετο γάρ αν ων άξιος ήν, άγαθων γε όντων.

## Canto II. Readings on the Inferno.

La qual molte fiate l' uomo ingombra, Sì che d' onrata impresa lo rivolve, Come falso veder bestia,\* quand' ombra.

"If I have rightly understood thy words," answered the shade of that great-souled one (i.e. Virgil), "thy spirit is assailed by cowardice, which oft times so hinders a man that it turns him back from honourable enterprise; even as a delusive appearance (turns back) a beast when it is startled."

Some translate quand' ombra "when it is twilight gloom," but Blanc (Voc. Dant. French translation) says that ombrare "est pris par presque tous les interprètes pour avoir peur, devenir ombrageux." Lamennais translates: "comme animal ombrageux."

Benvenuto understands it so, and thinks it a most appropriate comparison, for a young horse will be afraid, erroneously taking some object which it sees for something else likely to hurt him, and refuses to go forward however much he be spurred, but rather will go backwards; so is Dante here terrified by a false image which he pictures to himself, and, although he has actually begun his journey, and is stimulated by the encouraging voice of Virgil, yet is for turning back out of sheer cowardice, until Virgil

<sup>\*</sup>Come falso veder (rivolve) bestia: "Fa qui una similitudine dicendo, che come la bestia si rivolge e torna a dietro, quando adombra per falso vedere, cioè che li par vedere quel che non vede; così l' uomo spesse volte torna a dietro di quello che à preso di fare, avendo paura di quello che non dee avere, parendoli quello che non è." (Buti). Compare also Conv. iii, 7, Il. 80-83: "Noi veggiamo molti uomini tanto vili e di sì bassa condizione, che quasi non pare essere altro che bestia." L' ombrare or l' adombrare (subst.) dei cavalli is the term for "the shying of horses."

brings him round again to his good purpose, by the power of reason and persuasion.

Virgil now, to shake off Dante's timidity, relates how it was that he came to assist him, so that Dante may see that he neither did so rashly, nor to no purpose. Having given a detailed account of how he was fetched out of Limbo by Beatrice for that object. he proves his argument that Dante is capable of executing the task which he appears so much to dread.

> Da questa tema acciocchè tu ti solve, Dirotti perch' io venni, e quel che intesi Nel primo punto che di te mi dolve.\* Io era tra color che son sospesi, † E donna mi chiamò beata e bella Tal, che di comandare io la richiesi.

\* dolve: Nannucci, in a note on a translation of the Histories of Orosius, Lib. ii, cap. xi (in Manuale, vol. ii, p. 394), explains that dolvero is for dolsero, and adds "Dolvero è forma naturale di doluere convertita in consonante la u." The passage he quotes is as follows: "Del quale romore quelli di Persia in prima si dolvero," etc.

+ color che son sospesi: "Dante chiama quelli del Limbo i sospesi, per esprimere il loro stato medio fra la dannazione e la beatitudine, ovvero per dire che la loro sorte non è ancora definitivamente decisa." (Blanc, Vocabolario Dantesco, s.v. sospendere). Nearly all the Commentators, however, take the first of these two interpretations, and consider sospesi to signify "nè salvi nè beati." Compare Inf. iv, 43-45:-

"Gran duol mi prese al cor quando lo intesi, Perocchè gente di molto valore Conobbi che in quel limbo eran sospesi."

The words written over the Gate of Hell (Inf. iii, 9):-"LASCIATE OGNI SPERANZA VOI CH' ENTRATE!"

and Virgil's own words (Inf. iv, 42):—
""... Senza speme vivemo in disio,"

show clearly that the spirits in Limbo are supposed to be sospesi tra il cielo e l' inferno, and can have no hope of bettering their condition after the Day of Judgment. The definition in

Lucevan gli occhi suoi più che la stella:\*

E cominciommi a dir soave e piana
Con angelica voce † in sua favella:

-- O anima cortese ‡ Mantovana,

the Anonimo Fiorentino seems almost the best: "Sospesi, ciò è non al tutto in inferno, nè fuori di quello luogo: ciò è quelli del limbo, che non sono con pene evidenti nè fuor di pene."

\*la stella: We are to understand "the star" here is a collective noun to signify the stars in general. In the Vita Nuova, § xxiii, in the Canzone, Dante writes:—
"Poi mi parve vedere appoco appoco

"Poi mi parve vedere appoco appoco Turbar lo Sole ed apparir la stella, E pianger egli ed ella."

In the prose of this same section (ll. 35-38) we find nearly the same words only with stelle in the plural: "pareami vedere il sole oscurare si, che le stelle si mostravano di colore, che mi facea giudicare che piangessero." Compare Boëthius, Phil. Consol. ii, Metr. iii:—

"Cum polo Phoebus roseis quadrigis Lucem spargere coeperit, Pallet albentes hebetata vultus Flammis stella prementibus."

Più che la stella is the reading found by Dr. Moore in 196 MSS., and adopted by him. The principal variant più che una stella he only found in 32 MSS. He discusses these variants, and the interpretation of the passage at great length in Textual Criticism, pp. 266-270. In the course of his remarks, he says: "It is not at all easy to determine the interpretation of la stella, and this, it need hardly be said, is presumptive evidence in its favour. . . . Commentators are still widely at variance, some explaining it to mean the Sun; others, the planet Venus. The majority, I think, of modern commentators incline to explain it as used generically for the 'starry firmament,' or in fact 'the stars,' and with this view I unhesitatingly agree." Dr. Moore adds (ibid. p. 270) that it was probably the unfamiliar, or perhaps not understood use of la stella that prompted the simplification found in the other readings.

† Con angelica voce in sua favella: Scartazzini observes that this must be understood to mean that Beatrice was speaking with the voice of an angel; and not, as some commentators maintain, that the words in sua favella refer to the language she used, but only to the sound of the voice in which she spoke.

† cortese: We have the word here in its more literal sense of "generous, courteous." In 1. 17, it is used with the same

Di cui la fama ancor nel mondo dura, E durerà quanto il moto \* lontana : L' amico mio e non della ventura,†

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meaning as Cacciaguida uses it in Par. xv, 47, 48, as signifying the Grace shown by God to Man:—

"'Benedetto sie tu,' fu, 'Trino ed Uno, Che nel mio seme sei tanto cortese."

\*quanto il moto lontana: Many editions and MSS. read mondo, and probably with as good authority. Dr. Moore (Text. Crit. pp. 271, 272) says that the difference of reading is rather a celebrated one, and that it has been argued with some probability that Dante had in his mind Virgil's well-known description of Fame (Æn. iv, 174, 175):—

"Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum, Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo."

In this quotation the words in italics seem to have points of contact with Dante's word, fama, moto and lontana; and, as Dr. Moore has subsequently noticed, in Studies in Dante, First Series, p. 191, this passage of Virgil is definitely quoted by Dante in Conv. i, 3, 1. 76: "Che la Fama vive per essere mobile." Foscolo maintains the singular opinion that both readings originated with Dante himself, and also holds the theory that Dante kept his poem by him for several years, continually retouching it and constantly bringing it up to date, by entering under the form of prophecies, allusions and contemporary events. Dr. Moore thinks that moto suits the word lontana better, if that word be taken as a verb, which appears preferable to taking it as an adjective. Boccaccio, although he reads mentre il mondo, paraphrases, "dice lontana per lontanerà, cioè si prolungherà." Compare Conv. iv, 2, ll. 47-49: "Il tempo, secondochè dice Aristotile nel quarto della Fisica, è numero di movimento secondo prima e poi."

+L' amico mio e non della ventura; In other words, "My unfortunate friend." In many passages of the Divina Commedia does Beatrice show herself to be Dante's friend; perhaps especially so in Purg. xxx, 136-141, when she alludes to this visit of her's to Virgil:—

"Tanto giù cadde, che tutti argomenti
Alla salute sua eran già corti,
Fuor che mostrargli le perdute genti.
Per questo visitai l' uscio dei morti,
Ed a colui che l' ha quassù condotto,
Li preghi miei piangendo furon pôrti."

Nella diserta piaggia \* è impedito Sì nel cammin, che volto è per paura : E temo che non sia già sì smarrito, Ch' io mi sia tardi al soccorso levata, Per quel ch' io ho di lui nel Cielo udito.

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That thou mayest free thyself from these fears, I will tell thee why I came, and what I heard at the first moment when I felt compassion for thee. I was among those that are in suspense (i.e. in Limbo), and there called me a Lady (Beatrice) so saintly and beauteous, that I besought her to give me her commands. Her eyes shone more than the stars: and she commenced saying to me softly and gently with angelic voice in her speech: 'O generous Mantuan Shade, whose renown yet endures in the world, and will endure as long-lasting as Time (lit. Motion): My friend, but not (a friend) of fortune, on the desert mountain-slope is so impeded in his way, that he has turned back through terror: and I fear that he may already be so far astray, that I may have arisen too late for his succour, from what I have heard of him in Heaven.

Benvenuto remarks that Beatrice says this, because the souls of the Blessed can discern in God, as it were in a mirror, all that is passing on earth, as will be seen in the *Paradiso.*<sup>+</sup> She urges Virgil

\* diserta piaggia : Compare Inf. i, 28, 29 :—
"Poi ch' ei posato un poco il corpo lasso,
Ripresi via per la piaggia diserta."

The Mountain side was said to be deserted, owing to there being so few who scale the steep ascent of Heaven.

†Compare Par. xvii, 37-42, where Cacciaguida says to Dante:—
"La contingenza, che fuor del quaderno

Della vostra materia non si stende, Tutta è dipinta nel cospetto eterno. Necessità però quindi non prende, Se non come dal viso in che si specchia Nave che per corrente giù discende. "

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to hasten to Dante's aid, revealing to him who she is, and promising him her good offices in Heaven.

Or muovi, e con la tua parola ornata,

E con ciò ch' è mestieri \* al suo campare,
L' aiuta sì, ch' io ne sia consolata.

Io son Beatrice, che ti faccio andare:
Vegno di loco, ove tornar disio:
Amor mi mosse, † che mi fa parlare.

Quando sarò dinanzi al Signor mio,
Di te mi loderò ‡ sovente a lui.'—
Tacette allora, e poi comincia' io:

Haste then, and with thy ornate speech, and with what (argument or persuasion) is necessary for his escape, help him so, that I may be consoled thereby. I that send thee forth am Beatrice: I come from a place (i.e. Paradise), to which I desire to

\*con ciò ch' è mestieri al suo campare: Virgil, in his farewell words to Dante on the summit of the stairway leading to the Terrestrial Paradise, tells him (Purg. xxvii, 128-130) that he has there ascended into a region where he, Virgil, of himself can discern no further. He adds:—

"Tratto t' ho qui con ingegno e con arte."

† Amor mi mosse: In Par. xxxi, 94-96, we read how St. Bernard, when taking the place of Beatrice as Dante's guide in the Empyrean Heaven, tells him that her love and prayer caused him to come:—

"E il santo Sene: 'Acciocchè tu assommi Perfettamente,' disse, 'il tuo cammino, A che prego ed amor santo mandommi,' " etc.

Throughout Dante's Divine Poem Love is the foremost leading principle and chief motive power.

† Di te mi loderò: Lodarsi di uno is to speak in a person's favour, to declare oneself satisfied with him. Compare Inf. xxii, 82-84:—

"Quel di Gallura, vasel d' ogni froda, Ch' ebbe i nimici di suo donno in mano, E fe' sì lor, che ciascun se ne loda," etc.

Compare also Boccaccio, Decameron, Giorn. x, Nov. 3: "come che ogni altro uomo molto di lui si lodi, io me ne posso poco lodare io."

# Canto II. Readings on the Inferno.

return: Love moved me, which makes me speak. When I shall be (once more) in the presence of my Lord, often will I speak good of thee to Him.' She then was silent; and I thereupon began:

Now that we have reached the point where Beatrice has named herself to Virgil, it will be well to say a few words about her. Throughout the Divina Commedia, as well as in other of Dante's works, such as the Vita Nuova, and the Canzoniere, she appears in a twofold aspect. First, as the object of Dante's earliest love, which however was only a pure, platonic affection, that never seems to have got beyond a slight acquaintance. Secondly, as the symbol of Divine Theology.

Benvenuto da Imola, whose commentary was written only fifty years after the death of Dante, expressly states that this Beatrice (he does not mention her family name) was really and truly [realiter et vere a Florentine woman of great beauty, and of the most honourable reputation, as may be read in other passages, but especially at the end of the Purgatorio. When she was eight years old (he writes), she so entered into Dante's heart, that she never went out from it, and he loved her passionately for the space of sixteen years, at which time she died. His love increased with his years; he would follow her whereever she went, and always thought that in her eyes he could behold the summit of human happiness. Dante, in his works, at one time takes Beatrice as a real personage, and at another in a mysterious sense as Sacred Theology. And Benvenuto thinks this symbolism very well chosen, for as Beatrice was the

most beautiful and modest among the ladies of Florence, so is Theology the most beautiful and honourable among the secular sciences.

Boccaccio is the principal authority for the belief that she was the daughter of Folco Portinari,\* whose family and that of Dante were on terms of friendship. The meetings of the children were not very frequent, and in due course of time Beatrice married Simone de' Bardi, but died in 1290. The personal identity of Beatrice Portinari was never questioned by the old Commentators except by Giovanni Maria Filelfo in his fanciful and worthless Vita Dantis, 1468, and

<sup>\*</sup> See Boccaccio, Comento, vol. i, pp. 223, 224: "E perciocchè questa è la primiera volta che di questa donna nel presente libro si fa menzione, non pare indegna cosa alquanto manifestare, di cui l' autore in alcune parti della presente opera intenda, nominando lei; conciossiacosachè non sempre di lei allegoricamente favelli. Fu adunque questa donna (secondo la relazione di fededegna persona, la quale la conobbe, e fu per consanguinità strettissima a lei) figliuola di un valente uomo chiamato Folco Portinari, antico cittadino di Firenze: e comecchè l' autore sempre la nomini Beatrice dal suo primitivo, ella fu chiamata Bice : ed egli acconciamente il testimonia nel Paradiso, laddove dice: Ma quella reverenza, che s' indonna Di tutto me, pur per B e per ICE. E fu di costumi e di onestà laudevole [she was worthy of all praise for her morals and for her modesty], quanto donna esser debba, e possa: e di bellezza e di leggiadria assai ornata: e fu moglie d' un cavaliere de' Bardi, chiamato messer Simone, e nel ventiquattresimo anno della sua età passò di questa vita, negli anni di Cristo MCCXC. Fu questa donna maravigliosamente amata dall' autore: nè cominciò questo amore nella loro provetta età [during their mature age], ma nella loro fanciullezza." In the above quotation it must be noted that the word costumi is equivalent to the French word moeurs, not coutumes, the Tuscan equivalent to which would be costumanze. "Dicendo i costumi, d' una persona sola, per lo più intendiamo i morali, quel che i Francesi dicono moeurs. Quel ch' essi coutumes, sovente noi diciamo Costu-manze." (Gran Dizionario, s.v. costume, § 12).

Canto II.

in later times he was followed by Anton Maria Biscioni (Annotazioni sopra il Convito di Dante, Florence, 1723), who renewed the doubt as to her reality. Much ingenuity and erudition have since been expended in throwing mists of darkness over what had up to then been considered a plain and straightforward narrative. At the present time the question has reached this point, that the advocates of the different theories have ranged themselves into three camps, namely, (1) Those who like Professor Bartoli and Professor Renier deny any existence at all to the Beatrice of the Vita Nuova: (2) Those who like Giuliani refuse to see any allegory whatever in the Vita Nuova; and (3) Those who like Scartazzini. steering a middle course, admit the real personality of Beatrice, but at the same time discern an incipient allegorical transformation.

Mr. James Russell Lowell in his Essay on Dante (p. 197), says that "so spiritually does Dante always present Beatrice to us, even where most corporeal, as in the Vita Nuova, that many, like Biscioni and Rossetti, have doubted her real existence. But surely we must consent to believe that she who speaks of

'the fair limbs wherein
I was enclosed, which scattered are in earth'
(Purg. xxxi, 50, 51)

was once a creature of flesh and blood. When she died, Dante's grief . . . filled her room up with something fairer than the reality ever had been. There is no idealiser like unavailing regret, all the more if it be a regret of fancy as much as of real

feeling. She early began to undergo that change into something rich and strange in the sea of his mind (mar di tutto senno), which so completely supernaturalised her at last."

For my own part I prefer to follow the belief that was held by the old Commentators in the early child-like love of Dante for Beatrice Portinari, a love so unselfish, that it never sought, nor even apparently expected, any return, and I even incline to the theory I have heard advanced, that Beatrice was, as a young child, betrothed to her future husband Simone de' Bardi, and that Dante's love for her was merely that deferential adoration so prevalent in the Age of Chivalry, and in no way derogatory to pure and honourable feeling.

Scartazzini, in his later commentaries, says that Beatrice is a name that Dante feigns, in order to conceal the identity of the lady he first loved, thereby admitting Beatrice, but not Beatrice Portinari. He adds that her office in the Divina Commedia is to conduct Dante from the Terrestrial Paradise to the Celestial Paradise. The latter is, as Dante himself shows (De Mon. iii, § 15), a figure of the happiness of Life Eternal, which consists in the fruition of the sight of God (aspetto divino), to which man's own virtue or strength is not able to ascend unless illumined by the light of Heaven. Allegorically, Beatrice represents Theology, the divine science, which leads Man to the contemplation of God, and to the attainment of celestial happiness. There is an excellent article on Beatrice in Dr. Paget Toynbee's Dante Dictionary, which amid the maze of conflicting ideas and theories, states lucidly and tersely the views as to Beatrice which I prefer to follow. The most exhaustive treatise is Dr. Moore's article on Beatrice in the Second Series of his Studies in Dante.

Virgil now relates how he answered Beatrice, professing his readiness to perform her behests, and asking her why she so condescended as to come down into Hell.

- O donna di virtù,\* sola per cui

L' umana spezie eccede ogni contento †

Da quel ciel che ha minor li cerchi sui:

<sup>\*</sup>donna di virtù: Compare Boëthius, Philos. Consol. i, Pros. iii, Il. 5-7, where Boëthius addresses Philosophy his consoler: "Et quid, inquam, tu in has exilii nostri solitudines o omnium magistra virtutum supero cardine delapsa venisti?" Biagioli says that donna di virtù stands for donna virtuosa, as in the Vita Nuova we find donna di cortesia for donna cortese; and elsewhere signor della nobiltà for signor nobile; uomo di dottrina for uomo dotto; and re di giustizia for re giusto. In the Vita Nuova § x, ll. 11-13, Dante says of Beatrice: "la quale fu distruggitrice di tutti i vizii e regina delle virtù."

tognic contento, et seq.: On this difficult passage see Studies in Dante, First Series, p. 262: "The probable reminiscence of Somnium Scipionis, §§ 17-19, seems to throw light on the disputed interpretation of Inf. ii, 76-78, rendering that of Benvenuto da Imola the most probable, namely, that Theology raises the thoughts of man beyond this 'sublunary sphere,' and makes it 'reach forth to those things which are above,' or, as is here said, 'above the moon.' Africanus (Cicero I.e.), after explaining the order of the nine heavens, comes lastly to the 'infimus orbis Lunae.' Then he adds, 'Infra autem jam nihil est nisi mortale et caducum, praeter animos generi hominum munere Dei datos, supra lunam sunt aeterna omnia'; and then Scipio is urged, 'haec caelestia semper speculato, illa humana contemnito.' Dante was likely to be familiar with the Somnium Scipionis, enforcing as it does, the superiority of the Speculative over the Practical Life, a very favourite subject with Dante." Contento is for contenuto as in Par. ii, 114: "L' esser di tutto suo contento."

Tanto m' aggrada il tuo comandamento,

Che l' ubbidir, \* se già fosse, m' è tardi;

Più non t' è uopo aprirmi il tuo talento. †

Ma dimmi la cagion che non ti guardi

Dello scender quaggiuso in questo centro ‡

Dall' ampio loco § ove tornar tu ardi.'—

'O Saintly Lady, through whom alone the human race excelleth all that is contained within the heaven (the Sphere of the Moon) which has its circles the smallest; so much does thy command delight me, that obeying thee, were it already (accomplished), would seem too slow for me; it is no longer needful for thee to unfold unto me thy desire. But tell me the reason why thou fearest not to descend down here into this centre (i.e. Hell) from that vast space (the Empyrean Heaven) to which thou burnest to return.'

\* l' ubbidir, etc. : Compare Virg. En. i, 76, 77, where Æolus says to Juno :—

"Tuus, o regina, quid optes Explorare labor: mihi jussa capessere fas est."

† talento: See this word in Donkin's Etymological Dictionary: "Talento, It. Sp. talento, talente, talante, Prov. talen, talan, Fr. and Eng. talent. The Old Romance meaning (It. talento, Sp. talente, talante, O. Fr. and O. Engl. talent, Walloon dalent) was will, inclination, from talentum (τάλαντον) balance, weight, inclination. A later meaning was that of (cf. Skeat) 'talent,' genius; perhaps derived from the Parable of the Talents, Hence It. attalentare, Prov. atalentar, O. Fr. atalenter, to please, entice, charm." Compare Inf. x, 55, 56, where Cavalcante Cavalcanti is described looking around him, desirous of seeing if his son Guido is with Dante:—

"D' intorno mi guardò, come talento Avesse di veder s' altri era meco."

‡ questo centro: Hell was thought to be situated in the very centre of the Earth, below Jerusalem.

§ l' ampio loco: The Empyrean Heaven, the widest and most exalted of the Spheres of Paradise. In Purg. xxvi, 63, Dante says of it:—

"Ch' è pien d' amore e più ampio si spazia."

Virgil goes on to tell Dante how Beatrice answered him, first explaining that such is the state of her perfection (alluding to her allegorical character), that she cannot be affected by human misery. She is only acting in obedience to the commands of two Beings more exalted even than herself, in seeking out Virgil for the purpose of despatching him to Dante's assistance.

— 'Da che tu vuoi saper cotanto addentro, 'Dirotti brevemente,'—mi rispose, — 'Perch' io non temo di venir qua entro. Temer si dee \* di sole quelle cose

\* Temer si dee, et seq. : This is a passage of which the chief difficulty is to give an appropriate meaning to altrui. Moore in his Studies in Dante, First Series, pp. 107, 108, says that some light may be thrown on the sentiment "that we need fear those things alone by which another may be injured," by a positive recollection of Aristotle's Nic. Ethic. iii, vi, § 4; "πενίαν δ' ίσως οὐ δεῖ φοβείσθαι οὐδὲ νόσον, οὐδ' ὅλως ὅσα μὴ ἀπὸ κακίας μηδὲ δι΄ αὐτόν." Dr. Moore says that in the Antiqua Translatio printed in the works of St. Thomas Aquinas, and which he believes was probably the translation of Aristotle used by Dante, the above passage stands thus: "Non oportet timere neque, etc. . . . neque universaliter quaecunque non a malitia neque propter seipsum." Now there is no ambiguity about the Greek, owing to the use of undé, but the Latin is certainly ambiguous, and might equally represent an original ovoče. In fact, with a comma or pause after malitia, it would naturally convey this meaning, and I have found it printed so in one edition of this Translatio, implying that one editor at least so understood it. If then Dante, with the Latin only before him, so misunderstood the words, he might suppose he was reproducing the sentiment of Il Filosofo when declaring that we ought to fear not for ourselves (neque propter seipsum), but only for what may bring harm to others." At any rate (Dr. Moore adds), he throws out this suggestion as a possible explanation of a difficulty that he has not seen otherwise explained at all.

Ch' hanno potenza di fare altrui \* male :
Dell' altre no, che non son paurose. †
Io son fatta da Dio, sua mercè, tale,
Che la vostra miseria non mi tange, ‡

Nè fiamma d' esto incendio non m' assale.

'Since thou desirest to know such deeply secret

'Since thou desirest to know such deeply secret things,' she answered me, 'why I do not fear to come within this place, I will briefly tell thee.

\*altrui: The personal pronoun is often and generally explained merely as "somebody, any one "=τις, both here and elsewhere. The Gran Dizionario (§ 1) says of it: "serve all'uno e all' altro genere, ma non ha relazione se non all' uomo, e regolatamente non s' adopera nel caso retto che nel senso antiquato di 'altri." In fact, both altrui and altri are sometimes used to express some one who must not be named, as in Inf. v, 80, 81, when Dante cries out to the shades of Francesca and Paolo:—

"'O anime affannate,
Venite a noi parlar, s' altri nol niega.'"
[i.e. "O afflicted souls, come and speak to us, if Some One
(Who must not be named here in Hell) forbid it not."]

† paurose: The primary meaning of pauroso is "timid," but in the Gran Dizionario, under § 3, we find: "Aggiunto di cosa che mette paura, o di cui si ha paura," and then the passage in the text is quoted in illustration. Compare Dittamondo, v, 22:—

"Questo cammino, onde dobbiamo gire, È tanto grave, pauroso e oscuro,

Quanto alcun altro, ch' i sapessi dire."

Also in the MS. romance of Giriffo Calvaneo, Il Povero Avveduto, in the Laurentian Library at Florence, 2. 66, there is the following:—

"E porta in campo giallo un drago nero Nello stendardo pauroso e fiero."

† non mi tange: In St. Thom. Aquin, Summ. Theol., Pars iii, suppl. qu. xciv, Art. 2, the opinion of the Schoolmen upon this subject is clearly indicated: "Sed in futuro [peccatores] non poterunt transferri a sua miseria. Unde ad eorum miserias non poterit esse compassio secundum electionem rectam. Et ideo beati, qui erunt in gloria, nullam compassionem ad damnatos habebunt." Compare also Inf. xx, 28-30, which I have already quoted in this Canto in the footnote on guerra in l. 4.

## Canto II. Readings on the Inferno.

One need only be afraid of those things which have power to do harm to any one: but not of the rest, which are not fear-inspiring. I am by God in His Grace so made, that your misery (in Limbo) touches me not, nor does any flame of yonder burning (in Hell) molest me.'

There is a marked distinction intended here between the two designations vostra miseria, by which we are to understand the spirits in Limbo, who are only so far afflicted that they live without hope in desire, and fiamma d'esto incendio, which alludes directly to the shades tormented in Hell.

After this short digression, Beatrice returns to the first part of the subject, and tells Virgil who were the two that sent her to him.

Donna è gentil nel ciel, che si compiange Di questo impedimento ov' io ti mando, Sì che duro giudizio lassù frange.\*

95

There is in Heaven a noble Lady, who feels such compassion for this hindrance (of the three Beasts), there whereunto I send thee, that she breaks the stern judgment there above.

In the literal sense the *Donna Gentile* is the Virgin Mary, whose name, like that of our Lord, is not mentioned throughout the *Inferno*, being evidently considered too sacred to be pronounced in the abode of sin. In the allegorical sense the *Donna Gentile* is the symbol of Divine Grace, and is said to appease the just judgment of God in Heaven, which would

<sup>\*</sup>duro giudizio . . . frange: Imitated from Virgil's famous line in Æn. vi, 883:—
"Heu, miserande puer! si qua fata aspera rumpas,"

otherwise punish every sinner according to his sin, but which can be recalled by Interceding Grace.

A third Lady is now introduced.

Questa chiese Lucia \* in suo dimando E disse: Or ha bisogno il tuo fedele Di te, ed io a te lo raccomando.

She the (Donna Gentile) in her request besought Lucia and said: Thy faithful one is in need of thee now, and I commend him unto thee.

It may be well to remind the reader of the different personages who successively speak in this part of the narrative.

<sup>\*</sup>Lucia: Dante is here either referring to Santa Lucia, the celebrated virgin martyr of Syracuse, or to Lucia degli Ubaldini, sister of Cardinal Ottaviano degli Ubaldini, who (Inf. x, 120) is mentioned as il Cardinale. This Lucia was in 1225 living in the Convent of Santa Chiara di Monticelli, near Porta San Pier Gattolini at Florence, and was subsequently canonized. In the allegorical sense Lucia is, as her name implies, a symbol of Illuminating Grace. The Roman Church venerates her as the patron saint of all who suffer from diseases of the eyes. Dante was her fedele, on the one hand because he had sought for light when lost in the darkness of the forest, that is, during the epoch of his moral and religious aberrations, and on the other hand because he had a special veneration for Santa Lucia. We read in Convito iii, 9, 1l. 149-157, his own account of the weakness of his eyes: "per affaticare lo viso molto a studio di leggere, in tanto debilitai gli spiriti visivi, che le stelle mi pareano tutte d' alcuno albore ombrate. E per lunga riposanza in luoghi scuri e freddi, e con affreddare lo corpo dell' occhio con acqua chiara, rivinsi la virtù disgregata, che tornai nel primo buono stato della vista." Witte (Dante-Forschungen, ii, 30-1) conjectures that this Lucia degli Ubaldini was Dante's patron saint, for he was born in May 1265, whereas the festival of Santa Lucia of Syracuse falls on Dec. 13th. The festival of Santa Lucia degli Ubaldini, according to the Florentine calendar, was on 30th May, which day Witte consequently supposes to have been Dante's birthday. See Paget Toynbee's Dante Dictionary, s.v. Lucia; and Witte's Dante-Forschungen, I.c.

Virgil is telling Dante how a Lady, who names herself as Beatrice, seeks him out in Limbo, and explains, as a reason for her descent into Hell, that a second Lady, the Donna Gentile, has sought out a third Lady, Lucia, in Paradise, and informing her of Dante's deadly peril, entreats her to do something for him. Lucia thereupon comes over to Beatrice, asks her to lend Dante her aid, and Beatrice relates to Virgil how speedily she has done so, and how she now entrusts Dante to Virgil's persuasive eloquence.

Lucia, nimica di ciascun crudele,\*
Si mosse, e venne al loco † dov' io era,
Che mi sedea con l' antica Rachele. I

100

\*ciascun crudele: I follow Brunone Bianchi, Lamennais, and Carlyle in interpreting this: "cioè d' ogni crudeltà."

† al loco dov' io era: In Par. xxxi, 64-69, we learn where was Beatrice's allotted seat in Heaven, namely, in the third rank of the thrones among the petals of the Heavenly Rose:—

"Ed: 'Ella ov' è?' di subito diss' io.
Ond' egli: 'A terminar lo tuo disiro
Mosse Beatrice me del loco mio;
E se riguardi su nel terzo giro
Del sommo grado, tu la rivedrai
Nel trono che i suoi merti le sortiro.'"

† l' antica Rachele: In the Divina Commedia Rachel stands as a symbol of Divine Contemplation. See Purg. xxvii, 104-108, where in Dante's dream Leah says to him:—

"Ma mia suora Rachel mai non si smaga Dal suo miraglio, e siede tutto giorno. Ell' è de' suoi begli occhi veder vaga, Com' io dell' adornarmi con le mani; Lei lo vedere, e me l' ovrare appaga."

Compare also Par. xxxii, 7-9 :-

"Nell' ordine che fanno i terzi sedi, Siede Rachel di sotto da costei Con Beatrice, sì come tu vedi." Disse: Beatrice, loda \* di Dio vera,
Chè non soccorri quei che t' amò tanto,
Che uscio † per te della volgare schiera?
Non odi tu la pièta del suo pianto,
Non vedi tu la morte che il combatte
Su la fiumana, ove il mar non ha vanto?

105

Lucia, the enemy of all cruelty, hastened, and came to the place where I was, where I sat with the Rachel of ancient days. She said: Beatrice, true praise of God, why dost thou not succour him who loved thee so, that for thee he issued forth from the vulgar herd? Dost thou not hear the anguish of his complaint? Dost thou not see the death that combats him, beside that flood whereof the ocean has no boast?

The usual explanation of this passage is that Dante was struggling for his life on the banks of

\*loda di Dio: "Lucia parlando a Beatrice la chiama vera loda di Dio: imperò che la santa Teologia con la grazia cooperante e consumante accompagnata sempre, loda Idio veramente e non fintamente, ovvero nell'esercizio dell' attività, ovvero nel riposo della contemplazione." (Buti.) Compare Purg. xxxiii, 115, where Dante addresses Beatrice as the Light and Glory of the human race:—

"O luce, O gloria della gente umana!"
Also in illustration of loda di Dio, compare Vita Nuova, § 26, Il. 14-19: "Dicevano molti, poichè passata era: Questa non è femmina, anzi è uno de' bellissimi angeli del cielo. Ed altri dicevano: Questa è una maraviglia; che benedetto sia lo

Signore che sì mirabilmente sa operare."

† uscio . . . della volgare schiera: In Conv. i, 1, 1l. 67-71, we read in Dante's own words how he left the common herd: "E io adunque, che non seggo alla beata mensa, ma, fuggito dalla pastura del volgo, a' piedi di coloro che seggono ricolgo di quello che da loro cade," by which Dante means that he studied as much as he was able. And in the last paragraph of the Vita Nuova (§ xliii) he writes: "Appresso . . . apparve a me una mirabil visione, nella quale vidi cose, che mi fecero proporre di non dir più di questa benedetta, infino a tanto che io non potessi più degnamente trattare di lei. E di venire a ciò io studio quanto posso, sì com' ella sa veracemente."

the river Acheron, which gives the ocean none of its waters, the rivers of Hell not being supposed to fall into the sea. But Blanc (Saggio della D.C.), remarking that no river is ever mentioned by Dante as flowing out of the dark forest, takes fiumana in the allegorical sense as the life of Man, so tempest-uously tossed about by his passions, that even the raging ocean cannot claim to be more stormy than that flood is. Fiumana, he thinks, in its literal sense, signifies the dark forest; and the death with which Dante is threatened is spiritual death from the attacks of the three Beasts, namely, Sensuality, Ambition and Cupidity.

Beatrice ends her narrative by telling Virgil how speedy she was to fulfil Lucia's behest, and with what confidence she entrusts Dante to his charge.

Al mondo non fur mai persone ratte

A far lor pro, nè a fuggir lor danno,
Com' io, dopo cotai parole fatte,
Venni quaggiù dal mio beato scanno,
Fidandomi del tuo parlare onesto,
Che onora te e quei che udito l' hanno.'—\*

Never were persons in the world so quick to seek their advantage, nor to flee from their hurt, as I

<sup>\*</sup> e quei che udito P hanno: "Il sentire i grandi poeti onora; il vero lettore d' uno scrittor grande non può essere un uomo piccolo." (Gioberti.) Compare Rev i, 3: "Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein." Compare also Sordello's impassioned outburst of rapturous praise on hearing that he is in the presence of Virgil Purg. vii, 16-18):—

that he is in the presence of Virgil (Purg. vii, 16-18):—
""O gloria de' Latin,' disse, 'per cui
Mostrò ciò che potea la lingua nostra,
O pregio eterno del loco ond' io fui,'"

(Beatrice)—after such words had been uttered—came down here from my blessed seat, confiding in thy noble speech, which honours thee, as well as those who have heard it.'

Benvenuto remarks that in the above lines Dante demonstrates the great force and virtue of eloquence, which is able to recall the erring, collect the scattered, bend the stiff-necked, and perform many other wonderful things.

And now Virgil in conclusion, after telling Dante the powerful effect upon himself caused by the sight of Beatrice's tearful sympathy, strongly urges him to go forward with courage and resolution.

> Poscia che m' ebbe ragionato questo, Gli occhi \* lucenti lagrimando volse; Perchè mi fece del † venir più presto:

115

\*Gli occhi lucenti: In this single instance of the eyes of Beatrice being mentioned in the Inferno, they appear to have exerted the same potent influence on Virgil, as we afterwards read, at the end of the Purgatorio, and throughout the Paradiso, that they did upon Dante. See Purg. xxxi, 109-111:—

"Menrenti agli occhi suoi; ma nel giocondo Lume ch' è dentro aguzzeranno i tuoi Le tre di là, che miran più profondo."

And ibid. 118, 119:—
"Mille disiri più che fiamma caldi

Strinsermi gli occhi agli occhi rilucenti."
To quote one among many instances in the Paradiso, cf. Par. xv, 34-36:—

"Chè dentro agli occhi suoi ardeva un riso Tal, ch' io pensai co' miei toccar lo fondo Della mia grazia e del mio Paradiso."

Compare Conv. ii, 16, ll. 27-30: "Gli occhi di questa Donna sono le sue dimostrazioni, le quali negli occhi dello intelletto innamorano l' anima, libera nelle condizioni."

† del venir: "non vuol dire al venire, ma sì all' atto del venire." (Biagioli).

E venni a te così, com' ella volse; \*

Dinanzi a quella fiera ti levai

Che del bel monte il corto andar ti tolse. †

Dunque che è? perchè, perchè ristai?

Perchè tanta viltà nel core allette? ‡

Perchè ardire e franchezza non hai?

Poscia che tai tre donne benedette

Curan di te nella corte del cielo,

E il mio parlar tanto ben t' impromette?"—§

\*com' ella volse: Fraticelli says that this second volse is a tense of the ancient verb vogliere for volere.

† il corto andar ti tolse: "perciocchè se davanti parata non ti si fosse, in breve spazio saresti potuto sopra il monte essere andato; dove per lo suo impedimento, a volervi su pervenire, ti convien fare molto più lungo cammino." (Boccaccio, Comento.)

tallette: I am in great doubt which of two interpretations to give to this word. Without very much conviction either way, I adopt that of Benvenuto and Boccaccio, which is also followed by Blanc and Scartazzini. Benvenuto renders the passage thus: "perche allette, idest cur tu advocas? et est verbum Tuscorum: quando enim volunt vocare avem dicunt: allecta illam avem: et est allecto verbum frequentativum hujus verbi allicio." Boccaccio says: "nel cuor t' allette? cioè chiami colla falsa estimazione, la qual fai delle cose esteriori." Blanc (Saggio) has an excellent article on this word (pp. 32, 33). He says he is unable to accept the interpretation of the most of the modern Commentators, who derive allettare from letto, and interpret it dar letto, albergare, annidare. He thinks (like Benvenuto) that it comes rather from the Latin allectare, and that Dante means to say: "Why dost thou give access to, callest, invitest cowardice into thine heart of thine own accord?" All the English translations that I have seen, derive the word from letto, or albergo, with the sense of "to find a bed, to lodge." We come upon the expression again in Inf. ix, 93, where the Angel rebuking the demons at the Gate of Dis, asks them :-"'Ond' esta oltracotanza in voi s' alletta?'"

which Blanc interprets in the same way.

§ t' impromette: Compare Ciullo d' Alcamo, Rime, in Poeti del Primo Secolo, vol. i, p. 14:—
"Chisso ben t' imprometto, e senza faglia [fallo] Tè la mia fede, che m' hai in tua baglia." [balia.]

Tè la mia fede, che m' hai in tua baglia." [balla.]
See also Bono Giamboni, Forma di Onesta Vita, Della Prudenza,
§ vii (in Nannucci's Manuale, vol. ii, p. 426: "La tua promessa

After that she had said this to me, weeping she turned away her beaming eyes, whereby she made me more speedy in my coming; and I came to thee as she desired; I delivered thee from the presence of that wild beast which deprived thee of the short ascent of the beautiful mountain. What is it then? Why dost thou tarry? Wherefore dost thou invite such coward fears into thy heart? Why hast thou not boldness and freedom, when three such blessed Ladies are taking thought for thee in the Court of Heaven, and my words promise thee so much good?"

Virgil refers to his promises in Canto i, 112-126.

Benvenuto says that Virgil's concluding words imply that Dante, as a great philosopher and poet, has human science to assist him as well as sacred Theology and the Grace of God; and, as he is now prepared to abandon the paths of sin, he will at the last be found among the Elect, but that he, Virgil himself, having been a pagan, has no such hope.

Division IV.—The good effect of Virgil's long and persuasive speech is now shown in Dante's complete return to his good purpose, and his resignation to Virgil's guidance. He compares himself, bowed down to the earth in the darkness of sin, to flowers bent down and closed by the cold night; and, as these are straightened and opened by the rays of the morning Sun, so is the soul of Dante uplifted and his heart opened by the Illuminating Grace of God. He expresses his profound gratitude both to Beatrice and Virgil.

sia con grande considerazione, e sia lo dono maggiore che la 'mpromessa,")

Quali i fioretti \* dal notturno gelo Chinati e chiusi, poi che il Sol gl' imbianca, † Si drizzan I tutti aperti in loro stelo; Tal mi fec' io di mia virtute stanca: 130 E tanto buono ardire al cor mi corse, Ch' io cominciai come persona franca: -"O pietosa colei che mi soccorse, E tu cortese, § che ubbidisti tosto Alle vere parole | che ti porse!

\* Compare Boccaccio, Il Filostrato, ii, st. lxxx:-"Come fioretto dal notturno gelo

Chinato e chiuso, poi che il sol l' imbianca, S' apre e si leva dritto sopra il stelo."

Chaucer also (imitating Boccaccio rather than Dante) in Troilus and Creseide, book ii, st. cxxxix:—

"But right as floures through the cold of night Iclosed, stoupen in her stalkes lowe, Redressen hem agen the sonne bright, And spreden in her kinde course by rowe," etc.

t poi che il Sol gl' imbianca : Compare Par. vii, 81 :-"Perchè del lume suo poco s' imbianca."

Venturi (Sim. 141) says: "Imbiancarsi esprime il passaggio che fa gradatamente un colore di men vivo a più vivo. Qui, usato attivamente, vale, gl' illumina."

Si drizzan . . . in loro stelo: Compare Poliziano, La Giostra, lib. ii, st. 38 :-

"Surgevon rugiadosi in loro stelo Gli fior chinati dal notturno gelo,"

§ cortese: In Convito, ii, 11, ll. 54-68, Dante gives a definition of cortesia: "Nulla cosa in donna sta più bene, che cortesia. E non siano li miseri volgari anche di questo vocabolo ingannati, che credono che cortesia non sia altro che larghezza: chè larghezza è una speziale e non generale cortesia. Cortesia e onestade è tutt' uno : e perocchè nelle corti anticamente le virtudi e li belli costumi s' usavano (siccome oggi s' usa il contrario), si tolse questo vocabolo dalle corti; e fu tanto a dire cortesia, quanto uso di corte. Lo qual vocabolo se oggi si togliesse dalle corti, massimamente d' Italia, non sarebbe altro a dire che turpezza."

| Alle vere parole: Compare Par. iv, 94-96:-"Io t' ho per certo nella mente messo,

Tu m' hai con desiderio il cor disposto
Sì al venir, con le parole tue,
Ch' io son tornato al primo proposto.
Or va, chè un sol volere è d' ambo e due:
Tu duca,\* tu signore, e tu maestro."—
Così gli dissi; e poichè mosso fue, †
Entrai per lo cammino alto e silvestro.

140

Even as the flowerets, bent down and closed by the frost of night, uplift themselves all open upon their stems, when the Sun illumines them; such did I become with my exhausted vigour: and such good courage ran into my heart, that I began as one undaunted: "O full of pity she (Beatrice) who succoured me! And courteous thou who didst speedily obey the words of truth that she addressed to thee! Thou hast by thy words disposed my heart with so great a desire to come, that I have

Ch' alma beata non poria mentire,
Perocch' è sempre al primo vero appresso."

Scartazzini thinks that the "true words" of Beatrice to which
Dante is alluding are evidently what she said in Il. 61-66
about Dante being in great spiritual peril, and his qualifying
them now as vere is his confession and avowal of his aberrations from pure religion.

\* Tu duca, tu signore, e tu maestro: Di Siena remarks that the troubadours were in the habit of giving the same sort of titles to their lady-loves out of gallantry. There is an instance of this in the Rime of Rustico di Filippo (surnamed Barbuto), a contemporary and intimate friend of Brunetto Latini. See Nannucci, Manuale, vol. i, p. 486:—

"Mercè, madonna, non m' abbandonate, E non vi piaccia ch' io stesso m' uccida; Poi che viene da voi quest' amistate, Dovetemi esser, donna, e parte, e guida."

tfue: Nannucci (Analisi Critica dei Verbi, pp. 450-452) says that the different inflexions of the perfect of essere, fui, etc., were derived from the obsolete Latin verb fuo, of which the participle futurus remains; and that fu got changed into fue to assimilate it to the 3rd person singular of the perfect tenses of all the conjugations, e.g. amoe for amò; temee; udie for udi; and fee, perf. of fare.



#### Canto II. Readings on the Inferno.

79

returned to my first purpose. Go now, for one sole will is in us both: Thou guide, thou lord and thou master." Thus spake I to him; and when he had begun to move on, I entered along the deep and rugged way.

Boccaccio remarks that Dante names Virgil his guide as regards their journeying; his lord as far as pre-eminence and authority are concerned; and his master with regard to his teaching.

END OF CANTO II.

#### CANTO III.

THE GATE OF HELL—THE VESTIBULE OF HELL—THE SOULS OF THOSE WHO WERE EQUALLY INDIFFERENT TO GOOD AND EVIL—THE ACHERON—CHARON.

BENVENUTO remarks that Dante, having completed the two preliminary Cantos, in the first of which he laid down his Proposition, and in the second made his Invocation, now in this Third Canto enters upon his narrative or general subject.

Benvenuto divides it into five parts.

In Division I, from ver. 1 to ver. 21, Dante describes the Entrance Gate of Hell, and the terrible inscription over the doorway.

In Division II, from ver. 22 to ver. 57, he relates the anguish of those who lived without fame, being neither good nor bad, and of the Angels who were neither for God nor against Him.

In Division III, from ver. 58 to ver. 69, he recounts the special penalties of these sinners, and notices one

<sup>\*</sup>We noticed before 'page 2) that Benvenuto has made a slight discrepancy in first stating that the preliminary part of the Inferno (procemium) consists of three Cantos, whereas now he says: "Expeditis duobus capitulis prohemialibus, in quorum primo Dantes proposuit, in secundo invocavit, nunc consequenter in isto tertio capitulo incipit suam narrationem sive tractatum."

in particular, for whose public career he felt great contempt.

In Division IV, from ver. 70 to ver. 120, he describes the shades of the lost being conveyed over the river Acheron by the grim ferryman Charon, who opposes the entrance of Dante into his boat.

In Division V, from ver. 121 to ver. 136, Virgil answers a question put to him by Dante; after which an earthquake, accompanied by wind and lightning, so terrifies Dante, that he falls down in a swoon.

Division I.—We are not told at what hour the Poets reach the Gate of Hell, but there is a distinct indication in Canto vii, 97-99, that it is past midnight when they are leaving the Fourth Circle, and we may therefore conclude that they enter into Hell just at nightfall on Good Friday, 1300.

It may be observed that Dante's entrance both into Purgatory and also into the Terrestrial Paradise took place at day-break, and into Paradise at noon.

By a prosopopeia, Dante makes the Gate of Hell itself seem to utter the dire words with which this Canto opens.

-"PER ME SI VA NELLA CITTÀ DOLENTE,\*

<sup>\*</sup> città dolente: While città signifies Hell in general, it more especially refers to the City of Dis (Cantos viii, ix and x), within whose walls is the descent into Lower Hell. One should notice the contrast between the City of Dis, called in Inf. x, la città del fuoco, and Paradise, which is the City of God. Compare Inf. i, 126, where Virgil tells Dante that God will never admit him (Virgil) a heathen into Paradise:—

PER ME SI VA NELL' ETERNO DOLORE, PER ME SI VA TRA LA PERDUTA GENTE. GIUSTIZIA MOSSE IL MIO ALTO FATTORE; PECEMI LA DIVINA POTESTATE,\* LA SOMMA SAPÎENZA E IL PRIMO AMORE. † DINANZI A ME I NON FUR COSE CREATE

5

"Non vuol che in sua città per me si vegna." And in Purg. xiii, 94, 95, where Sapia di Siena, in answer to Dante's question as to whether any one of her companions is an anima latina, replies :-

"'O frate mio, ciascuna [anima] è cittadina D' una vera città."

And in Par. xxx, 128-130, where Beatrice, after conducting Dante into the centre of the Heavenly Rose, says to him :-

> Quanto è il convento delle bianche stole! Vedi nostra città quanto ella gira!"

\* la Divina Potestate, et seq.: Scartazzini points out that in these two lines Dante is alluding to the Holy Trinity, according to the theological maxim that opera ad extra sunt totius Trinitatis; and that in his circumscription of the Three Persons, Dante is following St. Thomas Aquinas. See Summ. Theol. Pars i, qu. xxxix, Art. 8: "Item secundum Augustinum Patri attribuitur potentia, Filio sapientia, spiritui sancto bonitas."

† Primo Amore: Compare Dante's Sestina ii (beginning

Amor, tu vedi ben, che questa donna), 11. 49, 50 :-" Però, virtù, che sei prima che tempo, Prima che moto e che sensibil luce.'

Compare Par. vi, 11:-

"Per voler del primo amor ch' io sento," etc.

Dinanzi a me non fur cose create Se non eterne: According to the Schoolmen, the Angels and Primal Matter were a part of Creation that emanated directly from God and were therefore incorruptible and eternal. Compare Par. vii, 130-138. Hell is "the everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels."
(Matt. xxv, 41.) It was thought to have been prepared after the fall of Lucifer, and consequently after the Angels and the Spheres of Heaven. The things created before Hell are consequently the Angels and the Heavens, and these are the cose create which last eternally. See Readings on the Paradiso, vol. ii, pp. 367, 368, footnote on Par. xxix, 31; and Moore's Studies in Dante, i, pp. 109, 110.

SE NON ETERNE, ED 10 ETERNO\* DURO: LASCIATE OGNI SPERANZA VOI CH' ENTRATE!"

"Through me is the way into the city of woe, through me is the way into eternal suffering, through me is the way among the lost people. Justice moved my Great Maker (to build me); the Divine Omnipotence, the Highest Wisdom, and the Primal Love, made me. Before me were no created things; save eternal, and eternally I endure: Abandon all hope ve who enter in."

Benvenuto observes that this last is the most universal and crowning of the penalties of Hell, that the spirits of the doomed can never hope for any term or limit to their punishment; and the lost soul may be said to live on in eternal chastisement, just as the salamander lives on in the fire for a considerable

\* eterno duro: Others read eterna, but Dr. Moore (Text. Crit. p. 275) observes that although the MSS, are not very unevenly divided between the two readings, it is in favour of the former that both grammar and euphony are against it, and consequently eterno would be more likely to be changed into eterna than vice versa. Dr. Moore adds that eterno is an adverb rather than an adjective, like the Latin neuter in "sedet aeternumque sedebit," "aeternum latrans," "serviet aeternum," etc. Compare Inf. xix, 12:-

"E quanto giusto tua virtù comparte,"

where several MSS. have giusta. Compare also Inf. xix, 64:—
"Per che lo spirto tutto (al. tutti) storse i piedi."
And the reading "tutto arricciar li peli" found in some MSS., in Inf. xxiii, 19. Also Inf. xi, 67, 68:"'Maestro, assai chiaro procede

La tua ragione.'" And Par. xvii, 92, 93:-

"e disse cose

Incredibili a quei che fien presente." Dr. Moore observes that in most of these cases the masculine form is not that of the majority of MSS., and possibly not always correct, but its frequent use even as a variant, will serve to illustrate the use here contended for.

time (aliquandiu). But here Benvenuto thinks a doubt may arise, as to why Dante could have been so mad as to pass through the gate after reading the inscription. The answer to this is, that Dante did not enter into Hell after the manner that the stubborn spirits did, but with the full knowledge that he would be able to come out, as will be stated further on in this Canto; just as we have sometimes seen some temporal lord cast any one into prison for the sake of example, and order that he shall never issue from it; whereas he will, as a special favour, grant leave to some one else to enter in, and see the prisoners' condition and the mode of their punishment, but with the full security of being able to come out again.

The awful words of the inscription seem to have caught Dante's eye before he has realised where they are placed.

> Oueste parole di colore oscuro IO Vid' io scritte al sommo d' una porta: Perch' io :- " Maestro, il senso lor m' è duro."-

These words of sombre hue saw I written over the summit of a gateway. Whereat I said: "Master, the import of them to me is fearful."

Dante's meaning is that the written warning that he must abandon all hope \* of coming out again fills

<sup>\*</sup> As to the abandonment of all hope, compare the words of Virgil (Inf. iv, 40-42), when he tells Dante that he, with other upright heathen, are in Limbo for being unbaptized, and not for any sin :"Per tai difetti, non per altro rio,

Semo perduti, e sol di tanto offesi, Che senza speme vivemo in disio.'

## Canto III. Readings on the Inferno.

his heart with terror. It is worthy of remark that throughout the *Inferno*, and until he has passed out of Purgatory into the Terrestrial Paradise, Dante depicts himself as entirely lacking all the qualities of a brave man, such as it is known that he exhibited in his youth, and notably at the battle of Campaldino. Although Virgil now enjoins him to lay aside all cowardice, his human fears in the presence of the awful mysteries of the hitherto unseen world, are too great for him to suppress.

Ed egli a me, come persona accorta:

—"Qui si convien lasciare ogni sospetto;\*

Ogni viltà convien che qui sia morta.

Noi siam venuti al loco ov' io t' ho detto†

Che tu vedrai le genti dolorose,

Ch' hanno perduto il ben dell' intelletto."—‡

\* sospetto: The word is used here with the signification of "fear," as in Inf. ix, 51:-

"... io mi strinsi al poeta per sospetto."

And xxiii, 53, 54:—
"ei furono in sul colle

Sopresso noi: ma non gli era sospetto."
[Here the context plainly shows that sospetto means "cause of fear."] And Purg. xxii, 125:—

"E prendemmo la via con men sospetto."

t loco ov' io t' ho detto, et seq.: Virgil is referring to his words in Inf. i, 114-117:—

"... trarrotti di qui per loco eterno, Ove udirai le disperate strida Di quegli antichi spiriti dolenti, Che la seconda morte ciascun grida."

† ben dell' intelletto: Blanc (Voc. Dant. s.v. bene) observes of this passage that "non significa: hanno perduto l' intelletto, ma ciò che costituisce il bene dell' intendimento, cioè il conoscimento di Dio." In Conv. ii, 14, ll. 38-44: "Così della induzione della perfezione secondo le scienze sono cagione in noi; per l' abito delle quali potemo la verità speculare, ch' è ultima perfezione nostra, siccome dice il Filosofo nel sesto

And he to me as one quick to understand: "Here must all fear be left behind; all cowardice must here be extinct. We are come to the place where I have told thee that thou wilt see the unhappy beings, who have lost the good of their intellect (i.e. the knowledge of God)."

Virgil now leads Dante in through the Gate.

E poichè la sua mano \* alla mia pose, Con lieto volto, ond' io mi confortai, Mi mise dentro + alle segrete cose.

20

And after that he had laid his hand on mine with joyful mien, at which I took comfort, he led me in among the hidden mysteries.

These hidden mysteries are the unseen world, whereon never before had mortal man gazed.

Benvenuto thinks that Virgil did in real truth introduce Dante into Hell, for he had already given

dell' Etica, quando dice che 'l vero è il bene dell' intelletto."

\* sua mano alla mia pose, et seq.: Compare Chaucer, The Assemble of Foules, st. 25:-

"And with that my hand in his he toke anone; Of which I comfort caught, and went in fast.' Compare also Inf. xiii, 130:-

"Presemi allor la mia scorta per mano."

+ Mi mise dentro, etc.: Compare Virg. En. vi, 261, 262:-"Nunc animis opus, Ænea; nunc pectore firmo. Tantum effata, furens antro se immisit aperto."

In the Rime of Fra Jacopone da Todi (in Nannucci's Manuale, vol. i, p. 401) the following passage occurs:-"Nello 'nferno n' andrai eternamente

Là dove è strida e pianti con gran guai." This line in the Pucci MS. is read:-

"Là dove son grandi stridori e guai." Nannucci in a note compares this to Matt. viii, 12: "Ibi erit fletus, et stridor dentium."

## Canto III. Readings on the Inferno.

him such a description of sins and their punishments, that Dante found the way, so to speak, prepared for him. And Virgil leads Dante with a joyful countenance, for the wise man is ever ready, willingly, joyfully, and without envy, to impart knowledge to others.

Division II.—On first entering within the gloomy portals of Hell, Dante's attention is at once attracted to the punishment of those whose lives had been absolutely neutral, who had never sinned actively, yet had done no single deed worthy of praise. They are briefly described and contemptuously dismissed from further notice, though, as a matter of fact, Dante (ll. 52 et seq.) returns to further consideration of them, and dwells minutely on their torments.

Quivi sospiri,\* pianti ed alti guai Risonavan per l' aer senza stelle, Perch' io al cominciar ne lagrimai.

fire, like sparks."

\*\* Quivi sospiri, et seq.: Compare Virg. Æn. vi, 557-559:—

"Hinc exaudiri gemitus et saeva sonare

Verbera, tum stridor ferri tractăeque catenae.

Constitit Æneas, strepitumque exterritus hausit."

Longfellow gives the following translation of the description by Frate Alberico (Visio, § 9) of the Mouth of Hell: "After all these things, I was led to the Tartarean Regions, and to the mouth of the Infernal Pit, which seemed like unto a well; regions full of horrid darkness, of fetid exhalations, of shrieks and loud howlings. Near this Hell was a Worm of immeasurable size, bound with a large chain, one end of which seemed to be fastened in Hell. Before the mouth of this Hell there stood a great multitude of souls, which he absorbed at once, as if they were flies; so that, drawing in his breath, he swallowed them all together; then, breathing, exhaled them all on

Diverse lingue,\* orribili favelle, † Parole di dolore, accenti d' ira, 1 Voci alte e fioche, § e suon di man con elle,

25

\* Diverse lingue: There is some uncertainty as to the right signification in this passage of diverse. In Inf. vi, 13, Cerberus is mentioned as fiera diversa, i.e. "a monster terrible to look upon"; in Inf. xxii, 10, si diversa cennamella, I have rendered as "so unseemly a bugle-call"; and there would be no incorrectness in translating diverse here in one of those senses; but I follow Gelli's interpretation, who writes: "intendendo per diverse lingue i varii idiomi delle molte e straniere genti le quali concorrono di qualsivoglia paese quivi, dolendosi cia-scuna nel suo linguaggio della sua miseria." Benvenuto has much the same explanation. And the Anonimo Fiorentino: "Anime d' ogni generazione, d' ogni paese.'

+ orribili favelle: That the old Commentators attached the greatest importance as to the precise meaning of Dante's words, is shown by Boccaccio's interpretation of this sentence: "orribili favelle, cioè spaventevoli, come son qui tra noi quelle de' Tedeschi, li quali sempre pare che garrino e gridino [chatter and screech], quando più amichevolmente favellano."

1 accenti d' ira: Compare Inf. xxiv, 67-69.

§ voci alte e fioche: Some translate fioche as "hoarse," but I prefer to take it as contrasting with alte, and that the voices Dante heard were loud or faint, according as their torment made these wretched beings either yell with pain, or be completely subdued and overcome, just as Virgil (Canto i, 63) is described as

"Chi per lungo silenzio parea fioco," that is, "one who from long silence appeared to be weak of voice." The primary meaning of fioco (see Gran Dizionario) is, one who has an impediment to the voice caused by damp, or catarrh that has attacked the uvula, and the adjective is as much used in speaking of the voice, as of the words uttered by that voice. Hence it may mean either "hoarse, feeble or indistinct." Dr. Moore tells me that he doubts whether there is a single passage in Dante where floco means "hoarse." Benvenuto's interpretation is that the voices were hoarse: "fioche, idest raucae, et graves propter nimietatem planctûs, qui facit raucescere vocem." Boccaccio likewise: "Suole l' uomo per lo molto gridare affiocare." And Buti: "Come parla l' uomo quando è infreddato." Gelli seems to favour both interpretations: "Nè credo ch' ei sia possibile . . .

Facevano un tumulto, il qual s' aggira Sempre in quell' aria senza tempo tinta, Come la rena \* quando a turbo spira.

20

Here sighs, lamentations and loud cries of woe resounded through the starless air, whereat at first I wept. Divers tongues, horrible utterances, words of anguish, accents of anger, voices loud and faint, and with them the sounds of hands (i.e. of spirits beating their breasts in agony), made a tumult that is for ever whirling on in that eternally dark air, even as the sand when it is blowing after the manner of a whirlwind.

These miserable wretches are rightly compared to the sand for their number, and, like it, are vile, sterile and only fit to be trodden under foot. They are despised by every one, and blown about by every blast of fortune. And, as will be shown presently, they all run equally without aim or object, and are scattered in all directions.

Dante asks Virgil who they are.

Ed io, ch' avea d' orror † la testa cinta, Dissi:—" Maestro, che è quel ch' i' odo?

immaginare voci più strane e spiacevoli a l'orecchio, che di questa sorte che dice il Poeta, chiamandole alte per la grandezza del dolore il quale le faceva acute, e fioche per aver durato assai a gridare." See notes on Inf. i, 63 (2nd ed.), and Par. xi, 133.

\* Come la rena : Compare Milton, Par. Lost, ii, 903 :-

"... Unnumbered as the sands
Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil,
Levied to side with warring winds, and poise
Their lighter wings."

† d' orror la testa cinta: Many read d' error. On this Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, i, p. 192) observes: "While the reading orror is preferable on other grounds also, it is supported by Scartazzini by a reference to the Virgilian expression in En. ii, 559:—

E che gent' è, \* che par nel duol sì vinta ? "-

And I, who had my head begirt with horror, said: " Master, what is that which I hear? and what people is this which seems so overcome with woe?"

The intensity of their pain had completely overborne, in these miserable shades, the power to endure suffering.

Virgil, with contemptuous disgust and reluctance, tells Dante the character of the despicable horde.

> Ed egli a me :- "Questo misero modo Tengon l'anime triste di coloro Che visser senza infamia e senza lodo. †

35

"At me tum primum saevus circumstetit horror." Benvenuto gives both readings, explaining d' orror, "propter horribilem clamorem"; and d' error, "idest qui habebam fantasiam turbatam tanta confusione." We must always remember in these cases of disputed readings, that sometimes both may have been Dante's, the latter reading being his own correction of the former one.

\* che gent' è, et seq. : Compare An. vi, 560, 561 :-Quae scelerum facies? o virgo, effare; quibusve Urgentur poenis? quis tantus plangor ad auras?"

+ Che visser senza infamia e senza lodo: In his Studies in Dante, i, p. 80, Dr. Moore remarks that the peculiar detestation here expressed by Dante for these neutral sinners, or Vigliacchi, i.e. "Dastards," was probably suggested by the language of Scripture concerning the lukewarm Laodiceans in Rev. iii, 14-16, such a denunciation falling in no doubt with his own feelings and sentiments, and encouraging this vigorous expression of them. Note especially the words: "I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot. I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot I will spue thee out of my mouth." These last words are reflected, Dr. Moore thinks, in the refusal of either heaven or hell to find a place for this caitiff throng. They were, in the language of Scott (Rob Roy, last chapter, ad finem), "ower bad for blessing, and ower gude for banning." Dr. Moore, regretting that space forbids his entering on the interesting psychological or moral questions that might be raised in respect

40

Mischiate sono a quel cattivo coro

Degli angeli che non furon ribelli

Nè fur fedeli a Dio, ma per sè foro.

Cacciàrli i Ciel per non esser men belli:

Nè lo profondo inferno gli riceve,

Chè alcuna gloria i rei avrebber d' elli."—

And he to me: "This miserable condition the wretched souls of those sustain who lived without infamy and without praise. They are mingled with that caitiff choir of the Angels who were not rebellious nor were faithful to God, but were for themselves (i.e. stood aloof). Heaven drove them forth that its beauty should not be impaired, nor does deep Hell receive them, because the guilty would have some glory over them."

The guilty might exult too much if they saw those who had been only neutral receive a punishment as severe as their own, and they would despise them for not having acquired any distinction in wickedness. Buti remarks that some might contend that Dante ought to have placed these paltry spirits in Limbo, in the First Circle, but the answer would be, that they who were doomed to Limbo were

to Dante's treatment of these sinners, and also of the neutral Angels, says he cannot but refer to the interesting parallel (to which his attention was first drawn by that excellent Dantist, Dean Paget), between this and Robert Browning's poem The Statue and the Bust, in which the Poet deals with the perverted inference that might be drawn from such language, that it would be better to peccare fortiter, which Dr. Moore disputes, only allowing that it might be less contemptible:—

"Let a man contend to the uttermost
For his life's set prize, be it what it will!
The counter our lovers staked was lost
As surely as if it were lawful coin:
And the sin I impute to each frustrate ghost
Is—the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin,
Though the end in sight was a vice, I say."

punished for original sin, whereas these wretches had had that purged out by Baptism, and Dante evidently wished to show that they had all been Christians. [Buti omits the consideration of what was the persuasion of the cattivo coro degli angeli.] Buti adds that others might argue that they ought to have been placed amongst the Slothful (Accidiosi) in the mire of the Styx (Inf. vii, 115-126), but we must remember that Sloth (Accidia) is only negligence respecting what is good; and we are not to understand that the shades in the Styx were careless about what was evil.

Dante would seem to be so stunned and confused at the awful sounds which greet his ears on the instant that he has passed through the Gate of Hell, that he has not yet begun to use his eyes; and he now questions Virgil a second time as to the meaning of these sounds of woe. Virgil tells him merely to take one glance at them and leave them to their fate.

> Ed io :- "Maestro, che è tanto greve A lor, che lamentar gli fa sì forte?"-Rispose :- "Dicerolti \* molto breve. Questi non hanno speranza di morte,†

45

<sup>\*</sup> Dicerolti, the same as te lo dird. Dicere is an obsolete word often used by early writers instead of dire, dirò.

t speranza di morte: Compare Rev. ix, 6: "And in those days shall men seek death, and shall not find it; and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them." Lubin takes quite a different view, and thinks speranza di morte means their fruitless hope of their memory dying in the world. He quotes St. Bernard (De Consideratione, lib. v, cap. xii): "Horreo incidere in manus mortis viventis et vitae morientis. Haec [est] secunda mors, quae nunquam peroccidit, sed semper

E la lor cieca \* vita è tanto bassa,
Che invidïosi son d' ogni altra sorte. †
Fama di loro il mondo esser non lassa,
Misericordia e giustizia gli sdegna:
Non ragioniam di lor, ‡ ma guarda e passa."—

And I: "Master, what is there so grievous to them, that makes them lament so loudly?" He replied: "I will tell it thee very briefly. These have no hope of death (i.e. of annihilation, by which their punishment may cease), and their obscure life is so degraded, that they are envious of every other lot. No record of them does the world allow, Mercy and Justice disdain them: speak we not of them, but look thou and pass on."

The glance which Dante now takes at the throng before him in obedience to the command of Virgil, is, Benvenuto remarks, a mere passing glance, and he looks at them in the mass (omnes reducit ad unum cumulum). We shall read however in Division III, that his observation is by no means so superficial as one might have been led to expect. Not only does he look (guarda) but he looks closely (riguardai).

occidit. Quis det illis semel mori, ut non moriantur in aeternum? qui dicunt montibus, cadite super nos, et vallibus, operite nos, quid nisi mortem mortis beneficio aut finire aut evadere volunt? invocabunt mortem et non veniet ... Durante anima durat et memoria, sed qualis? Foeda flagitiis, horrida facinoribus, vanitate tumida, contemptu hispida et neglecta. . . . In aeternum ergo necesse est cruciari."

\*cieca vita: Compare Inf. x, 58, 59, where Cavalcanti says to Dante:—

"'Se per questo cieco
Carcere vai per altezza d'ingegno,'" etc.

† altra sorte: These wretches covet even the lot of the worst sinners, who have left some notoriety behind them.

1 Non ragioniam di lor: Compare Écclus. xliv, 9: "And some there be which have no memorial; who are perished as though they had never been born."

Ed io, che riguardai,\* vidi una insegna, †

\* riguardai: This must not be translated "I looked," as if riguardare were the same as the French verb regarder, the Italian equivalent for which is guardare, "to look." dare means much more, and is (says the Gran Dizionario) "guardare di nuovo e attentamente e con diligenza." There is no greater pitfall for English translators of Italian than that of giving the version of some word that is similar, whether in Italian or French, such as ritrovarsi as if from trovarsi; mescere (to pour out) as if from mescolare or mischiare (to mix); terra (city) as if from the French terre (land); conca (a concavity) as if from conchiglia (a shell); camminata (the hall of a palace) as if from Camino (a chimney); and other inaccuracies, which are most misleading to students. I have seen in Inf. x, il grande scembio (the great carnage) translated "the great example," as if scembio were the same as esembio. The same translator renders mescere (Par. xvii) as "to mingle," instead of "to pour out"; il muro della terra (Inf. x) as "the wall of the land," instead of "the wall of the city"; trista conca (Inf. ix) as "shell of sorrow," instead of "cavity of woe"; camminata di palagio (Inf. xxxiv), a well-known expression in Boccaccio, as "palace chimney," instead of "hall of a palace"; un fracasso d' un suon pien di spavento (Inf. ix) as "a clatter (N.B. of an Angel!!) of a sound full of affright," though this is perhaps an ungraceful and singularly inappropriate use of English rather than a mistranslation of Italian—but worst of all, matta bestialitade is by this same translator rendered "mad beastliness" instead of "insensate brutishness." Bruno distinctly means "black," but because "brown" is brun in French nearly all the English translators render bruno as "brown," Onesto is constantly rendered "honest," when in its various significations it may mean either "noble," or "modest," or "beautiful," or "well-proportioned," or "decent," or "respectable." In the same way pomo (any fruit) is by most of the English translators rendered as "apple," though the Italian for "apple" is mela, and melo "an apple tree' pomme is the French for apple, and so pomo must be "apple" in Italian! Some English writers have thought stare means "to stand," but it only means "to remain, to abide," as for example, stare a letto is "to remain in bed," not "to stand upon one's bed." I have more than once noticed a common error among non-Italians at Florence, namely, because drapeau is the French for "flag," therefore the Italian word must be drappello. "Flag" in Italian is bandiera; drappello is "a file of

t vidi una insegna: Compare Milton, Comus, 603, 604:-

55

Che girando correva tanto ratta
Che d' ogni posa mi pareva indegna:
E dietro le venía sì lunga tratta
Di gente, ch' i' non avrei mai creduto,
Che morte tanta n' avesse disfatta.

And I, who looked attentively, perceived a banner, which whirling about ran so quickly that it seemed disdainful of all pause. And behind it came so long a train of people, that I never could have believed that death had undone so many.

Benvenuto suggests that perhaps the flag was a mere white rag such as would be carried by low fellows of the baser sort (sicut portant ribaldi), who have no distinguishing banner of their own. He describes ribaldi to be louts, cowards, flatterers, costermongers, barge-porters, beggars, and such like, of whom the multitude is infinite; "nor could I ever," he adds, "have believed there were so many in the

"All the grisly legions that troop Under the sooty flag of Acheron."

We are not told whether this banner was borne by a demon, but it would seem rather that we are to suppose it to have been seen flitting about like a will-of-the wisp in every direction, as being more emblematical of the purposeless life on earth of the shades who in Hell have to follow every variation of its movements. Di Siena ironically observes that it might be interesting to know whether Dante saw it carried by some past Gonfaloniere [standard-bearer] of the Republic of Florence. Rossetti (Divina Commedia) remarks: "Chi evitò la fatica non merita riposo; chi per inerzia non volle abbracciare la buona causa, e per amor dell' ozio tradì i suoi doveri, or corre sempre ; e Dante lungi di lagrimar più per essi, come fece al cominciare, poichè ha saputo chi sono, crede indegna di posa [undeserving of rest la bandiera che sono costretti a seguire : il che è lo stesso che credere indegni di riposo essi medesimi. Notate la segreta allusione alla bandiera a questi uomini senza fermo carattere, che si volgono sempre secondo il vento spira; e che perciò vengon detti bandiere d'ogni vento."

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world as I once upon a time saw in the House of Charity (ad pagnotam) at Avignon, nor shall I ever be surprised when I see Italy filled with such wretches, so many did I see in Provence and in Italy." (See the footnote on ribaldo in Inf. xxii, 50.)

Division III.-Dante, while describing the miserable torments of the abject crowd, makes especial mention of one among them, though he refrains from uttering his name.

> Poscia ch' io v' ebbi alcun riconosciuto. Vidi e conobbi l' ombra di colui Che fece per viltà \* lo gran rifiuto. † Incontanente intesi, e certo fui, Che quest' era la setta dei cattivi ! A Dio spiacenti ed ai nemici sui.

After that I had recognised some among them, I perceived and knew the shade of him who from

\*viltà: Dr. Moore writes to me that viltà is exactly equiva-lent to Aristotle's μκροψυχία or "poor-spiritedness," though he suggests that that term is not a sufficiently familiar one in English. I find however that the word is used by Southey, so I thankfully adopt it. No other word even approaches Dante's meaning so well, except perhaps the Old English word "niding."

+ rifiuto: The Gran Dizionario gives the following significations of the word: "Il rifiutare, Ricusamento, Rinunzia." The present passage is explained: "il gran rifiuto (qui per Abdicazione)," and a passage is quoted from Giambullari's Storia d' Europa: "Costui . . . dopo il vile rifiuto d' Augustulo . . . unse, coronò, e benedisse il predetto Re in Principe sacratissimo de' Cristiani."

cattivi: These two terzine are imitated, with the same epithet introduced in the Dittamondo of Fazio degli Uberti, lib. iv, cap. 21, l. 37:—
"Tra lor così per cattivo si danna

Il misero Giovanni lor delfino, Che rifiutò l' onor di tanta manna, Come è in inferno papa Celestino."

poor-spiritedness made the great renouncement. I forthwith understood, and felt assured, that this was the company of those caitiffs displeasing alike to God and to His enemies.

Among the Commentators there is great difference of opinion as to the identity of the person signified by Dante in the above passage. Some, among whom is Benvenuto, take him to be Esau, who made the great renunciation of his birthright, but, as Scartazzini points out, Dante is particular in specifying that the personage is one whom he knew by sight. The same objection forbids our accepting the opinion of those who maintain that Dante is indicating the Emperor Diocletian, who abdicated his throne in his old age. Dante is, beyond question, referring to some contemporary personage, but wishes to suppress the name. Some think that the allusion is to Vieri de' Cerchi, the unwarlike chief of Dante's own party. the Bianchi. But by far the larger number of the Commentators think he is speaking of Celestine V,\* who through the machinations of Cardinal Gaetani (his successor on the Papal throne as Boniface VIII) was induced to resign the Papacy. Pietro di Dante writes: "Inter quos nominat Petrum de Murrono, ut credo, qui dictus est Papa Coelestinus V; qui possendo ita esse sanctus et spiritualis in papatu sicut in eremo, papatui, qui est sedes Christi, pusillanimiter renuntiavit." Dante's resentment against Boniface, upon whom he looked as the author of all his misfortunes, was so great, that he could readily

<sup>\*</sup> There is an admirable article [Celestino V] in Dr. Paget Toynbee's Dante Dictionary.

have felt a considerable portion of such resentment against Celestine for making the way clear for Boniface.\* The abdication of Celestine was viewed, in

\*In Inf. xxvii, 103-105, Dante makes Guido da Montefeltro relate that Pope Boniface said to him:—

"Lo ciel poss' io serrare e disserrare, Come tu sai; però son due le chiavi, Che il mio antecessor non ebbe care."

The abdication of Celestine, brought about by the crafty machinations of Boniface, is thus related in his Commentary by Boccaccio (translated by Longfellow): "San Piero of Morrone . . . being a simple man, and of a holy life, living as a hermit in the mountains of Morrone in Abruzzo above Selmona, he was elected Pope in Perugia after the death of Pope Niccola d' Ascoli; and his [own] name being Piero, he was called Celestine. Considering his simplicity, Cardinal Messer Benedetto Gatano [sic], a very cunning man, of great courage, and desirous of being Pope, managing astutely, began to show him that he held this high office very much to the prejudice of his own soul, inasmuch as he did not feel himself competent for it; others pretend that he contrived with some private servants of his to have voices heard in the chamber of the aforesaid Pope, which, as if they were voices of Angels sent from Heaven, said, 'Resign, Celestine! Resign, Celestine!' -moved by which, and being an idiotic man, he took counsel with Messer Benedetto aforesaid, as to the best mode of resigning." Gower, in his Confessio Amantis, book ii, relates this legend at great length. The marginal note says: "confessor . . . narrat, qualiter papa Bonefacius predecessorem suum Celestinum a papatu contrajectata circumvencione fraudulenter supplantavit." The passage runs as follows :-

The cardinals, that wolden save
The forme of lawe in the conclave,
Gon for to chese a new pope,
And after that they couthe agrope
Hathe eche of hem said his entent.
Til ate laste they assent
Upon a holy clerk recluse,
Which full was of gostly vertuse.
His pacience and his simplesse
Hath set him into highe noblesse.
Thus was he Pope canonized
With great honour and intronised.

his own time, according to Dean Milman, in a different light by different minds. The Monkish writers held it up as a noble example of Christian perfection, but politically it jarred harshly against some of the first principles of the Papal authority, and the saintliness of the man by no means reconciled the Catholic universe to a Pope, whose office invested him with infallibility, acknowledging before the world his utter incapacity, his undeniable fallibility. Benvenuto does

And upon chaunce, as it is falle, His name Celestin men calle . . .

A cardinal was thilke tide, Which the papate long hath desired, And thereupon gretely conspired . . .

This cardinal which thoughte guile, Upon a day, whan he hath while, This yonge clerke unto him toke And made him swere upon a boke And tolde him what his wille was, And forth with al a trompe of bras He hath him take . . .

This clerk, whan he hath herd the form, How he the pope shuld enform, Toke of the cardinal his leve And goth him home, till it was eve. And prively the trompe he hadde, Til that the pope was a bedde. And at the midnight, whan he knewe The pope slepte, than he blewe Within his trompe through the wall And tolde, in what manner he shall His papacie leve and take His first estate . . .

The pope full of innocence, Conceiveth in his conscience That it is goddes wil, he cesse." not think that Dante is referring to Celestine, but. in case any should blame Dante, as a son of the Church, for attacking so virulently one whom the Church had canonised, he says it is probable that Dante wrote the words in question two years before Celestine was canonised. There is however little doubt that, whoever was in Dante's mind, he did not intend the name or identity to be known. This is Scartazzini's view of the passage, who says that it never can be decided with certainty who was the person referred to.

Dante next describes the penalty inflicted upon these miserable abjects, who, from their unprofitable careers, cannot claim to have ever led anything like a real life on earth.

Questi sciaurati, che mai non fur vivi,\*

<sup>\*</sup> mai non fur vivi: Compare Conv. iv, 7, 1l. 104-138: "Dico questo cotal vilissimo esser morto, parendo vivo. Dov' è da sapere che veramente morto il malvagio uomo dire si può, e massimamente quegli che dalla via del buono suo antecessore si parte. E ciò si può così mostrare: Siccome dice Aristotile, nel secondo dell' Anima, vivere è l'essere delli viventi; e perciocchè vivere è per molti modi (siccome nelle piante vegetare, negli animali vegetare e sentire, negli uomini vegetare, sentire, muovere e ragionare ovvero intendere), e le cose si deono denominare dalla più nobile parte, manifesto è, che vivere negli animali è sentire (animali dico bruti), vivere nell' uomo è ragione usare. Dunque se vivere è l'essere dell' uomo, e così da quello uso partire è partire da essere, e così è essere morto. E non si parte dall' uso della ragione chi non ragiona il fine della sua vita? E non si parte dall' uso della ragione chi non ragiona il cammino che far dee? Certo si parte. E ciò si manifesta massimamente in colui che ha le vestigie innanzi, e non le mira; e però dice Salomone nel quinto Capitolo dei Proverbi: 'Quegli morrà che non ebbe disciplina, e nella moltitudine della sua stoltizia sarà ingannato'; cioè a dire: Colui è morto, che non si fe' discepolo, e che non segue il Maestro; e questo è vilissimo. E di quello potrebbe alcuno dire : come è morto

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Erano ignudi e stimolati molto
Da mosconi e da vespe ch' erano ivi.
Elle rigavan lor di sangue il volto,
Che, mischiato di lagrime, ai lor piedi,
Da fastidiosi vermi era ricolto.\*

These unfortunate wretches, who were never (really) alive, were naked, and sorely stung by gadflies and by hornets that were there. These made their faces to stream with blood, which, mingled with their tears, was sucked (lit. gathered) up at their feet by loathsome worms.

Benvenuto remarks in his quaint way: "And take note, Reader, that although this is a very unsavoury topic, yet it is profitable that it should have been discussed for an example and terror to others, that they may beware of so miserable a class of captives (tam miserabilem sectam captivorum)." †

Division IV.—In this portion of the Canto we learn how the Poets see the shades of the doomed being ferried over the river Acheron by Charon, who forbids Dante to enter his bark, as he is still alive.

E poi che a riguardare oltre mi diedi, 70
Vidi gente alla riva d' un gran fiume:
Perch' io dissi:—" Maestro, or mi concedi
Ch' io sappia quali sono, e qual costume
Le fa di trapassar parer si pronte,
Com' io discerno per lo fioco lume."— 75

e va? Rispondo, che è morto uomo, ed è rimaso bestia." The above is most interesting as giving Dante's own detailed explanation of what he meant by the words che mai non fur vivi.

\*ricollo: Fraticelli says this means "sucked up."

t I notice that in the text of Benvenuto adopted by Sir James Lacaita the passage setta dei cattivi is explained as sectam captivorum, but a note quotes the Este manuscript of Benvenuto as giving sectam vitiorum, leaving it doubtful whether Benvenuto interpreted cattivi as "captives" or as "wicked,"

And then as I betook myself to peer into the further distance, I saw people on the bank of a great river, whereupon I said: "Master, prithee grant unto me that I may know who these are, and what usage makes them appear so desirous of passing over, as (far as) I discern by the feeble light."

Being new to these supernatural scenes, Dante is anxious to understand the meaning of the shades hurrying into the ferry-boat. Virgil declines to give him an explanation at present. Benvenuto thinks that probably Virgil wished Dante to approach these opening horrors of Hell in silence and meditation. Dante, taking Virgil's words as a reproof to himself, feels greatly humiliated.

> Ed egli a me :- "Le cose ti fien conte,\* Quando noi fermerem li nostri passi Sulla trista riviera d' Acheronte."- + Allor con gli occhi vergognosi e bassi, Temendo I no 'l mio dir gli fusse grave, Infino al fiume di parlar mi trassi.

80

\* conte is contracted for cognite and signifies " manifest, clear, evident, known." Compare Inf. x, 39, where it is used in the sense of "precise, clear":

" Le parole tue sien conte."

In Inf. xxxiii, 31, according to Buti, it has the signification of "well trained":-

"Con cagne magre, studiose e conte."

In Purg. ii, 55-57, the sense is "radiant, resplendent":-"Da tutte parti saettava il giorno

Lo sol, ch' avea colle saette conte Di mezzo il ciel cacciato capricorno."

+ Acheronte: The origin of the Acheron and the other rivers of Hell is explained to Dante by Virgil, Inf. xiv, 112-120. Benvenuto thinks the river has a general allegorical significance of worldly Concupiscence, through which all pass who go to Hell.

Temendo no 'l: This stands for temendo non il, and is equivalent to the Latin vereor ne. Blanc quotes the present pass-

85

And he to me: "The things (thou askest) shall be known to thee, when we shall arrest our steps upon the dismal shore of Acheron." Then with my eyes ashamed and cast down, fearing lest my speaking might be irksome to him, I refrained from speech, until (we reached) the stream.

Buction

Dante now sees Charon, the grim ferryman of Mythology.

Ed ecco verso noi venir per nave Un vecchio\* bianco per antico pelo, Gridando:—" Guai a voi anime prave:

Non isperate mai veder lo cielo!

I' vegno per menarvi all' altra riva, Nelle tenebre eterne, in caldo e in gelo. †

age, and says that before the article, or the pronoun il, non very often takes the form nol, or no 'l. Benvenuto reads Temendo nel mio dir.

\* Un vecchio: Compare Virgil's description of Charon, En.

vi, 298-304, which Dante evidently had in his mind:—
"Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat

Terribili squalore Charon; cui plurima mento Canities inculta jacet; stant lumina flammae; Sordidus ex humeris nodo dependet amictus. Ipse ratem conto subigit, velisque ministrat, Et ferruginea subvectat corpora cymba, Iam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.

Jam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus." † gelo: Compare Milton, Par. Lost, book ii, 596-603:— "Thither by harpy-footed Furies haled

At certain revolutions, all the damned
Are brought, and feel by turns the bitter change
Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,
From beds of raging fire, to starve in ice
Their soft ethereal warmth, and there to pine
Immoveable, infixed, and frozen round,
Periods of time: thence hurried back to fire."

Periods of time; thence hurried back to fire."

And Shakespeare, Measure for Measure, act III, sc. i:—

"... the delighted spirit
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbèd ice;
To be imprisoned in the viewless winds
And blown with restless violence round about
The pendent world."

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And lo! coming towards us in a boat an old man, white with ancient locks, crying: "Woe upon you guilty souls! Nevermore hope to look upon Heaven! I come to convey you to the further shore, into eternal gloom, into heat and into ice.

Having thus denounced the shades of the wicked, Charon turns his attention to Dante. He refuses him admission into his bark, probably because he sees that he is a living man, though some think that by his addressing him as anima viva, he means that he sees a soul not as yet dead in trespasses and sins, and consequently disqualified for Hell.

> E tu che se' costì, anima viva, Pártiti da cotesti che son morti."-Ma poi ch' ei vide ch' io non mi partiva, Disse:-" Per altra via,\* per altri porti † Verrai a piaggia, non qui, per passare: Più lieve legno convien che ti porti."-

\* Per altra via, et seq.: The other way and the other means of conveyance by which Dante was to journey, according to the supposition of Charon (when he saw that Dante's soul was not one doomed to perdition), are related in Purg. ii, 100-102, where Casella tells Dante :-

"Ond' io che era ora alla marina vôlto, Dove l' acqua di Tevero s' insala,

Benignamente fui da lui [the Pilot Angel] ricolto." Casella further tells Dante that at the mouth of the Tiber are always received those that do not have to go down to Acheron (ll. 104, 105):-

Perocchè sempre quivi si ricoglie, Qual verso d' Acheronte non si cala."

All, except those doomed to Hell, were supposed by Dante to make the mouth of the Tiber their starting point for Purgatory, whither they were conveyed by an Angel in a light vessel (con un vasello snelletto e leggiero)." Compare Æn. vi, 391:— "Corpora viva nefas Stygia vectare carina."

† porti : See Gran Dizionario, s.v. porto, § 4: "Per quella barca che passa le persone dall' una all' altra parte del fiume."

And thou who standest there, living soul, part thyself from those who are dead." But when he saw that I departed not, he said: "By another way, and by other ferries shalt thou come to the shore, not here to pass: a lighter vessel must carry thee."

From the answer which Virgil makes to Charon on Dante's behalf (and he uses words either similar or identical wherever throughout Hell their progress is opposed), one might infer that he wishes to insist on the admission of Dante into Charon's boat. It is however from the context probable, that this ferry being the only ostensible means of crossing the Acheron, he would not imagine that any dispensation could take place in Dante's favour. Whether Virgil was aware that Dante would be taken, when in a trance, across the Acheron, or not, and simply wished to give a sharp reproof to Charon, must be a matter of conjecture, but, as will be discussed further on, there is but little doubt that it was not by the ferry-boat that Dante surmounted the obstacle of the river.

E il duca a lui:—"Caron non ti crucciare:

Vuolsi \* così colà, dove si puote 95

Ciò che si vuole, e più non dimandare."—

<sup>\*</sup> Vuolsi così, et seq.: In Inf. v, 23, 24, Virgil answers Minos in identically the same words; in Inf. vii, 11, 12, he says to Plutus:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;'Vuolsi nell' alto là dove Michele
Fe' la vendetta del superbo strupo.'"
It will be noticed that Virgil always avoids using the actual name of God, or that of any of the Persons of the Trinity while the Poets are in Hell. They are not long however in Purgatory, before, on seeing the first of the many Angels they are to see, Virgil says to Dante (Purg. ii, 30):—
"'Omai vedrai di sì fatti offiziali.'"

And my leader to him: "Charon, vex not thyself: it is so willed there, where is power to do that which is willed, and enquire thou no further."

It was the will of God that the living soul of Dante should pass over the Acheron by some way, whatever that might be, and Virgil's authoritative statement of it reduces Charon to silence.

> Quinci \* fur chete le lanose gote Al nocchier della livida palude, + Che intorno agli occhi avea di fiamme rote, I

Thereat were quieted the shaggy cheeks of the pilot of the murky swamp, who round about his eyes had wheels of flame (i.e. his eyes glared).

Charon's opposition to Dante's passage of the Acheron here at the entrance into the Anti-Inferno

\* Quinci fur chete, etc.: Compare En. vi, 102:-"Ut primum cessit furor, et rabida ora quierunt."

+ livida palude: We see below in Canto vii, 106, 107, that the waters of the Acheron form the Stygian marsh :-

"Una palude fa, che ha nome Stige, Questo tristo ruscel."

Compare also Virg. Æn. vi, 318-323:-

"Dic, ait, o virgo, quid vult concursus ad amnem? Quidve petunt animae? vel quo discrimine ripas Hae linquunt, illae remis vada livida verrunt?' Olli sic breviter fata est longaeva sacerdos: 'Anchisa generate, Deûm certissima proles,

Cocyti stagna alta vides, Stygiamque paludem.'"

And Catullus, xvii, 10:—
"Totius ut lacus, putidaeque paludis Lividissima."

di fiamme rote: Compare Spenser, Faerie Queene, book vi, canto vii, st. 42:-

"His looks were dreadfull, and his fiery eies,

Like two great beacons, glared bright and wyde,

Glauncing askew, as if his enemies He scorned in his overweening pride."

See also I. 109 of this Canto:-

"Caron dimonio, con occhi di bragia."

reminds one of that which Dante is to encounter later on from Cato at the entrance into the Anti-Purgatorio, and in both cases is the opposition withdrawn in deference to Virgil, with this contrast only, that while he addresses Charon in terms of indignant contempt, he uses all his powers of persuasive eloquence to remove the objections of Cato.

The short conversation between Charon and the Poets must be understood as a digression, and Dante now relates the effect on the ill-fated shades on the shore, of the cruel words addressed to them by Charon (ll. 84-87).

Ma quell' anime ch' eran lasse \* e nude,
Cangiâr colore e dibattero i denti,
Ratto che inteser le parole crude.
Bestemmiavano † Iddio e lor parenti,
L' umana specie, il luogo, il tempo e il seme
Di lor semenza e di lor nascimenti.

\*lasse e nude: Fraticelli observes that these shades are manifested to Dante with all the attributes belonging to humanity; and therefore they change colour, gnash their teeth, suffer hunger, pain in their limbs, etc., although in other passages they are represented as being incorporeal and impalpable beings. How these various material passions befall them, will be related to Dante by Statius in Purg. xxv, 79 et seq., and especially to be noted in that passage are ll. 106-108, when Dante had asked Statius how shades could become so emaciated:—

"' Secondo che ci affiggono i disiri
E gli altri affetti, l' ombra si figura;
E questa è la cagion di che tu ammiri.'"

† Bestemmiavano et seq.: Compare Job iii, 2, 3: "And Job spake, and said, Let the day perish wherein I was born, and the night in which it was said, There is a man child conceived." And Jer. xx, x4, 15: "Cursed be the day wherein I was born: let not the day wherein my mother bare me be blessed. Cursed be the man who brought tidings to my father, saying, A man child is born unto thee." Compare also Summ.

Poi si ritrasser tutte quante insieme, Forte piangendo, alla riva malvagia Che attende ciascun uom che Dio non teme. Caron \* dimonio, con occhi di bragia, Loro accennando, tutte le raccoglie; IIO Batte col remo qualunque s' adagia. †

But those souls who were weary and naked, changed colour and gnashed their teeth the in-

Theol. ii, 2dae, qu. xiii, art. 4: "Ad rationem justitiae pertinet detestatio divinae bonitatis. Illi autem qui sunt in inferno retinebunt perversam voluntatem aversam a Dei justitia, in hoc quod diligunt ea pro quibus puniuntur, et vellent eis uti si possent, et odiunt poenas quae pro hujusmodi peccatis infli-guntur." This was the general scholastic view, followed by Dante, in the present passage.

\* Caron dimonio: Dante, in posting mythological personages as custodians of the different circles of Hell, as he does throughout the Inferno, has only conformed to the theological beliefs of the Middle Ages, namely, that the beings of Pagan Mythology were to be looked upon as actually existing, not as gods, but as fiends. By this contrivance Christian belief was, after a fashion, reconciled with Pagan tradition. The fountain of the belief in question is St. Paul, who (1 Cor. x, 20) writes: "The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God."

ts' adagia: I follow the greater number of the Commentators in understanding adagiarsi as the act of retarding one's footsteps; but it is quite possible for it to mean "to sit down, to rest oneself," and it is so interpreted by Boccaccio, Giuliani and Scartazzini. This latter sense of adagiarsi is quite common in Tuscany. For the two meanings, in inverse order, see adagiare in the Gran Dizionario: (1) in § 2: " Mettersi a miglior agio di prima o coricandosi o sdrajandosi o sedendo," as in Petrarch, part i, Canz. iv, st. 3:-

" Poi lontan dalla gente, O casetta o spelunca Di verdi frondi ingiunca:

Ivi senza pensier s' adagia e dorme." and (2) in § 8: "Adagiarsi vale anche Fare adagio, come chi si posa," as in Ariosto, Orl. Fur. xiv, st. 116:-

"Chè qualunque s' adagia il re d' Algere, Rodomonte crudele, uccide o fere.'

## Canto III. Readings on the Inferno.

stant that they heard the cruel words. They blasphemed God and their parents, the human race, the place, the time, and the seed of their engendering and of their birth. Then all together loudly weeping they betook themselves to the accursed shore that awaits every man who feareth not God. The demon Charon, with eyes like burning coals, beckoning them on, collects them all together; with his oar he smites whoever lags.

It might be interesting here to hazard a conjecture as to how the virtuous heathen were supposed to be conveyed to Limbo. The mind recoils from the notion of its being possible for such men as the great Poets, Homer, Virgil, Horace and others to have stood naked and weeping on the shore of the Acheron, and to have been beaten with Charon's oar! Or for the great Philosophers, Aristotle, Plato and Socrates, to have undergone such treatment! Or the great heroes, such as Hector, Æneas, and Saladin! Or are we to imagine that before our Lord's triumphant descent into Hell, the Patriarchs of old, such as Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Samuel, David, and all the holy unbaptised Jews could have come into Limbo in a manner so degraded as this previous to their deliverance?\* Surely not. We know from line 122 that only those did so che muoion nell' ira di Dio; and from line 127 that by

<sup>\*</sup>We must not forget that Dante, who knew his Bible so well, was perfectly aware that the Patriarchs and Prophets of old were actually in Heaven before Our Lord's descent into Limbo related in Inf. iv. Dante's allusion to Moses and Elias at the Transfiguration (Purg. xxxii, 73-81) shows that He would have in his mind Our Lord's parable of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, and His mention of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, with the prophets, in the kingdom of God (Luke xiii, 28).

the way of the Acheron non passa mai anima buona. May we not then take it for granted that Dante left it to be supposed that there was some other mysterious way for the sinless unbaptised to reach Limbo, such as was to be put into use for his own benefit when he lay in a trance by the shore of the dismal river? See the Duke of Sermoneta's Tavole (Plate III) where he contends that Dante did not cross the Acheron.

In a beautiful simile of leaves dropping off the tree, one by one, Dante describes the souls of the lost casting themselves, each in its turn, into Charon's boat.

## Come d' autunno \* si levan le foglio

\* Come d' autunno et seq. : Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, i, pp. 23-25) remarks that when Dante has directly borrowed or imitated the similes of earlier writers, they may be said to "receive their own with usury," and that it is wonderful to observe the transformation that the material borrowed sometimes undergoes in Dante's hands. A great writer once observed, speaking of Dante: "Reminiscences in great geniuses are like sparks that produce a mighty flame," etc. Dr. Moore tells me of a quotation from Coleridge that might be well applied to Dante: "He pays that usurious interest which genius always pays in borrowing." Dr. Moore adds that "a comparison of the corresponding passages in Virgil and Dante will show how little Dante owed to Virgil, and how, at any rate, he gave in exchange χρύσεα χαλκείων, as Homer says." The particular simile with which we are concerned is from Æn. vi, 309-312:-

"Quam multa in silvis auctumni frigore primo Lapsa cadunt folia, aut ad terram gurgite ab alto Quam multae glomerantur aves ubi frigidus annus

Trans pontum fugat," etc. Dr. Moore points out that Virgil uses these two comparisons of the falling leaves and the migrating birds "for no other purpose than that of giving the idea of the vast numbers of the souls preparing to enter Charon's boat: Quam multa... folia... Quam multae... aves. In Dante there are three other distinct and very beautiful points of resemblance indicL' una appresso dell' altra, infin che il ramo Vede \* alla terra tutte le sue spoglie,

ated by the simile of the leaves. (1) The gentle fluttering down of the falling leaves compared to the feeble dropping off from the bank of the weary spirits, νεκρών ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα, as Homer would call them. (2) The continuous shower of leaves, leaf following leaf till the branch is left quite bare, gives a vivid picture of the spirits casting themselves down one after another, till all have disappeared from the bank. (3) Finally, the pathetic touch of the bare branch looking as it were wistfully at all its own foliage strewed upon the ground beneath, is all Dante's own. The pathos of this may well be compared with that of the beautiful lines of Keble:—

. . . See the calm leaves float,

Each to his rest beneath their parent shade.

How like decaying life they seem to glide."

Ruskin (Modern Painters, iii, 161) says: "When Dante describes the spirits falling from the bank of Acheron 'as dead leaves flutter from a bough,' he gives the most perfect image possible of their utter lightness, feebleness, passiveness, and scattering agony of despair, without, however, for an instant losing his own clear perception that these are souls, and those are leaves; he makes no confusion of one with the other." Compare also Milton, Par. Lost, i, 301-304:-

"His legions, Angel forms, who lay intranc'd Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades, High over-arch'd, imbower."

Shelley (Ode to the West Wind) inverts the image, and com-

pares dead leaves to ghosts:—
"O, wild West Wind! thou breath of Autumn's being! Thou, from whose unseen presence the leaves dead Are driven, like ghosts from an enchanter fleeing Yellow, and black, and pale, and hectic red, Pestilence-stricken multitudes."

Ariosto (Orl. Fur. xvi, st. 75) must also be remembered:-

"Poi son le genti senza nome tante, Che del lor sangue oggi faranno un lago, Che meglio conterei ciascuna foglia, Quando l' autunno gli arbori ne spoglia."

\* Vede: Others read Rende, but as Dr. Moore (Text. Crit. pp. 278,279) points out, Dr. Barlow only found Rende in two MSS. out of seventy-four examined, and he himself only in six out of about 240. Scartazzini argues that Vede is more poetical, less

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Similemente il mal seme d' Adamo:
Gittansi di quel lito ad una ad una,
Per cenni, come augel\* per suo richiamo.

As in the autumn the leaves are detached, one after another, until the bough sees all its spoils upon the ground, even so do the evil seed of Adam: they cast themselves from that shore one by one at signals (from Charon), like a bird (i.e. a falcon) at its (signal) of recall.

The next three lines are intended to show in what never-ending quantities the souls are conveyed to Hell.

> Così sen vanno su per l' onda bruna,† Ed avanti che sian di là discese, Anche di qua nuova schiera s' aduna. ‡

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commonplace and obvious, and is moreover not improbably a reminiscence of Virg. 2 Georg. 82:—

"Miraturque novas frondes, et non sua poma."

\*come augel per suo richiamo: Lubin thinks that this passage refers to the general snaring of birds which takes place in October, when a small bird in a cage is concealed under the branches of trees, or under a small bush to lure other birds into the snares prepared for them.

I am reminded of some lines of Edmund Waller, though I

have not been able to verify them :-

"Thus, fair Incognita, thy song
Caused young Love listening to be blest,
As nightingales the fowlers charm
With their own warble to the nest."

† onda bruna: Compare Virg. En. v, 1, 2:—
"Interea medium Eneas jam classe tenebat
Certus iter, fluctusque atros [N.B.—not brown] aquilone
secabat."

† nuova schiera s' aduna: Scartazzini argues that as on a computation about fifty persons die every minute on the Earth; and as, of those who go to Hell, a fresh company has time to be collected together during each crossing by Charon's boat, we may infer that the crossing was supposed to take several minutes. The Acheron, we are told in line 71, was un gran fiume.

Thus they depart over the murky water, and even before they have landed on the far side, again is a fresh company collected on this.

Division V.—In lines 72-74, Dante had put two questions to Virgil, namely: (1) What people are these (quali sono?) on the bank of the Acheron? and (2) What law makes them so desirous of passing over the river (qual costume le fa di trapassar parer sì pronte)? Virgil had promised Dante that this information should be given him as soon as they had reached the shore of the Acheron, and now accordingly proceeds to answer his questions.

—" Figliuol mio,"—disse il Maestro cortese, \*
—" Quelli che muoion nell' ira di Dio
Tutti convegnon † qui d' ogni paese :
E pronti sono a trapassar lo rio,
Chè la divina giustizia gli sprona
Sì che la tema si volge in disio.

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"My Son," said the courteous Master, "they who die in the wrath of God all assemble here from every country, and they are ready to cross the river, because Divine Justice so spurs them on (by means of their conscience) that their very dread (of punishment) is turned into desire (of undergoing it).

<sup>\*</sup>cortese: Benvenuto explains that Virgil was a courteous Master, in that he was ever liberal in imparting his knowledge.

<sup>+</sup> Tutti convegnon: Compare Purg. ii, 104, 105, where Casella says of the mouth of the Tiber:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Perocchè sempre quivi si ricoglie, Qual verso d' Acheronte non si cala." And Purg. xxv, 85, 86, where Statius says that the soul, after death:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Senz' arrestarsi, per sè stessa cade Mirabilmente all' una delle rive."

Benvenuto remarks that in this world one may often see a great criminal go of his own accord, and give himself up for capital punishment, when he might easily escape, so much is he blinded by sin and influenced by Divine Justice. "I have indeed heard of a man," he adds, "who had killed another and escaped, and some time afterwards went of his own free will to the judge, confessing his crime, and asking to be beheaded, as he could neither sleep nor rest."

Virgil now answers a question that Dante might have wished to put to him had he not been deterred by Virgil's injunction of silence, namely, Why had Charon refused him admission into his bark?

> Quinci non passa mai anima buona; E però se Caron di te si lagna, Ben puoi saper omai che il suo dir suona."\*

By this way no innocent soul ever passes; and hence if Charon complains of thee, well canst thou now understand what his words import (namely, that thou art not one of the souls of the doomed)."

Che la voce non suona." Compare Boccaccio, Decam. Giorn. v, Nov. 1: "Era chiamato Cimone; il che nella loro lingua sonava quanto nella nostra bestione." [I am reminded of an extravaganza by Planché,

in which the above passage was rendered with singular literal-

"Once in Cyprus it happened a time on there Dwelt a nobleman wealthy to boot: He'd a son whom the people call'd Cymon there, Which in plain English was calling him 'Brute.'"]

<sup>\*</sup>suona: See Gran Dizionario, s.v. sonare, § 6: "Per Significare, Valere." Compare Par. iv, 55, 56:—
"E forse sua sentenza è d'altra guisa

A great convulsion of Nature now takes place, and Dante falls down in a swoon. It is worthy of remark that whereas the last phenomenon that he witnesses before losing his senses is a brilliant flash of lightning, we find him, in the first line of the next Canto, being recalled to consciousness by the loud clap of thunder that followed it, making it quite possible that in an instant of time after swooning he may have awakened to find that he had been, by some supernatural means, which we will presently discuss, transported to the other side of the Acheron.

Finito questo, la buia campagna 130

Tremò sì forte, che dello spavento
La mente di sudore ancor mi bagna.

La terra lagrimosa diede vento,
Che balenò una luce vermiglia,
La qual mi vinse ciascun sentimento: 135

E caddi, come l' uom cui sonno piglia.

When this (speech of Virgil's) was finished, the gloomy plain quaked so violently, that the terror of it still bathes my memory with sweat. The tear-bedewed ground gave out a blast of wind, that lightened forth a crimson glare which overcame all sensation in me: and I fell as a man on whom sleep lays hold.

We are not told in what manner Dante passed over to the other side of the Acheron, after Charon's refusal to ferry him over. Only a few of the Commentators have maintained that Charon, on hearing Virgil's reproof, and in deference to the Divine Authority with which he was invested, withdrew his opposition, and that Dante thereupon passed over in the boat; but this is undoubtedly an errone-

ous view. The more common interpretation is that Dante was conveyed over the Acheron, while in a trance, by an Angel, or even by Virgil, as in Inf. xix and xxiii. In Inf. ix, when the fiends have closed the gates of the City of Dis against the Poets, we find them opened by a supernatural messenger, who is considered by nearly all the Commentators to have been an Angel.\* His advent is announced by a violent peal of thunder and an earthquake (un fracasso d' un suon pien di spavento, per cui tremavano ambo e due le sponde-ix, 65, 66). We also find in Matt. xxviii, 2: " Behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from Heaven," etc. Moreover Dante, before reaching the gate of Purgatory proper, falls into a deep sleep, and on awaking finds that Lucia has carried him, while unconscious, to the very threshold of Purgatory (Purg. ix, 52). Scartazzini remarks also that the words of Virgil to Charon would imply a promise

<sup>\*</sup>I have by me an interesting correspondence between the late Duke of Sermoneta, one of the greatest Dantists of his time, and Count Carlo Troya, the learned author of the Veltro Allegorico, on the subject of the Acheron. The Duke held very strongly the opinion that good Angels could not act as ministers of Hell, and that Dante was not carried by an Angel across the Acheron; neither did the Duke think that the passage was made in Charon's boat. The late Dean Church, in a letter dated Feb. 19th, 1890, wrote to me: "I quite agree with the Duke of Sermoneta in thinking, for the reasons which he gives, that Dante did not cross in Charon's boat, but was transported across in a way which he cannot understand. But I think that this is not absolutely certain, though the most probable interpretation." The remainder of Dean Church's letter to me will be found quoted in the commentary of this work on Inf. ix, 76-84.

that the Divine decree would be carried out in spite of him, and that the co-operation of the Angel would in some sort be a fulfilment of that promise. He adds that, with regard to the allegorical sense of this passage, it will suffice to remember that, according to the scholastic teaching, the first operations of Divine Grace are mysterious. Compare John iii, 8: "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit."

END OF CANTO III.

## CANTO IV.

THE FIRST CIRCLE—LIMBO—THE BLAMELESS UNBAPTIZED
—THE GREAT POETS OF ANTIQUITY—THE ILLUSTRIOUS
HEATHEN.

At the close of the last Canto, we saw that Dante, overcome by the accumulated horrors around him, had sunk down in a swoon. He now finds himself on the verge of the awful precipice, which is the descent to the First Circle of Hell. This Circle is called Limbo from its being the outside zone or border of the Circles of Hell, the primary meaning of the word Limbo or Lembo being the border of a garment.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into six parts:-

In Division I, from ver. 1 to ver. 24, Dante describes his feelings on his recovering his senses, and relates his entrance into the First Circle.

In Division II, from ver. 25 to ver. 43, the fate of the unbaptized, both infants and adults, is mentioned.

In Division III, from ver. 44 to ver. 66, Dante sounds Virgil as to whether the inmates of Limbo have any hope of changing their condition for the better, and Virgil answers him.

In Division IV, from ver. 67 to ver. 111, Dante describes a noble castle within the precincts of Limbo, which is the abode of the more illustrious heathen,

and into which castle Dante and Virgil are introduced by four great Poets.

In Division V, from ver. 112 to ver. 129, he speaks of the souls of renowned warriors that he saw there.

In Division VI, from ver. 130 to ver. 151, he names others who were pre-eminent in science and philosophy.

Division I.—The first words of the Canto are but a continuation of those with which the previous one ended. Dante had fainted at the Earthquake followed by a lightning flash. He is recalled to consciousness by a clap of thunder.

Ruppemi l' alto sonno nella testa
Un greve tuono,\* sì ch' io mi riscossi,
Come persona che per forza è desta;
E l' occhio riposato intorno mossi,
Dritto levato,† e fiso ‡ riguardai
Per conoscer lo loco dov' io fossi.

5

\* Un greve tuono: Compare Milton, Par. Lost, viii, 240-244:—
"Fast we found, fast shut,

The dismal gates, and barricado'd strong; But long ere our approaching heard within Noise, other than the sound of dance or song, Torment, and loud lament, and furious rage."

It should be noted by those who wish to understand this thunder as the lamentations of the doomed which are also spoken of in 1. 9, that in *Limbo* there were no lamentations at all. See II. 25-27:—

"Quivi, secondo che per ascoltare, Non avea pianto, ma' che di sospiri, Che l' aura eterna facevan tremare."

† Dritto levato: Compare note on Purg. iv, 104, in Readings on the Purgatorio, vol. i, pp. 148, 149, where is explained that there is no Italian verb which, by itself, means "to stand." One must use the expression: "star ritto [or dritto], star su, or stare in piedi." Dritto here simply means "on my feet," "upright."

fiso: This is an adjective used adverbially for fissamente,

attentamente.

IO

A loud thunder-clap broke the deep slumber in my brain, so that I started up as one who is roused by force. And rising to my feet, I turned my rested eyes around me, and gazed attentively in order to learn in what place I might be.

He finds that in some mysterious way, which he does not explain, he is now on the interior bank of the Acheron, having traversed its flat shore, and is standing on the edge of the awful chasm that leads down into Hell.

> Vero è che in su la proda mi trovai Della valle d' abisso dolorosa, Che tuono accoglie d' infiniti guai. Oscura, profond' era e nebulosa, Tanto che, per ficcar lo viso al fondo, Io non vi discerneva alcuna cosa.

True is it that I found myself upon the brink of the dolorous Valley of the Abyss, which gathers thunder of infinite woes. It was so obscure, profound, and cloudy, that for all that I plunged my gaze into its depths, naught could I discern there.

On being invited by Virgil to follow him down the descent into Hell, Dante hesitates to do so, on noticing the pallor of Virgil's face.

-" Or discendiam quaggiù nel cieco \* mondo,"-

\*cieco mondo: Compare Inf. x, 58-60, where Cavalcante Cavalcanti says to Dante:-

". . . 'Se per questo cieco

Carcere vai per altezza d' ingegno, Mio figlio ov' è, e perchè non è teco?'"

And Inf. xxvii, 25-28, where Guido da Montefeltro asks Dante about the condition of the Romagna:-

"Se tu pur mo in questo mondo cieco Caduto sei di quella dolce terra Latina ond' io mia colpa tutta reco, Dimmi se i Romagnuoli han pace o guerra." Cominciò il poeta tutto smorto:

—"Io sarò primo,\* e tu sarai secondo."—

Ed io, che del color † mi fui accorto,

Dissi: "Come verrò, se tu paventi,

Che suoli al mio dubbiare ‡ esser conforto?"—§

"Let us now descend into the blind world here below," began the Poet, as pale as death: "I will be the first, and thou shalt be the second." And I, who had become aware of his pallor, said: "How shall I go, if thou art afraid, who art wont to be my comfort in my fears?"

Virgil hastens to assure Dante that the change in his countenance is not due to any fear for himself, but arises from sympathy for the sufferings they are about to witness.

Ed egli a me:—"L' angoscia delle genti
Che son quaggiù, nel viso mi dipigne
Quella pietà che tu per tema senti.
Andiam, chè la via lunga ne sospigne."—
Così si mise,|| e così mi fe' entrare
Nel primo cerchio che l' abisso cigne.

\$ conforto: Virgil had encouraged and sustained Dante in the Forest of Woe, Inf. i, 91; on the Hill-side, Inf. ii, 43; at the Gateway of Hell, Inf. iii, 13; and when repelled by Charon,

Inf. iii, 127.

<sup>\*</sup> Io sarò primo, etc.: Compare Inf. xii, 114:-

teolor stands here for pallido colore, so I have translated it "pallor."

<sup>†</sup> dubbiare: The verb is used here as a substantive in the sense of "fear." In Purg. xx, 135, Virgil says to Dante:—
"'Non dubbiar [fear not], mentr' io ti guido.'"

And Par. xxvi, 1:—
"Mentr' io dubbiava [was terrified] per lo viso spento," etc.; and compare dubbiava in l. 1 with paura in l. 19, both referring to each other. In Readings on the Paradiso this is wrongly translated: "remained in perplexity."

30

And he to me: "The anguish of the people who are here below depicts on my face that pity which thou takest for fear. Let us on, for our long way urges us (to hasten)." Thus he moved on, and thus he made me enter into the First Circle that girds the abyss.

It must be remembered that the despicable souls of the Lukewarm were on the other side of the Acheron. and consequently outside the First Circle that formed the girdle of Hell.

Division II.—Dante now finds himself among the spirits of the blameless heathen, who suffer at the thought of being for ever deprived of the sight of God.

Dante listens, but hears no sounds that betoken bodily anguish.

> Quivi, secondo che per ascoltare, 25 Non avea pianto, ma' che \* di sospiri, Che l' aura eterna facevan tremare: Ciò avvenia di duol senza martiri †

Ch' avean le turbe, ch' eran molte e grandi, D' infanti e di femmine e di viri.

mettere in the Gran Dizionario, I think § 66 gives the one most suitable to the present passage: "Mettersi, ass. per Inviarsi, mettersi in cammino." A passage is quoted in illustration from the poem of Ajolfo del Barbicone, Venezia, 1516, cap. 50: "E così si misse Brunoro con quaranta cavalieri e Lionetto con altrettanti." I have therefore translated si mise "he moved on."

\*ma' che: This is the same in its origin as the Latin magis quam, from which the Provençals formed mais que, the Spaniards mas que, and the old Italian writers ma' che, in the sense of più che, and of se non che. See Inf. xxviii, 66:-"E non avea ma' ch' un' orecchia sola."

† duol senza martiri: It was only in Limbo that there was grief without torments. Everywhere else in Hell the two were

Here, in so far as by listening (I could ascertain), there was no lamentation, except of sighs, which made to tremble the air eternal. This arose from the grief without torments which these multitudes were undergoing, who were numerous and vast, of infants, of women, and of men.

Dante appears to have been too much awe-struck to be able to utter a word, so Virgil anticipates his probable desire to know whose souls these are, among whom he finds himself.

> Lo buon Maestro a me:—"Tu non dimandi Che spiriti son questi che tu vedi? Or vo' che sappi, innanzi che più andi,\* Ch' ei non peccâro: e s' elli hanno mercedi, Non basta, perchè non ebber battesmo, Ch' è parte† della fede che tu credi:

35

found in combination. Compare Inf. ix, 110, 111, where on entering into the city of Dis, Dante says:—

"E veggio ad ogni man grande campagna Piena di duolo e di tormento rio,"

\*andi: An archaic form for vadi. It is thought that in Dante's time the verb andare was not so defective as it is now, and that the forms ando, andi, anda, were commonly used instead of those in use at the present time, vo, vai, va, which are supplied (says Fraticelli) from the verb vadere.

t parte della fede: All the old MSS, and editions read thus, nor was it until 1595 that the Edition of La Crusca introduced the reading porta della fede, a reading which has been followed by many modern commentators. Dr. Moore (Text. Crit. p. 25, footnote 36) writes: "The reading porta adopted in Ed. Crusca is due (as admitted by the editor) to considerations of supposed theological propriety. It has no MS, authority. Dr. Barlow did not find it in a single one of the 138 MSS, examined, though one MS, had porto."

Scartazzini says that Baptism is certainly called janua sacramentorum, but in no case is it ever styled janua fidei. Lombardi also denies that Baptism can be considered la porta della fede, seeing that it opens the way to the Sacraments, but not to the Faith, which latter must precede it. The Ethiopian Eunuch

Readings on the Inferno. Canto IV.

E se furon dinanzi al Cristianesmo, Non adorar debitamente Dio:\* E di questi cotai son io medesmo.

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had to make to St. Philip the Deacon his profession of faith: "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God," before he could be baptised by him. Lombardi concludes that Faith is la porta del Battesimo, and not Battesimo la porta della Fede, for in Inf. ii, 29, 30, Dante himself has said :-

> "Quella fede Ch' è principio alla via di salvazione."

The Faith has its distinct articles, which may well be styled parti della Fede, as we find in the Catechismus Romanus, cap. i: "Ut enim corporis membra articulis distinguuntur: ita etiam in hac fidei confessione, quidquid distincte, et separatim ab alio nobis credendum est, recte, et apposite articulum dicimus."

\*Non adorar debitamente Dio: The most generally received interpretation of this passage is, that if these virtuous heathen lived before the dawn of Christianity, they cannot plead that as a reason for not being relegated to Limbo, because they did not believe in the coming of Christ. Benvenuto says that is why Virgil turned pale on entering this Circle: it was from a natural feeling of sympathy for the illustrious souls condemned to exist there, of whom he himself was one. We read in Par. xix, 103-105:-

> "'A questo regno Non salì mai chi non credette in CRISTO, Nè pria, nè poi ch' ei si chiavasse al legno."

Compare Acts iv, 12: "There is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved." Compare also St. Thom. Aquin. Summ. Theol. pars iii, qu. lxviii, art. 1: "Nunquam homines potuerunt salvari etiam ante Christi adventum, nisi fierent membra Christi. . . Sed ante adventum Christi homines Christo incorporabantur per fidem futuri adventus." Of the heathen, St. Paul (Rom. i, 20, 21) says: "So that they are without excuse: Because that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened."

Another interpretation of the passage is that, living as these heathen did, before the time of Christianity, they ought to have conformed to the Mosaic law, the only authorised mode of

worshipping God before the Christian Era.

40

Per tai difetti, non per altro rio,\*

Semo perduti, e sol di tanto offesi,

Che senza speme vivemo in disio."—

Canto IV.

The good Master to me: "Thou dost not ask what spirits are these which thou seest? Now I wish thee to know, before thou goest farther, that they sinned not; and if they have merit, it suffices not, for they had not Baptism, which is part of the Faith that thou believest. And if they lived before Christianity, they did not worship God in the way that they ought: and of such as these am I myself. For such defects, and for no other guilt, are we lost, and only so far afflicted, that without hope we live in desire."

Dante is much moved at these words of Virgil.

Gran duol mi prese al cor quando lo intesi, Perocchè gente di molto valore Conobbi † che in quel limbo eran sospesi.

45

Great sadness laid hold on my heart when I heard this, because I knew that people of much worth were in that *Limbo* in a state of suspense (i.e. neither saved nor damned).

Division III.—Dante now puts a question to Virgil, as to whether any of the inmates of Limbo had ever, to his knowledge, changed their condition for the better. From reverence he avoids mentioning the name of our Lord, nor does he ever do so throughout the Inferno; and Virgil, in his answer, is equally reticent about the Holy Name. It is an Article of the Catholic Faith (says Benvenuto) that Christ at

<sup>\*</sup>non per altro rio: Rio = reità, "guilt." Cf. Purg. vii, 7, 8. † Conobbi che: I do not follow the Oxford text in putting a comma after conobbi. Benvenuto constructs the sentence: Conobbi che gente di motto valore eran sospese in quel limbo.

His Resurrection descended into Limbo, and delivered the souls of the \* Patriarchs (Christus resurgens descendit ad limbum et inde liberavit animas patrum). As to the truth of this Article, Dante is now especially anxious to get an answer from Virgil.

-"Dimmi, Maestro + mio, dimmi, Signore,"-Comincia' io, per voler esser certo Di quella fede che vince ogni errore: -" Uscicci mai alcuno, o per suo merto, O per altrui, t che poi fosse beato? "-

"Tell me, my Master, tell me, my Lord," began I, wishing to be assured of that Faith which overcometh every error, "did any, either by his own merit, or by another's, go forth from here, who afterwards was blessed?"

Virgil replies, telling Dante of the Spirits in Limbo that were liberated by Christ.

> E quei, che intese il mio parlar coperto, Rispose :- "Io era nuovo § in questo stato, Quando ci vidi venire un possente Con segno di vittoria coronato.

\*In the Este MS. of Benvenuto the passage is worded somewhat differently, namely that Christ descended into Limbo after His Death, but before His Resurrection. This was also the teaching of the Schoolmen.

+ Maestro mio . . . Signore: Tommaséo remarks that Dante, out of his intense pity for the fate of Virgil, gives him this double title, in which he combines tenderness with praise and

compassion.

1 per altrui : Compare 1 Pet. iii, 18-19 : " For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit: By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison."

§ Io era nuovo: As Virgil died about nineteen years before the birth of Christ, and as our Lord was thirty-three years of age at the time of His death, Virgil could only have been about

fifty years in Limbo at the period alluded to.

Trasseci \* l' ombra del primo parente,
D' Abel suo figlio, e quella di Noè,
Di Moisè legista † e ubbidiente;
Abraam patriarca, e David re,
Israel con lo padre, e co' suoi nati, ‡
E con Rachele, per cui tanto fe', § 60
Ed altri molti; e fecegli beati:
E vo' che sappi che, dinanzi ad essi,
Spiriti umani non eran salvati."—

And he, who understood my covert speech, answered: "I was yet new in this condition (i.e. in Limbo) when I saw a Mighty One come hither, crowned with a sign of victory (either the Cross,

'Di Moisè legista, e ubbidiente Abraam patriarca, e David re.'

And this chiefly on the plausible ground that obedience is emphasised in Scripture as a distinguishing feature in Abraham's character more markedly than in that of Moses. See especially Gen. xxvi, 4, 5, where the blessing of Abraham is specially connected with his obedience; and Heb. xi, 8. The argument however . . in this particular case seems outweighed by the injury which the alteration would cause to the balance and rhythm of both the lines involved, and by its removal of any pause or break between two terzine, which is at any rate extremely rare."

‡ suoi nati: This evidently means all the progeny of Jacob, namely, his twelve sons, and his daughter Dinah.

§ per cui tanto fe': Jacob "did so much" for Rachel by serving her father Laban twice seven years for her.

<sup>\*</sup>Trasseci, and ci vidi venire in 1. 53: Observe how careful Virgil is to show Dante that he does not for one moment forget his own condition, but fully associates himself with the spirits in Limbo who have no hope of bettering their lot. Ci may either mean "from hence," i.e. from Limbo, or "from among us." Either interpretation agrees with the sense of Virgil's words.

<sup>+</sup>Di Moisè legista, etc.: Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, First Series, p. 56) remarks: "It has been proposed to alter the received punctuation (and by consequence the meaning) of this passage thus:—

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or with the palm of martyrdom). From hence he bore away the shade of the first parent, of Abel his son, and that of Noah, that of Moses the lawgiver and obedient (unto God); Abraham the patriarch, and David the King, Israel with his father (Isaac), and with his children, and with Rachel for whom he (Israel) did so much, and many others; and made them blessed: and I would have thee to know that before these were there no human spirits saved."

It was a common mediæval belief, that from the time of the fall of Adam up to the hour of the Redemption, Paradise had been closed, and all spirits of men excluded from it.

During the above conversation the Poets have been moving onwards.

> Non lasciavam l' andar perch' ei dicessi,\* Ma passavam la selva tuttavia, La selva dico di spiriti spessi.

We did not desist from advancing because he was speaking, but still kept passing onward through the forest, the forest, I mean, of crowded spirits.

Benvenuto remarks that it is as though Dante would say: "This is a forest of many men, not of many trees."

Division IV.—Dante and Virgil are now met by the shades of four of the great Poets of antiquity,

Che con le sue ancor non mi chiudessi."

Compare also Purg. xxiv, 136:-

"Drizzai la testa per veder chi fossi."

And Pulci, Morgante Maggiore, xii, st. 25:-"Che chi 'l dicessi fia detto bugiardo."

<sup>\*</sup> dicessi: This is an archaic termination of the third person singular, and stands for dicesse. Compare Inf. ix, 59, 60:-

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by whom they are conducted to a noble castle, which, within the precincts of *Limbo*, is the allotted abode of the most illustrious among the heathen. The whole region is lighted up by a flame of extraordinary brilliancy.

Non era lunga ancor la nostra via Di qua dal sonno,\* quand' io vidi un foco Ch' emisperio di tenebre vincia.

We had not proceeded far (lit. our way was not yet long) beyond the place of my swooning (lit. of the sleep), when I perceived a flame which prevailed over the hemisphere of darkness.

Dante now, by some intuitive process, seems to become aware of the character of the occupiers of this particular region. He asks Virgil who they are, and why they have a different treatment from the others, in having the privilege of the illuminating flame.

Di lungi v' eravamo ancora un poco,

Ma non sì ch' io non discernessi in parte
Che onrevol † gente possedea quel loco.

"O tu che onori e scienza ed arte, †

tonrevol gente: It has been noticed how Dante makes the word honour in its various forms ring and reverberate through these lines—onrevol, onori, onranza, onrata, onorate!

tu che onori e scienza ed arte: Comparetti (Virgilio nel Medio

<sup>\*</sup> di qua dal sonno: Sonno was found by Dr. Moore in 141 MSS., and the variant sommo in only 23. Others read sono or suono. Dr. Moore (Text. Crit. p. 280) observes that sonno has probably been changed to the more obvious sommo by some one who missed the reference to sonno at the beginning of the Canto; and to sono or suono by others. Benvenuto gives both readings with alternative interpretations: "di qua dal sono, idest non multum iveramus post introitum primi circuli, ubi terribilis sonus lamentorum excitavit autorem dormientem... vel secundum aliam literam: di qua dal sonno, idest post quam excitatus sum ab illo somno; est tamen idem sensus."

Questi chi son, ch' hanno cotanta onranza, Che dal modo degli altri li diparte?"-

75

We were still some little way off from it (the flame), but not so far but what I could in part discern that honourable personages were in possession of that spot. "O thou who doest honour to (every) science and art, who are these who have such honour, that it sets them apart from the custom of the others?"

Virgil tells him that they owe their privileges to their distinguished merit.

> E quegli a me :- "L' onrata nominanza, Che di lor suona su nella tua vita, Grazia acquista nel ciel che sì gli avanza."-

And he to me: "The honoured renown of them which echoes in thy life (i.e. in the world), wins (for them) in Heaven that favour which gives them such distinction."

Dante now supposes himself to hear one of the spirits proclaiming the return of Virgil to Limbo, and demanding that especial respect be paid to him as the Prince of the Latin Poets. The words uttered by the spirit almost seem like an echo of Dante's own tribute of admiration spoken just before.

Evo) relates that within a century of Virgil's death his tomb was worshipped as a holy place; that its site was regarded with superstitious reverence all through the Middle Ages; and that in the popular imagination Virgil assumed the character of a wizard or magician. Dr. Paget Toynbee observes that to Dante Virgil, as the Poet of the Roman Empire, appealed with an authority second only to that of Scripture. His writings, which are quoted by Dante more frequently than any save the Bible and Aristotle, are regarded as divinely inspired, and he himself was for many centuries regarded as a compendium of general and universal knowledge.

Intanto voce fu per me udita:

-- "Onorate l' altissimo poeta;

L' ombra sua torna,\* ch' era dipartita."-

Meanwhile a voice was heard by me (exclaiming): "Honour the sublime Poet; his shade, which had departed, (now) returns."

At this point Dante sees a noble group of spirits approaching them, who, he afterwards learns, are four of the greatest Poets of antiquity.

Benvenuto says it is well imagined for Dante to portray the other Poets giving honour to Virgil, as a supereminent Poet to whom honour and praise were due, and especially from the Latin Poets, who owed so much to him. Of him Ovid writes: Omnia divino cantavit carmine vates. And Horace in his Odes (I Carm. iii, 8) calls Virgil "animae dimidium meae." Therefore Benvenuto thinks we may surmise that the voice Dante heard may well have been that of Ovid or Horace.

Poichè la voce fu restata e queta, Vidi quattro grand' ombre † a noi venire; Sembianza avevan nè trista nè lieta.

<sup>\*</sup>L' ombra sua torna, etc.: We may remember that it was to go to Dante's aid that the shade of Virgil had parted from his fellow-poets.

<sup>†</sup> quattro grand' ombre: Scartazzini points out that, as regards Horace, Ovid and Lucan, Dante had made a minute study of their works, but being unacquainted with Greek, and there not being a Latin translation of Homer in his time, he could only know Homer from extracts quoted in the translated text of Aristotle. Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, First Series, pp. 10, 11) writes: "Homer was, of course, inaccessible to Dante, and there was no Latin translation of him, as Dante informs us in Conv. i, 7, ad fin.; adding the interesting remark that a translation of Homer, or indeed of any other poet, is impossible,

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After that the voice had ceased and become silent, I beheld four mighty shades advancing towards us; they had an aspect neither sad nor joyful.

It is well observed in the Anonimo Fiorentino that the wise man never gets over-elated with prosperity. nor too much cast down by adversity. Benvenuto says the demeanour of the four great Poets shows them to be grave and mature men of authority (viri autorizabiles, graves et maturi).

Virgil severally names them to Dante, beginning with Homer.

> Lo buon Maestro cominciò a dire: -" Mira colui con quella spada in mano, Che vien dinanzi a' tre sì come sire. Quegli è Omero poeta sovrano,\* L' altro è Orazio satiro + che viene, Ovidio è il terzo, e l' ultimo Lucano.

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since the poetic element would be lost in the process. It could not be done 'senza rompere tutta sua dolcezza ed armonia.'" Dr. Moore goes on to ask what would be Dante's feelings if he could see the list of translations in a variety of languages of his own great work?

\* Omero poeta sovrano: Professor Michele Scherillo, (Alcuni Capitoli della Biografia di Dante) in the chapter entitled I primi studi, pp. 478, 479, writes on this passage: "Dante non conosceva [Omero] se non per fama, e per fama lo dichiara poeta sourano (Inf. iv, 88), pur rispetto [even in comparison with] all' altissimo Virgilio (v. 80); e da questi lo fa predicar come (Purg. xxii, 101, 102):-

'quel Greco Che le Muse lattar più ch' altro mai.'"

+ Orazio satiro: On this expression Dr. Moore (Studies, i, pp. 28, 29) writes: "We must observe first of all, that satiro means 'moralist' rather than 'satirist,' and must be taken to include the hexametral works of Horace generally, and not the Satires exclusively, or even specially. . . . The term satiro is no less applicable to the Epistles than to the Satires proper, as being works abounding in maxims bearing on 'example of life and

The good Master began to say: "Mark him with that sword in hand, who precedes the three even as their lord. That is Homer, the sovereign Poet, the next who comes is Horace the satirist, Ovid is the third, and the last is Lucan.

Homer is represented with a sword, either because all his works were about warlike deeds, or because he surpassed all poets in the splendour of his genius. Benvenuto also mentions an opinion which has been held by some, that these four Poets are meant to represent the four Cardinal Virtues; but he considers this to be a fiction, and thinks that Dante in the *Inferno* only wishes to bring forward a knowledge of vices, and not of virtues as in the *Purgatorio*. More probably Dante wishes to introduce the four Poets, who after Virgil were his principal guides in poesy, and especially the three Latin ones, namely Horace in Satire, Ovid in Comedy, and Lucan in Tragedy.

Virgil then explains to Dante why his return among the Poets is thus honoured, meaning that the five, including himself, had the title of Poet common to them all. In giving honour to himself, their comrade, they were not only honouring learn-

instruction of manners.' . . . I believe the simple and prosaic explanation to be the true one, viz.: that Dante was not acquainted with the Odes." Again (ibid. pp. 203-206), Dr. Moore points out that in the thirteenth century in particular, and especially in Italy, the study of Horace falls off in a very marked way, and that this falling off was probably due in part to the disturbing influence of the Crusades, and partly to the growth of scholasticism. Dr. Manitius of Göttingen (Analekten zur Geschicte des Horaz im Mittelalter, bis 1300) points out as to mediæval writers generally that their knowledge of the great classics was derived largely from some Florilegium or common-place book, and not from the original writers.

ing and genius, but were also showing themselves to be free from the smallest tinge of envy. Dante utters an exclamation of his admiration at the sight of so noble an assemblage.

> Perocchè ciascun meco si conviene Nel nome che sonò la voce sola,\* Fannomi onore, e di ciò fanno bene."-Così vidi adunar la bella scuola Di quei + signor dell' altissimo canto,

Che sopra gli altri com' aquila vola. I

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\* la voce sola: Compare Purg. xx, 34-36, where Dante says to the spirit of Hugh Capet :-

"'O anima che tanto ben favelle,

Dimmi chi fosti,' dissi, 'e perchè sola In queste degne lode rinnovelle?'"

And again ibid. ll. 121-123:-

"' Però al ben che il dì ci si ragiona, Dianzi non er' io sol; ma qui da presso Non alzava la voce altra persona."

t quei signor: Quei here stands for quel. Dr. Moore (Text. Crit. pp. 280-282) writes: "The archaic use of quei for quel (though extremely common in Dante and other old writers) has perhaps here, as it has in many other places, misled copyists.
. . . In the present instance, some of those who were misled changed signor into signori, in supposed agreement with quei; by this change (be it noted), with the usual short-sightedness of emendating copyists, failing to give sense to the very next line, except by the very awkward device of making che refer to altissimo canto. . . . Others changed quei to quel to secure a more obvious agreement, with signor. . . . It is fair to add, however, that I cannot cite an instance of quei in the singular used adjectively with a noun in agreement." For the use of quei in the singular see Purg. iii, 120:-

"Piangendo a quei che volontier perdona."

And Purg. xxiv, 82, 83:—
"'che quei che più n' ha colpa
"'che quei che più n' ha colpa Vegg' io a coda d' una bestia tratto,' " etc.

Par. i, 62; and iv, 123:—
"Ma quei che vede e puote, a ciò risponda."

Par xix, 120; xxvii, 138; and xxxii, 127:-"E quei che vide tutt' i tempi gravi," etc.

t com' aquila: "Sicut enim aquila volat altius, et videt

Because each of them agrees with me in the name which their one voice proclaimed (lit. the one voice sounded), they do me honour, and in that they do well." Thus did I see assemble the noble school of that lord of the grandest song (i.e. Homer), who soars above the others like an eagle.

The shades of the great Poets, after seeking from Virgil information as to who is his companion, welcome Dante among their number.

> Da ch' ebber ragionato insieme alquanto, Volsersi a me con salutevol cenno: E'l mio Maestro sorrise di tanto:\* E più d' onore ancora assai mi fenno,

Ch' esser † mi fecer della loro schiera, Sì ch' io fui sesto tra cotanto senno.

ther,

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After that they had conversed a while together, they turned to me with sign of salutation: and my Master smiled thereat. And far greater honour yet did they pay me, in that they bade me be (one) of their band, so that I was a sixth amid so much genius.

The six Poets now walk on together to the abode of learning whence the four had issued to meet the two.

> Così n' andammo infino alla lumiera, Parlando cose ‡ che il tacere è bello, Sì com' era il parlar colà dov' era.

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acutius inter aves, ita isti ascenderunt altius, et viderunt subtilius inter poetas." (Benvenuto).

\*sorrise di tanto: "di tanta loro degnazione verso di me." (Fraticelli.)

+ Ch' esser mi fecer: Others read ch' essi mi fecer.

† Parlando cose et seq.: The things about which they were conversing were encomiums on Dante, too honouring to himself for him to cite or repeat. Dante expressly censures self-praise in Conv. i, 2, ll. 44-54: "Lodare sè è da fuggire, siccome male

Readings on the Inferno.

Canto IV.

Venimmo al piè d' un nobile castello,\*
Sette volte cerchiato d' alte mura,
Difeso intorno d' un bel fiumicello.

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per accidente, in quanto lodare non si può, che quella loda non sia maggiormente vituperio; è loda nella punta delle parole, è vituperio chi cerca loro nel ventre: chè le parole son fatte per mostrare quello che non si sa. Onde chi loda sè, mostra che non crede esser buono tenuto; che non gli incontra senza maliziata coscienza, la quale, sè lodando, discopre, e discoprendo si biasima."

\*nobile castello: This is supposed to be a symbol of human wisdom, or, possibly, the Temple of Glory. The seven walls are thought to represent the seven Virtues, namely, Faith, Hope, Love, Justice, Prudence, Temperance and Fortitude. The castle is entered by seven gates by which are meant the Trivium, consisting of Logic, Grammar and Rhetoric; and the Quadrivium, consisting of Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy. The stream is thought to represent Eloquence, and only bars the way to the ignorant, and therefore the six great Poets are able to cross it without the slightest difficulty (come terra dura). Great and noble minds need not the persuasions of Eloquence to enable them to practise the seven Virtues figured on the seven walls.

Brunetto Latini in the Tesoretto relates how, in his vision, having traversed an obscure valley, he reaches at last a smiling plain, where he encounters Emperors, Kings, great Lords, and Masters of Science, the Empress Virtue with four daughters who are Queens, namely, Justice, Prudence, Fortitude and Temperance, and other royal ladies such as Courtesy, Munifi-

cence, Loyalty, Prowess, etc.:-

"Ed io presi ardimento,
Quasi per avventura
Per una valle oscura,
Tanto ch' al terzo giorno
I' mi trovai d' intorno
Un gran pian giocondo,
Lo più gaio del mondo,
E lo più dilettoso.
Ma reccontar non oso
Ciò ch' io trovai e vidi,
Se Dio mi guardi o guidi.
Io non sarei creduto
Di ciò ch' i' ho veduto;

Questo passammo come terra dura: Per sette porte intrai con questi savi; 110 Giugnemmo in prato di fresca verdura.

Thus we went on as far as the light, discoursing of things whereof to be silent is fitting now, as it was there where I was to speak of them. We came to the foot of a noble castle seven times begirt with lofty walls, defended round about by a fair rivulet. This we passed as dry ground; and with those Sages I entered through seven gates; (and) we came into a meadow of fresh verdure.

Benvenuto thinks that the green meadow is intended to represent the evergreen fame of illustrious men, because both Virgil in the Eneid (vi, 637 et seq.), and Homer in the Odyssey,\* depict them as abiding in verdant pastures.

Division V.—Dante now observes that this spot is tenanted by persons of great dignity.

> Genti v' eran con occhi tardi e gravi, † Di grande autorità ne' lor sembianti: Parlavan rado, † con voci soavi.

> > Ch' i' vidi Imperadori, E Re, e gran Signori, E mastri di scienze, Che dittavan sentenze."

\*In Odyssey 11, 539, the shade of Achilles is represented as striding over a meadow covered with daffodils :-

"φοίτα μακρά βιβάσα κατ' ἀσφοδελόν λειμώνα."

tocchi tardi e gravi: "Quattro segni pone notantemente delli uomini savi: cioe [a] la gravità delli occhi in levarli, [β] la tardezza in volgerli, [7] la rarità del parlare, e [8] la soavità della voce." (Buti.) Compare Prov. xvii, 24: "Wisdom is before him that hath understanding; but the eyes of a fool are in the ends of the earth."

Parlavan rado: Compare Prov. xxix, 20: "Seest thou a man that is hasty in his words? there is more hope of a fool On it (the meadow) were there people with eyes (that moved) slowly and majestically, of great authority in their mien: seldom spoke they, (and) with soft voices.

Benvenuto remarks that in the world of speech there are four different species of men (in mundo \* loquendi est quadruplex genus hominum); some know little and speak little, and these are worthy of love, for they seem to know themselves, and to be willing to learn. A second kind are there, who know much and talk much, and these are worthy of being listened to, for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. A third order are there who know little and talk much, and these ought to be driven away as an annovance to everybody. But, on the other hand, there are a fourth species who know much and talk little, and these are worthy of praise, honour and commendation, for they are the really wise, and of such is Dante speaking here, being himself of this sort.

Dante now describes the many shades of men and women of heroic natures that he saw within the castle. Benvenuto thinks that Dante's reason for introducing the shades of warriors immediately after those of the Poets is that the special province of the latter is to describe the great deeds of the former.

than of him." In Conv. iv, 2, Il. 44-46, Dante says: [II] tempo in tutte nostre operazioni si dee attendere, e massimamente nel parlare;" and he adds that words that are the seeds of action must be locked within the breast and only be let loose with much discretion; and he quotes the words of Solomon in Ecclesiastes: "A time to keep silence, and a time to speak."

<sup>\*</sup>in mundo loquendi: In the Este MS. of Benvenuto the reading is in modo loquendi.

Traemmoci così dall' un de' canti
In loco aperto, luminoso ed alto,
Sì che veder si potean tutti e quanti.
Colà diritto sopra il verde smalto
Mi fur mostrati gli spiriti magni,
Che del vederli in me stesso n' esalto.

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So we withdrew to one of the sides (i.e. a little apart) into an open, bright and lofty space, so that one and all of them could be distinguished. There, right before me, upon the enamelled green were shown me the great spirits, whom to have seen I glory within myself.

The first group that Dante sees consists of heroes and heroines. With the exception of Saladin he only mentions by name either Romans, or those from whom the Roman people were supposed to be descended (see *De Mon.* ii, cap. 3).

The first shades mentioned are Electra, whose son Dardanus founded Troy; Hector the defender of Troy; Æneas the supposed founder of Rome; and then Cæsar, to whom the Roman Empire owes its origin. Then are described Camilla, who died fighting for Latium, as did Penthesilea for Troy, Latinus, King of Latium, and his daughter Lavinia, who, on her marriage with Æneas brought to the Romans the sovereignty over Europe. Then Lucius Junius Brutus, who delivered Rome from the tyrants. In Lucretia, Julia, Marcia and Cornelia, are figured the virtues which rendered the Roman people great.

Io vidi Elettra \* con molti compagni,

<sup>\*</sup> Elettra et seq.: Compare Virg. Æn. viii, 134-137:—

"Dardanus, Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor,
Electra, ut Graii perhibent, Atlantide cretus,
Advehitur Teucros; Electram maximus Atlas
Edidit, aetherios humero qui sustinet orbes."

Tra' quai conobbi Ettore ed Enea, Cesare \* armato con gli occhi grifagni. Vidi Cammilla † e la Pentesilea, Dall' altra parte vidi il re Latino, 1 125 Che con Lavinia sua figlia sedea. Vidi quel Bruto che cacciò Tarquino, Lucrezia, Julia, Marzia e Corniglia, E solo in parte vidi il || Saladino. T

\*Cesare . . . con gli occhi grifagni : Suetonius (C. Julius Casar, 45) thus describes Julius Cæsar: "Fuisse traditur excelsa statura, colore candido, teretibus membris, ore paulo pleniore, nigris vegetisque oculis [dark and piercing eyes], valetudine prospera." Grifagno is akin to the German greifen, to snatch, seize, as of a bird of prey. Compare Inf. xxii, 139, 140:-

"Ma l' altro fu bene sparvier grifagno Ad artigliar ben lui."

† Cammilla e Pentesilea: Compare Virg. Æn. xi, 657-662:-". . . quas ipsa decus sibi dia Camilla

Delegit, pacisque bonas bellique ministras. Quales Threïciae cum flumina Thermodontis Pulsant, et pictis bellantur Amazones armis; Seu circum Hippolyten, seu cum se Martia curru Penthesilea refert."

Latino, Che con Lavinia sua figlia sedea: This is imitated from Virgil, En. vii, 72:-

"Ut juxta genitorem adstat Lavinia virgo."

§ Julia was the daughter of Julius Cæsar, and the wife of Pompey. Marcia the wife of Cato of Utica (see Purg. i, 79-90; and Conv. iv, 28, Il. 100-162). Cornelia daughter of Scipio

Africanus, and mother of the Gracchi. || il: In Tuscany, il put before the surname implies that the speaker attaches importance to it. A shopman will thus speak of his master, and a wife of her husband, although the persons alluded to may be very ordinary citizens. Here no

doubt Dante meant by it "the great Saladin."

¶ Saladino: Salah-ed-deen Yussuf Ibn Ayub, the great Soldan of Egypt and Syria, and the founder of the Ayubite dynasty in those countries, was born in 1137. He was universally admired for his lofty mind, and for his clemency towards his Christian prisoners, when he captured Jerusalem after winning the great battle of Tiberias in 1187. He is here represented as sitting apart, being of a different race and faith from the spirits around him. The kingly liberality of Saladin

I saw Electra with many companions, among whom I recognised Hector and Æneas, Cæsar in armour with his falcon eyes. I saw Camilla and Penthesilea on the other side, and I saw King Latinus who was sitting with Lavinia his daughter. I saw that Brutus who drove forth Tarquinius (Superbus), Lucretia, Julia, Marcia and Cornelia, and by himself apart I saw the (great) Saladin.

Division VI.—The second group of spirits, consisting entirely of men of Science, is now introduced, and foremost among them Aristotle (il maestro di color che sanno). On this designation of him Benvenuto remarks: "Nota, lector, quod Aristoteles est magister medicorum per physicam, magister theologorum per metaphysicam, magister legistorum per politicam, magister moralium per ethycam, magister poetarum per poetriam, magister oratorum per rhetoricam. Ergo bene magister optimus omnium magistrorum."

and other great princes is extolled by Dante in Conv. iv, 11, 11. 123-134. Boccaccio also speaks of this, and other of Saladin's great qualities, in his Commentary: "Il Saladino fu soldano di Babilonia, uomo di nazione assai umile per quello mi paia avere per addietro sentito: ma di grande e altissimo animo, e ammaestratissimo in fatti di guerra, siccome in più sue operazioni dimostrò. . . Fu in donare magnifico, e delle sue magnificenze se ne raccontano assai. Fu pietoso signore: e maravigliosamente amò e onorò i valenti uomini."

His kindness to his captives is thus related by Benvenuto: "Exercitus maximus Christianorum transiens in Syriam pervenit ad civitatem Achon, ubi in exercitu fuit maxima in firmaria et pestilentia. Residuum eorum, qui evaserant ab epidemia, fuerunt quasi omnes capti. Et ecce magnanimitatem Saladini. Ipse habuit consilium cum suis quid esset agendum de captivis hostibus: alii dicebant quod interficerentur: alii quod detinerentur: alii quod fieret eis potestas redimendi se. Sed Saladinus, vere magnanimus, spretis omnium consiliis, libere dimisit omnes, et dedit omnibus potestatem rebellandi et restaurandi bellum contra eum."

Poi che innalzai un poco più le ciglia, 130 Vidi il Maestro di color che sanno,\* Seder tra filosofica famiglia. Tutti lo miran, tutti onor gli fanno. Ouivi vid' io Socrate e Platone,† Che innanzi agli altri più presso gli stanno.

\* il Maestro di color che sanno : In the time of Dante, Aristotle was venerated as an infallible authority. In Convito, i, 1, 1. 1, Dante speaks of him as "il Filosofo," i.e. the Philosopher par excellence. In Conv. iii, 5, ll. 54-56: "quello glorioso Filosofo, al quale la Natura più aperse li suoi segreti." Conv. iv, 6, ll. 69, 70: "questi è Aristotile: dunque esso è degnissimo di fede e d'obbedienza;" and ibid. ll. 150-152: "Per che vedere si può, Aristotile essere additatore e conducitore della gente a questo segno." And in Conv. iv, 17, ll. 23-25, Dante's admiration for Aristotle culminates in these words: "dove aperse la bocca divina sentenza d' Aristotile, da lasciare mi pare ogni altrui sentenza."

+ Socrate e Platone : See Convito iii, 11 (Miss Hillard's translation, 1889): "The sciences on which Philosophy most fervently fixes her gaze are called by her name, such as Natural Science, Morals and Metaphysics. Which latter, because more necessarily does this lady fix her gaze thereon, and with more fervour, is called the first Philosophy." In a note on this passage Miss Hillard says that this probably signifies that Philosophy is more nearly akin to Metaphysics than to the other sciences, and that therefore Metaphysics is properly called the first Philosophy. Emil Ruth (Geschichte der italienischen Poesie, vol. ii, pp. 136, 137, Leipzig, 1844) remarks that we have before us two series of philosophers of decreasing importance. - In the first series we find the moral and natural philosophers who investigate morals and the world in the mass, both in its general and in its complex sense, both in its laws and principles. Hence we find sitting nearest of all to Aristotle the moralists Socrates and Plato, and after them the natural philosophers Democritus, Anaxagoras the founder of Deism, his disciple Diogenes of Apollonia; Thales, Empedocles, Zeno of Elia, and Dioscorides, all of them philosophers in the strict sense of the word, and who introduced a general system of the metaphysics of the world, investigating its origin and its relation to God. In the second group are those philosophers who more especially penetrated into the study of Morals and of Nature. And in this group too (as in the other), the first to be mentioned are

When I lifted up my brows a little more, I beheld the master of them that know (i.e. Aristotle) sitting amidst a philosophic family. All gaze upon him (in admiration), all do him honour. Here beheld I Socrates and Plato, who before the others stand nearest to him (in excellence).

The lesser lights of Science are now mentioned in their order.

Democrito, che il mondo a caso pone,
Diogenes, Annassagora e Tale,
Empedocles, Eraclito e Zenone:
E vidi il buono accoglitor del quale,
Dioscoride dico: e vidi Orfeo,\*
Tullio † e Lino e Seneca morale:

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the moralists, namely: Orpheus, Linus, Cicero and Seneca, who wrote about the duties of Man, and laid down the practical rules of life; next follow the naturalists who gave their attention to special sciences, such as the mathematician Euclid, the astronomer Ptolemy, and the four physicians, Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna and Averrhoës. Thus, we see that the last person of the first group, the botanist and physician Dioscorides, is, as it were, side by side with the last person of the second group, the four physicians; so that the two groups are linked together, and compose a circle, of which Aristotle is the soul and the origin, uniting in himself all the different disciplines represented here, as does Virgil the tendency of the Poets that go with him.

\*Orfeo: Although Orpheus is better known as the hero of the mythological episode connected with the death of his wife Eurydice, it is as a real great poet and musician that Dante mentions him. He was a disciple of Linus, and was born in Thrace. Compare Conv. ii, I, Il. 25-34: "Quando dice Ovidio che Orfeo facea colla cetera mansuete le fiere, e gli arbori e le pietre a sè muovere: vuol dire, che 'l savio uomo collo strumento della sua voce fa mansuescere e umiliare li crudeli cuori; e fa muovere alla sua volorià coloro che [non] hanno vita di scienza e d' arte; e coloro che non hanno vita ragione-vole sono quasi come pietre."

† Tullio e Lino: On this Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, First Series, p. 192) says: "The fact that not only is Linus menEuclide geometra e Tolommeo,\*
Ippocrate,† Avicenna e Galieno,
Averrois, ‡ che il gran comento feo.

Democritus (I saw), who ascribes the world to chance; Diogenes, Anaxagoras, and Thales, Empedocles, Heraclitus and Zeno; and I saw the good collector of the qualities, Dioscorides I mean: and I saw Orpheus, Tullius (Cicero), and Linus, and Seneca the moralist: Euclid the geometrician and Ptolemy, Hippocrates, Avicenna and Galen, and Averrhoës, who made the great commentary.

tioned by Virgil, but also that he is very definitely associated with Orpheus in Ecl. iv, 55, 56 (an Eclogue with which Dante was very familiar), may, I think, fairly be used as a subsidiary argument for reading Linus (and not Livius) in this passage. Linus is again mentioned with honour by Virgil in Ecl. vi, 67. Linus was a Greek poet, and, like Orpheus, represents theology in this passage." "Theologus primus apud Graecos Linus fuit."

(Hugo a Sancto Victore, Exc. i, 24).

\*Tolommeo: Claudius Ptolemæus was a celebrated Egyptian geographer, astronomer, and mathematician, and taught astronomy at Alexandria during the reigns of Marcus Antoninus and Hadrian. He has always been regarded as the prince of astronomers among the ancients, and in his famous work Meyâh Sûrraţis he embodied all the prevailing ideas of his time, by which the Earth was placed in the centre of the Universe, and this system was called after him "The Ptolemaic System." Ptolemy's work was translated into Arabic, and from the Arabic a Latin translation had been made about thirty years before the birth of Dante. The whole of the cosmography in the Divina Commedia is based upon the Ptolemaic System. (See Preliminary Chapter.)

† Ippocrate, Avicenna e Galieno: These were three celebrated physicians: Hippocrates was a Greek, Avicenna a native of Khorassan, and Galen a native of Pergamus in Asia Minor.

† Averrois: Averrhoës, who was born at Cordova, about 1126, was a great Arabic writer on medicine and philosophy, as well as being a physician; but was most celebrated, and especially in the time of Dante, as the translator and commentator of Aristotle. Benvenuto remarks that four of the above-mentioned sages were natives of Cordova, namely, Lucan, Seneca, Averrhoës and Avicenna. As to the last of these he is in error, as Avicenna was born near Bokhara.

Canto IV. Readings on the Inferno.

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Dante is unable to describe all the illustrious dead.

Io non posso ritrar di tutti appieno;
Perocchè sì mi caccia il lungo tema,
Che molte volte al fatto il dir vien meno.

I am not able to refer to all in full; because the long theme so drives me onward, that many times the relation comes short of the fact.

Dante concludes by relating how the brilliant assemblage breaks up, and how he and Virgil proceed alone on their way.

La sesta compagnia in due si scema:

Per altra via mi mena il savio duca,

Fuor della queta nell' aura che trema;

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E vengo in parte ove non è che luca.

The company of six is reduced to two (i.e. Virgil and Dante); my wise guide leads me by another path forth from the quiet (air) into the air that trembles; and I come into a region where there is nought that shines.

The air that trembles is the storm-blast of which Dante is about to speak in the ensuing Canto; and the region into which he enters is one that Scartazzini describes as not containing a single star, nor any being resplendent for virtue. But the gloomy realm was not without its lights. There were the signal fires in Canto viii; the fiery tombs in Cantos ix, x; the rain of fire in Cantos xiv and xv; and the shades compared to fireflies in Canto xxvi.

END OF CANTO IV.

## CANTO V.

THE SECOND CIRCLE—THE SENSUAL—MINOS—THE LAS-CIVIOUS AND UNCHASTE—FRANCESCA DA RIMINI AND PAOLO MALATESTA.

At the conclusion of the last Canto we saw Dante and Virgil separate themselves from the band of illustrious Poets, and Dante told us how his wise Guide led him away by another path forth from the still air into a place of storm and darkness. In this Canto we find that they have descended into the precincts of the Second Circle of Hell, wherein they first see the torments of the doomed sinners.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into five parts, but, as he makes Divisions IV and V cut the beautiful episode of Francesca da Rimini in half, I do not altogether follow him, but divide the Canto into four parts.

In Division I, from ver. 1 to ver. 24, Dante relates how on entering into the Circle, he beheld Minos, the grim judge of Hell, allotting to every soul its appointed punishment.

In Division II, from ver. 25 to ver. 45, he describes the punishment of the Carnal Sinners.

In Division III, from ver. 46 to ver. 69, among the spirits in torment are noticed a few of the personages of old times most noted for their impure lives.

In Division IV, from ver. 70 to ver. 142, is related the tale of the unfortunate Francesca da Rimini, her fatal love for her brother-in-law Paolo, and their tragic end.

Division I.—The scene opens in the vestibule of Hell proper, at the entrance to which, Dante, now left alone with Virgil, finds himself in the presence of Minos.

Così discesi del cerchio primaio \*
Giù nel secondo, che men loco cinghia,
E tanto più dolor, che pugne a guaio.

Thus I descended from the First Circle down into the second, which encloses less space, and (yet) so much more misery, that it goads to (the utterance of) lamentations.

It must be borne in mind that Hell, in the Divina Commedia, is supposed to be in the form of an inverted hollow cone, truncated at the bottom, and in fact, just the shape of the familiar Tuscan washing-vessel called a conca, to which Dante likens Hell in Inf. ix, 16-18. In the First Circle, which is Limbo, there was a wider circumference, and grief found its expression in sighs alone (non avea pianto, ma' che di sospiri). This Second Circle is smaller, but the grief is greater, and both grief and punishment increase in every diminishing Circle as the Poets descend.

<sup>\*</sup> primaio: This is an obsolete form of primo. It is found in several passages in the Divina Commedia. In Par. xxvi, 100, 101, Dante says of Adam:—

Stavvi \* Minòs † orribilmente ‡ e ringhia : Esamina le colpe nell' entrata, Giudica e manda secondo che avvinghia.

5

There Minos of horrible aspect stands and grins: he examines the offences at the entrance, judges, and sends according as he girds himself.

As this last line might be difficult to understand, Dante further explains it.

Dico, che quando l'anima mal nata §
Li vien dinanzi, tutta si confessa; ||

\* Stavvi: The third person singular of the present tense of stare, for vi sta.

† Minòs: In Virg. Æn. vi, 431, 432, Minos is described in the Infernal Regions as shaking lots in the urn:—

"Nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine judice, sedes.

Quaesitor Minos urnam movet."

We have noticed before (see *Inf.* iii, 109) that Dante represented all the mythological personages in the *Inferno* as demons, and he does so here in the case of Minos, whom he depicts with a tail, and grinning like a dog. This is even more forcibly described in *Inf.* xxvii, 124-127, where Guido da Montefeltro relates how a demon carried him to Minos, who pronounced his doom with a bestial exhibition of fury:—

"A Minos mi portò: e quegli attorse
Otto volte la coda al dosso duro,
E, poi che per gran rabbia la si morse,
Disse: 'Questi è de' rei del foco furo.'"

† orribilmente e ringhia: Benvenuto, Landino, Buti and others read: Stavvi Minos e orribilmente ringhia, but the editions of Foligno, Jesi, Mantua and Naples all read as in the text I have followed.

§ mal nata: Compare Matt. xxvi, 24: "It had been good for that man if he had not been born."

|| tutta si confessa: Buti explains tutta as meaning complete confession, without omitting the avowal of any one single sin (non lasciando alcuna colpa). Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, First Series, pp. 181-184) remarks: "It will be noticed how Dante sometimes combines passages or incidents which in Virgil are found in collocation . . but not in connexion. Thus the story of Polydorus and the episode of the Harpies occur close

E quel conoscitor \* delle peccata

Vede qual loco d' inferno è da essa:

Cignesi colla coda tante volte

Quantunque † gradi vuol che giù sia messa.

Sempre dinanzi a lui ne stanno molte:

Vanno a vicenda ciascuna al giudizio; ‡

together in Virgil, En. book iii, but they are not connected either in time or place. Dante borrows the idea of imprisoning the souls of suicides in trees from the story of Polydorus, but he has added a fresh element of horror by supposing the Harpies to infest the wood and lacerate the sensitive and bleeding branches. Either from an imperfect recollection of Virgil, or, much more probably, of deliberate intention, he has united two incidents of Virgil's narrative which happened to be in a certain proximity of context. . . Another instance of combined passages occurs in regard to the descriptions by Virgil of Minos and Rhadamanthus. These occur in different parts of En. vi, the former at Il. 431-433, and the latter at Il. 566 et seq. Dante unites some of the features of both in his description of Minos in Inf. v, 7-10. From the former we have his position 'in limine primo,' and the office of judgment, 'vitasque et crimina discit.' (Esamina le colpe nell' entrata). From the latter, the enforced confession of the culprits:—

'Castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri' (l. 567), and the immediate supervention of the punishment (l. 570):— 'Continuo sontes ultrix accincta flagello

Tisiphone quatit insultans,' etc."

\*conoscitor: Lubin says that in 1300, the judge who inquired into offences was called the cognitore. See Gran Dizionario (s.v. cognitore): "Il Giudice che ha jus di prendere cognizione d' una causa. . . . Dante disse conoscitor delle peccata, Minosse che giudica colla coda." And it adds that conoscitor may be used in the same sense. In De Mon. i, 10 (in some editions 12) ll. 10-15, Dante writes: "Quum alter de altero cognoscere non possit, ex quo alter alteri non subditur (nam par in parem non habet imperium); oportet esse tertium jurisdictionis amplioris, qui ambitu sui juris ambobus principetur." I therefore translate cognoscitor "judge."

+ Quantunque is here equivalent to quanti.

† giudizio: I have translated this "judgment-seat." I find confirmation for this interpretation of the word in Blanc's Vocabolario Dantesco, and in Poletto's Dizionario Dantesco. See also Gran Dizionario, s.v. giudizio, § 19: "Del luogo dove si

Dicono e odono,\* e poi son giù volte.

15

I mean, that when the ill-fated spirit comes before him, it confesses itself wholly; and that judge of transgressions perceives what place (in Hell) is meet for it: (and) girds himself with his tail as many times as the number of stages below that he wills it to be sent. Always before him stand there many: they go each in their turn up to the judgment-seat; they speak, they hear, and then are hurled down.

They speak their confession; hear their sentence; and are speedily carried off to their doom by the attendant demons; who, as we read in Inf. xxi, 22-43, are ever at hand to fulfil their grim duties.

The attention of Minos is now called to the approach of Dante, and, knowing that the object of his journey through Hell is the salvation of his soul, Minos endeavours to discourage him from further progress. As noticed before, Minos is depicted as a malignant demon, and in that character naturally strives to hinder the man who has forsaken the ways of sin for those of virtue.

-"O tu, che vieni al doloroso ospizio,"-Disse Minòs a me, quando mi vide, Lasciando l'atto di cotanto uffizio,

giudica in qualsia modo. (e.g.) Venire in giudizio; comparire in giudizio." Also Fanfani, Vocabolario della Lingua Italiana, gives as one of the meanings: "Luogo dove si giudica."

\*odono: Scartazzini says that Minos symbolises the voice of conscience, and that what the sinners hear is from within themselves, because Minos does not speak. Against this view I would point out that we find Minos, in this present passage, speaking to Dante, and in Inf. xxvii, 127, we hear from Guido da Montefeltro that Minos spoke his doom, saying:-" . . . 'Questi è de' rei del foco furo.' "

-"Guarda com' entri, e di cui tu ti fide:\*

Non t' inganni l' ampiezza + dell' entrare!"- 20

"O thou who comest to the abode of woe," said Minos to me, desisting, when he saw me, from the exercise of so great a function (as that of judging): "Look how thou enterest, and in whom thou puttest thy trust. Let not the vastness of the entrance deceive thee!"

Virgil interposes, and answers in the same terms that he did when Charon opposed Dante's approach to the Acheron.

E il duca mio a lui:—"Perchè pur gride?

Non impedir lo suo fatale ‡ andare:

Vuolsi così colà, dove si puote

Ciò che si vuole, e più non dimandare."—

And my guide to him: "Wherefore dost thou too cry out (as did Charon)? Hinder not his fatedecreed progress: It is so willed there (in Heaven), where there is power to do that which is willed, and enquire thou no further."

We may infer that Minos is silenced by Virgil's reproof, and that the two Poets pursue their way into the region of the hurricane.

\*ti fide: This is an archaic form of the second person singular of the present tense of fidare, and stands for ti fidi.

† l' ampiezza dell' entrare: Compare Matt. vii, 13: "Wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction." Compare also Æn. vi, 126-129:—

"... facilis descensus Averno; Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis;

Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras, Hoc opus, hic labor est."

† fatale andare: Compare Inf. xxi, 79-82, where Virgil says to the Demon Malacoda:—

"'Credi tu, Malacoda, qui vedermi Esser venuto'...

Senza voler divino e fato destro?""

Division II.—The punishment of the Carnal Sinners is described. Dante is now well within the precincts of Hell. No longer does he feel the soft enamelled turf beneath his feet, nor the light air on his brow, but a furious tempest sweeps through an atmosphere of gloom, and sounds of lamentation strike on his ear.

> Ora incomincian le dolenti note \* A farmisi sentire: or son venuto Là dove molto pianto mi percote. Io venni in loco d' ogni luce muto,† Che mugghia come fa mar per tempesta, 1 Se da contrari venti è combattuto. 30 La bufera infernal, che mai non resta, Mena gli spirti con la sua rapina,§ Voltando e percotendo li molesta.

\*note: I follow the Gran Dizionario, Buti and Biagioli, and take note as "words or cries." Buti observes on this passage: "Note, cioè voci, perchè le voci sono note delle passioni, che sono nell' anima." Compare Purg. xxxii, 33, which the Gran Dizionario cites as an illustration :-

"Temprava i passi un' angelica nota."

+ loco d' ogni luce muto : Compare Inf. i, 60 :-"Mi ripingeva là, dove il Sol tace."

Also Inf. iv, 151:—
"E vengo in parte ove non è che luca,"
"E vengo in parte ove non è che luca," which is evidently the loco d'ogni luce muto. See Gran Dizionario, s.v. muto, § 5: "Per simil. vale Privo," and then the passage in the text is quoted.

† Che mugghia et seq.: Boccaccio (Comento) dwells upon the onomatopæical character of this description. We almost seem to hear the bellowing of the tempest, and the intermingled shrieks and lamentations of the unhappy spirits.

§ rapina: See Gran Dizionario, s.v. rapina, § 9: "Forza che rapisce nel suo moto altri corpi." Dante uses the verb rapere in this sense in Par. xxviii, 70-72:-

"Dunque costui, che tutto quanto rape L' altro universo seco, corrisponde Al cerchio che più ama e che più sape." Now begin to become audible to me the cries of despair: now was I come to where much wailing strikes me. I came to a region void (lit. mute) of all light, which bellows as does the sea during a tempest, if it be smitten by conflicting winds. The blast of Hell that never ceases, bears the spirits along in its rapid sweep, (and) whirling them round and buffeting them, causes them suffering.

The interpretation of the next three lines has been much disputed.

Quando giungon davanti alla ruina,\*

In Conv. ii, 6, ll. 145-151, Dante uses the word rapina as applied to the velocity with which the Ninth Heaven, the Primum Mobile, is continually whirling round: "Ancora si muove tutto questo cielo, e rivolgesi coll' epiciclo, da Oriente in Occidente, ogni dì naturale una fiata. Lo quale movimento, se esso è da Intelletto alcuno, o se esso è dalla rapina del Primo Mobile, Iddio lo sa; chè a me pare presuntuoso a giudicare."

\*ruina: In the Gran Dizionario, s.v. rovina, § 1 and § iv., we find that not only does the word signify in some of its meanings "a perpendicular rock, cliff or precipice," but also "the thing cast down," and even also "the act of its being so precipitated (oltre al luogo . . . è anco la materia caduta, e l' impeto del precipitare)." Many interpretations of the word in this passage are suggested by different Commentators. I have preferred to take ruina to mean the place where the shades, after quitting the judgment-seat of Minos, are to be hurled down into the Circle of the Incontinent. When they first reach this spot (quando giungon davanti alla ruina), then the full realisation of the torment awaiting them forces from their lips the loud cries of lamentation which Dante hears (ll. 25-27). The criminals in the hangman's cart on their way to Tyburn, the victims of the Reign of Terror in the tumbrils, had the greatest need of their self-control (though it sometimes failed them), when they first caught sight of the gallows or the guillotine. In Raffaello Fornaciari's Studi su Dante, Milan, 1883, there is a most interesting chapter entitled La Ruina (pp. 31-45), in which the above view is urged at great length, and with much plausibility. We know that Dante's Hell is supposed to have three main divisions; in the first of which, crimes of Incontinence are punished; in the second, crimes of

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Canto v.

Quivi le strida, il compianto e il lamento, Bestemmian quivi la virtù divina.

35

When they (the spirits) arrive in front of the precipice (i.e. the edge of the First Circle, whence they

Violence; and in the third, crimes of Fraud. We know also that in the Circle of the Violent (Inf. xii, 34-36), a precipitous fall of rocks had taken place shortly before our Lord's descent into Limbo, and Virgil tells Dante (Il. 44, 45) that

"Questa vecchia roccia Qui ed altrove tal fece riverso."

This clearly indicates the earthquake that occurred at the moment of Our Lord's death; and we may take it as extremely probable that altrove indicates, not only a great fall of rocks between Limbo and the Circle of the Incontinent, which would be the ruina we are now discussing, but also the fall of the bridgeways in the Circle of the Hypocrites mentioned in Inf. xxiii, while the qui (in qui ed altrove) speaks of course of that great landslip by which the Poets descend into the Circle of the Violent. The word ruina in Inf. xii, 4, I have there translated "landslip," and in ll. 28-30 of that Canto it is explained as being a great slope of loose rocks, which moved under Dante's mortal feet as he made his descent. Therefore it seems permissible to suppose that here in the Circle of the Incontinent ruina means the same thing as it did in the Circle of the Violent. When Virgil speaks of qui (among the Violent) ed altrove (elsewhere) he does not know of the downfall of the bridges in the Circle of the Hypocrites. We know how he tells Dante that when he went down into nether Hell before, the cliffs had not fallen. Consequently, we can also infer that he did not know of the fall of the bridges in the Circle of the Hypocrites below, and fell an easy prey to the deceit practised upon him by the demon Malacoda, who falsely asserted (Inf. xxi, 111) that there was a bridgeway hard by, that would afford him a passage. Thus we arrive at the fact that the earth-quake which accompanied the Crucifixion, caused downfalls of rocks in each of the three great Divisions of Hell, namely, among the Incontinent; among the Violent; and among those punished for Fraud. It is among these last, in the Bolgia of the Hypocrites, that one of the Frati Gaudenti, while telling Virgil the way to get out of that Bolgia, uses ruina to denote the débris of the bridges. See Inf. xxiii, 137, 138:-

"Montar potrete su per la ruina, Che giace in costa, e nel fondo soperchia." are to be hurled down into the Second Circle), there are the shrieks, the wailing and the lamentation, there they blaspheme the Divine Power.

We may infer from the words that follow, that Dante had asked Virgil who these spirits were; some however think that he has formed his conclusion from the nature of their torment, which he compares to the apparently purposeless movements of a flight of starlings, blown about in every direction.

Intesi che a così fatto tormento

Enno \* dannati i peccator carnali,
Che la ragion sommettono al talento.†

E come gli stornei ne porton l'ali
Nel freddo tempo, ‡ a schiera larga e piena,
Così quel fiato gli spiriti mali.

Di qua, di là, di giù, di su gli mena: Nulla speranza gli conforta mai, Non che di posa, ma di minor pena.

45

I learned that to a torment so contrived are condemned the carnal sinners who make Reason subservient to appetite (i.e. make a law of their desires). And as in the cold season their wings bear away the starlings in a far-stretching and

<sup>\*</sup>Enno: La Crusca and many other MSS. read Eran. The Nidobeatina reads sono. See Moore (Text. Crit. pp. 283-285), who says that "Enno, which is an archaic form of Sono, is no doubt original. It has either been deliberately modernised into Sono, or else changed to Eran or Erano, perhaps from a mistaken notion that this was what it stood for." Compare Purg. xvi, 121; and Par. xiii, 97. Also Conv. iv, Canzone 3, l. 95:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Convengono ambedue, ch' en d' un effetto."

<sup>†</sup> talento: "The will," "appetite," "desire." The word will be found fully discussed in Inf. x, 55.

<sup>†</sup> Nel freddo tempo: This would be in mid-autumn, when birds of migratory habits gather together in large companies, and journey to warm climates.

crowded flock: so that blast (bears along) the spirits of the wicked. Hither, thither, downward, upward, it carries them: no hope ever comforts them, not only of any rest, but (even) of less suffering.

Division III .- The simile we have just read of the starlings being borne along in countless multitudes, referred to the great mass of the Unchaste as a whole. That which is next presented to us would seem to speak rather of a particular group,\* for, in reply to Dante's eager inquiry as to who these unhappy beings are, Virgil points out to him Semiramis, Dido and Cleopatra, whose notoriety sufficiently indicates to Dante the nature of the sin of which he witnesses the punishment.

E come i gru t van cantando lor lai,

\* It would seem that in this Circle, as also in other Circles of Hell, Dante has divided the condemned spirits into groups or bands, according to the heinousness of their guilt. This is clearly proved to us in l. 85, where we are told that the spirits of Francesca and Paolo issued forth from the band wherein was Dido. But here we are told of two bands, and at the head of the first, among sinners of the grossest and most unbridled depravity, we find Semiramis; while the tenderhearted Dido heads the second band, wherein were those who sinned from excessive love.

ti gru: Compare Purg. xxiv, 64-67:-"Come gli augei che vernan lungo il Nilo Alcuna volta in aer fanno schiera. Poi volan più in fretta e vanno in filo; Così tutta la gente che lì era," etc.

And Purg. xxvi, 43-46:-"Poi come gru, ch' alle montagne Rife Volasser parte, e parte inver l' arene, Queste del giel, quelle del sole schife; L' una gente sen va, l' altra sen viene."

It is remarkable that in the above passage from the Purgatorio, Dante is again speaking of spirits punished for gross depravity,

Facendo in aer di sè lunga riga; Così vid' io venir traendo guai Ombre portate dalla detta briga: Perch' io dissi :- " Maestro, chi son quelle 50 Genti che l' aura nera sì gastiga?"--"La prima di color, di cui novelle Tu vuoi saper,"-mi disse quegli allotta, -"Fu imperatrice di molte favelle. A vizio di lussuria fu sì rotta, 55 Che libito fe' licito in sua legge, Per tôrre il biasmo in che era condotta. Ell' è Semiramis,\* di cui si legge Che succedette † a Nino, e fu sua sposa:

divided into two groups, apparently of different degrees of guilt, and are compared by him to cranes. Compare also guilt, and at-Lucretius iv, 182, 183 :—
"ille gruum quam
"ille gruum quam

Clamor, in aetheriis disparsus nubibus austri."

\* Semiramis, Queen of Assyria, succeeded her husband Ninus, who was supposed to have founded the Empire of Nineveh. Philalethes thinks that in 1. 54, where she is spoken of as imperatrice di molte favelle, there is an allusion to the confusion of tongues that dispersed the Builders of Babel, Babylon being included in the Assyrian Empire. Dante's phrase (says Dr. Paget Toynbee in his Dante Dictionary) libito fe' licito in v. 56which was borrowed by Chaucer, and applied to Nero, "His lustes were at lawe in his decree" (Monkes tale, v. 3667)—is an exact translation of Orosius (Hist. i, cap. 4, §§ 4, 7, 8) "ut cuique libitum esset liberum fieret." (See below.)

+ succedette a Nino, e fu sua sposa: There is an immense preponderance of authority in favour of this reading as against sugger dette, which is principally advocated by Scarabelli in his 1866 edition of Lana's commentary, and would imply that Semiramis was both the mother and the wife of Ninus. This reading is severely condemned by Witte (Dante Forschungen, vol. ii, pp. 377, 378), and by Scartazzini, who says that Dante is in this passage translating almost literally from Orosius (Hist. i, cap. 4, §§ 4, 7, 8): "Huic [Nino regi Assyriorum] mortuo Samiramis uxor successit . . . haec, libidine ardens, sanguinem sitiens, inter incessabilia et strupra et homicidia, cum omnes, quos regie arcessitos, meretricie habitos concubitu

60

Tenne la terra,\* che il Soldan corregge.
L' altra † è colei che s' ancise amorosa,
E ruppe fede al cener di Sicheo;
Poi è Cleopatràs lussurïosa.

oblectasset, occideret, tandem filio flagitiose concepto, impie exposito inceste cognito, privatam ignominiam publico scelere obtexit. Praecepit enim, ut inter parentes ac filios nulla delata reverentia naturae de conjugiis adpetendis ut cuique libitum esset liberum fieret." Scartazzini points out that in Mon. ii, 9, ll. 22-29, Dante says himself that he has read this passage in Orosius, and therefore he must certainly have intended succedette to be the true reading. Scarabelli contends that the reading sugger dette is also to be found in the Quaresimale of Friar Attavanti, published in Milan in 1479, as well as in the Caetani Codex, and in the MS. in the British Museum of 1370, which bears the number 10,517.

\*la terra, che il Soldan corregge: Dante has apparently confused the ancient Kingdom of Babylonia, or Assyria, with Babylon (Old Cairo) in Egypt, which was the territory of the Sultan. Benvenuto explains that Semiramis extended her empire so as to include Egypt as well as Assyria. "Istud non videtur aliquo modo posse stare quia de rei veritate Semiramis nunquam tenuit illam Babiloniam, quam modo Soldanus corrigit. . . . Ad defensionem autoris dico quod autor noster vult dicere quod Semiramis in tantum ampliavit regnum, quod non solum tenuit Babiloniam antiquam, sed etiam Egiptum, ubi est modo alia Babilonia." (See Toynbee's Dante Dictionary).

the Altra, etc.: The difficulty presents itself here, that Dido, to whom this passage refers, slew herself, besides being guilty of an intrigue with Æneas, and many ask the question why Dante has not therefore placed her in the second Girone of the Seventh Circle among the Suicides. And why also are Cato and Lucretia not relegated there as well? The answer to this is that Dante has placed no spirits of pagans in the circle of the Suicides, for the simple reason that Suicide, so far from being considered a crime by the greater number of the heathen philosophers, was thought rather to be an act worthy of praise if committed for objects that were noble and worthy, as was the case both with Cato and Lucretia; and provided that the person slaying himself had done nothing contrary to the principles of the four Cardinal Virtues, the chief test of morals among the heathen.

And as the cranes go chanting their lays making a long line of themselves in the air, so saw I come, uttering lamentations, shades borne along by the afore-mentioned strife (of winds): whereupon I said: "Master, who are these people, whom the murky air so chastises?" "The first one of those of whom thou wouldst have news," said he then to me, "was empress of many tongues (i.e. nations). In the vice of Sensuality she was so unbridled, that in her (code of) law she made lust lawful, in order to remove the blame into which she had been led. She is Semiramis, of whom one reads, that she succeeded Ninus and was his consort: she held the land (the Babylonian Empire) which the Soldan now rules. That other is she (Dido) who slew herself for love (of Æneas), and broke faith with the ashes of Sichaeus. After her is the licentious Cleopatra.

Virgil having pointed out those spirits whose sin had been indiscriminate profligacy, now names to Dante a vast number who sinned from real love, and one may infer that a distinction is meant to be drawn between unbridled lust, and the sinful fall of those who loved, not rightly, but too well.

> Elena vedi,\* per cui tanto reo Tempo si volse, e vedi il grande Achille,

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had pointed them out to

<sup>\*</sup>vedi: Witte, Scartazzini, and some of the old Commentators read vidi; but I follow the Oxford text, which reads vedi, as does the Codice Cassinese, and also Buti, who comments: "Parla ancora Virgilio, e dice: 'Tu Dante vedi Elena per cui cagione si volse tanto reo tempo,' etc." The whole context seems to show that Virgil goes on pointing out other spirits to Dante in turn. Some justify the reading vidi, by the passage (iv, 119) where Dante says: "Mi fur mostrati gli spiriti magni," etc., and then goes on to say: "Io vidi Elettra," "Vidi Cammilla," "Vidi quel Bruto." Otherwise one might well ask how Dante could recognise personages whom he had never seen before.

Che con amore al fine combatteo.

Vedi Paris,\* Tristano; "—e più di mille

Ombre mostrommi e nominommi a dito,

Che amor di nostra vita dipartille.

See Helen (there), for whose sake so long a period of guilt rolled on (namely, the ten years' siege of

\* Paris: It is somewhat uncertain whether Dante here refers to Paris, the son of Priam and the ravisher of Helen, or to the Paris of the Mediæval Romances of Chivalry. His being coupled here with Tristan, the lover of Iseult, might suggest the latter view. In several admirable letters to The Academy in 1888, Dr. Paget Toynbee quotes various passages wherein Paris of Troy and Tristan are mentioned in close connection.

"Semyramus, Candace, and Hercules,
Biblis, Dido, Tisbe and Piramus
Tristram, Isoude, Paris, and Achilles,
Helaine, Cleopatre and Troilus,
Sylla, and eke the mother of Romulus,
All these were paynted on that other side,
And all hir love, and in what plite they dide."

(Chaucer's Assembly of Foules).

"Seigneurs, oi avez maint conte
Que maint conterre vous raconte,
Comment Paris ravi Elaine,
Le mal qu'il en ot et la paine,
De Tristan qui la chievre fist,
Qui assez bellement en dist
Et fabliaus et chancon de geste."
(Roman de Renart).

"Li corteis Tristam fu enginne
De l'amor et de l'amiste
Ke il ont envers Ysolt la bloie.
Si fu li beau Paris de Troie
De Eleine e de Penelope."

(MS. 13th century, Ashburnham Coll.)

Therefore Dr. Toynbee thinks it is evident, from these and other passages he has adduced, that the mention of Paris and Helen, of Tristan and Iseult, as typical instances of lovers whose woes were wrought by love, was regarded in the Middle Ages as a poetical commonplace. It may therefore be assumed that Dante's allusion is to the Paris "qui de Gresse ravi Helaine," and not to the hero of the Mediæval romance.

Troy), and see the great Achilles, who at the last hour combated with love (for Polyxena). See Paris, Tristan;" and with his finger he showed me and named more than a thousand (i.e. innumerable) shades, whom love had parted from our (human) life.

Division IV.—All through the Divina Commedia we see how tenderly Dante deals with the memories of those who have erred through love. Virgil has just pointed out to him a great multitude of such, and we cannot therefore be surprised to hear that Dante is filled with wonder at their vast numbers, and with compassion for their fate.

Poscia ch' io ebbi il mio dottore udito Nomar le donne antiche e i cavalieri,\* Pietà mi giunse, e fui quasi smarrito.

70

After that I had heard my teacher name the dames and the knights of days gone by, pity fell upon me, and I was almost bewildered.

At this point begins, and continues to the end of the Canto, the episode of Dante's interview with Francesca da Rimini, one of the most beautiful and touching passages in the *Divina Commedia*. The

<sup>\*</sup>le donne antiche e i cavalieri: Benvenuto thinks that Dante's sympathy was excited beyond measure at the fate of these unfortunate spirits of knights and dames, because, like them, he had himself gone through this same passion of love. Compare Shakespeare, Sonnet cvi:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;When in the chronicle of wasted time
I see descriptions of the fairest wights,
And beauty making beautiful old rhyme
In praise of ladies dead and lovely knights."
See also Homer, Odyssey, Book xi (Λ), 327, 328:—
"Πάσας δ' οὐκ ἄν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω,
"Οσσας ἡρώων ἀλόχους ἴδου, ἡδὲ θύγατρας."

following is the translation of the story as given by the Anonimo Fiorentino, which, while it agrees in its essential points with that of Boccaccio, is by many preferred as being less bombastic. "You must know that for a long time there was war between Messer Guido da Polenta and Messer Malatesta the elder. the lord of Rimini. Now when both sides had become sick of fighting, they made peace by mutual agreement, and in order that it might be the better observed, they made a family alliance; for Messer Guido married his daughter to the son of Messer Malatesta, and Messer Malatesta gave him one of his female relations in marriage. Madonna Francesca, daughter of Messer Guido, was wedded to Gianciotto the son of Messer Malatesta; now although he was wise and prudent, yet was he a coarse man (rustico This, the Anonimo explains, does not mean that he was coarse in his manners, but in his person, being deformed, and hence came his name, Gianciotto, which is Giovanni ciotto, ciotto being equivalent to zoppo, lame.] Now Madonna Francesca was surpassingly fair, so much so, that it was said to Messer Guido: 'You have badly matched this your daughter; she is beautiful, and of a lofty spirit; she will never remain contented with Gianciotto.' Messer Guido, who esteemed wisdom far more highly than beauty, resolved all the same that the wedding should take place; and in order that it might be so managed that the noble lady should not refuse to accept the husband selected for her, he made Paolo come [as proxy] to espouse her for his brother Gianciotto; and thus she, thinking

to have married Paolo, married Gianciotto. And true it is that before she was espoused, and Paolo being one day at the Court, a handmaiden of Madonna Francesca pointed him out to her and said: 'That is your intended husband.' She (Francesca) seeing how handsome he was, fell in love with him, and was happy in it. But when the marriage had taken place, and she found herself that night \* by the side of Gianciotto and not of Paolo, as she had expected, she was ill-pleased. She perceived that she had been taken in; and she would not lay aside the love she had given to Paolo: whereupon Paolo, seeing himself loved by her, although at first it was repugnant to him to do so, let himself go easily to return her love. It so happened about this time, when they were thus in love with one another, that Gianciotto went away on his public business (andò fuori in signoria+), and this

<sup>\*</sup> Boccaccio declares that Francesca only discovered the fraud that had been practised upon her on the morning after the nuptials, but tradition records that Paolo was already married; and besides, Dante would have been certain, if this story had been true, not to have omitted to mention a circumstance that would so greatly have palliated the fault of Francesca, to whose family he had cause to be beholden.

<sup>†</sup> The Anonimo Fiorentino explains that in those days, many cities which were governed by popular election, were in the habit of calling in some distinguished alien to be their chief magistrate (podestà) to administer the State with semi-despotic power (stare in signoria); and beyond a doubt the signoria, of which the Anonimo speaks here, was one of the potesterie, so that andô fuori in signoria means that he had to go away to perform his functions (signoria) in some neighbouring city where he was podestà. This is borne out by Boccaccio (Comento): "essendo Gianni andato in alcuna terra vicina per podestà."

departure of his greatly raised their hopes; and thus their love increased so much that, being in complete privacy in a certain chamber, and reading from a book of Lancelot . . . they ended by yielding to their desires. And continuing so to do on various occasions, a retainer of Gianciotto remarked it, and wrote and told Gianciotto about it; on which account he, having returned home, and having one day lain in wait for them, surprised them in a room which had another communicating with it underneath; and Paolo would certainly have escaped, had not a link in the hauberk he was wearing caught on the point of a nail in the trap-door, and he in this way remained hanging. Gianciotto rushed at him with a halberd, the lady ran in between them, so that Gianciotto, as he brought down his weapon, thinking to strike him, struck his wife and killed her; and then in like manner he killed Paolo at the spot where he was hanging."

Boccaccio relates that when Gianciotto had killed his wife and his brother, he returned to his business, and that the two unhappy lovers were the next day interred in one tomb. (Così amenduni lasciatigli morti, subitamente si partì, e tornossi all' ufficio suo. Furono poi li due amanti con molte lacrime la mattina seguente seppelliti, e in una medesima sepoltura.)

The story is somewhat differently given by Buti, who relates that Francesca was the daughter of Messer Guido da Polenta, the Lord of Ravenna, and that she was married to Lanciotto (some call him Gianciotto), son of Messer Malatesta of Rimini. The lady was very beautiful in her person, her

husband very deformed and crippled; and Lanciotto had a brother named Paolo, a youth of great beauty, whence it happened that Francesca and Paolo became enamoured one of another. Now it is said that being one day alone in a chamber in all security as brother and sister-in-law, and reading how Lancelot fell in love with Queen Guenevere, and how through the connivance of Messer Galeotto they came together, Paolo inflamed with passion kissed Francesca; and after that, their love and intimacy became so evident, that it came to the ears of Lanciotto; who thereupon lying in wait, and one day finding them together, stabbed them both with his rapier, so that they died at the same time.

Io cominciai:—"Poeta, volentieri
Parlerei a que' due che insieme vanno,
E paion sì al vento esser leggieri."—

75

I began: "Poet, gladly would I speak with yonder two who go together, and seem to be so light upon the wind."

Benvenuto thinks Virgil means that the two spirits were so light upon the wind of criminal love, as though he would say that they seemed so enamoured of each other. As in life they had never striven to resist the force of their passions, so now they are not in a fit condition to oppose any resistance to the force of the storm-blast. Virgil tells Dante to watch for his opportunity of conversing with them, and Dante obeys.

Ed egli a me:—" Vedrai, quando saranno Più presso a noi; e tu allor li prega Per quell'amor che i \* mena; e quei verranno."— Sì tosto come il vento a noi li piega,

Mossi la voce:—"O anime affannate, 80
Venite a noi parlar, s' altri † nol niega."—

And he to me: "Thou wilt see when they shall be nearer to us; and do thou then pray them by that love which bears them along; and they will come." As soon as the wind brought them round to us, I raised my voice: "O afflicted souls, come and speak to us, if Another (i.e. God) forbids it not."

Benvenuto remarks that while speaking these words, Dante was probably in considerable doubt as to whether the shades would be allowed to pause in their headlong career.

The two spirits comply with Dante's request, and their approach is described in a beautiful simile.

Quali colombe ‡ dal disio chiamate,

\*i mena: This is for li mena. We find i for li in Inf. vii, 53,

"La sconoscente vita che i fe' sozzi, Ad ogni conoscenza or li fa bruni."

And Inf. xviii, 18:-"Infino al pozzo, che i tronca e raccogli."

And Par. xii, 26, 27:-

"Pur come gli occhi ch' al piacer che i move Conviene insieme chiudere e levarsi."

taltri: Camerini says that this is an old form to indicate an indeterminate superior power. In Inf. xxvi, 139-141, it is used, as here, to indicate God:—

"Tre volte il fe' girar con tutte l' acque, Alla quarta levar la poppa in suso, E la prora ire in giù, com' altrui piacque."

In Purg. i, 133, it refers to Cato, the guardian of Ante-Purga-

"Quivi mi cinse sì come altrui piacque."

‡ Quali colombe, etc.: Compare Isaiah lx, 8: "Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their windows?"

Con l' ali alzate e ferme, al dolce nido Vegnon per l' aer dal voler portate: Cotali uscir della schiera ov' è Dido,\*

85

Scartazzini in his Leipzig edition (1874) reads vengon, and places the colon after it, instead of after portate, observing that the rest of the passage does not refer to the doves, but to the shades of Francesca and Paolo. He thinks that, if the words dal voler portate were interpreted as referring to the doves, the sentence would be unnecessary and superfluous, for the doves have been already described as dal disio chiamate. Animals follow an instinctive disio, spirits a libero volere. The late Dean Church, in a letter written to me just one month before his death, strongly dissented from this reading and interpretation, saying: "I cannot think Scartazzini is right in Inf. v, 82-85. Dante gives to his animals human attributes. See Par. xix, 34-36:—

'Quasi falcone ch' esce del cappello

Move la testa, e coll' ali si plaude, Voglia mostrando, e facendosi bello.

And Par. xx, 73-75:-

'Quale allodetta che in aere si spazia Prima cantando, e poi tace, contenta Dell' ultima dolcezza che la sazia.'

This is not instinct, but reflection, and the whole run of the passage is made harsh by the abrupt stop at per l'aere, and the insertion of the condition dal voler portate before cotali, etc. Dante is not accustomed to depend upon mere punctuation to make his meaning clear. Dal voler portate, the eagerness of the flight, corresponds to Virgil:—

'Radit iter liquidum, celeres nec commovet alas,'

and expresses the same idea in a different way."

Scartazzini in his Edizione Minore, Milan, 1893, and in his subsequent editions, places a semi-colon after l'aere, instead of

a colon after vengon.

The most opposite views are taken by different Commentators as to the comparison between the doves and the two shades, some taking the dove as a symbol of sensuality, others of innocence. Scartazzini argues from Matt. x, 16, that the dove is also a symbol of sincerity, a virtue which poor Francesca exercises in the highest degree in her touching narrative.

\*la schiera ov' è Dido: It is thought by some, that Dante wished to make a distinction between the noble souls who yielded to the passion of love, but not to brutish sensuality, and it may well be that, after describing such voluptuaries as

A noi venendo per l' aer maligno, Sì forte fu l' affettuoso grido.

Like unto doves that summoned by fond desire, with upraised and steady pinions come to their beloved nest carried through the air by their own volition: so did those issue from the band wherein is Dido, coming to us through that malignant air, so powerful was my affectionate appeal.

Francesca is the first to speak, and she addresses herself to Dante alone, as the one of the pair whom she sees is alive. Womanlike, she cannot refrain from expressing her gratitude for the sympathy he is showing them. Virgil (l. 76) had told Dante to take the opportunity of calling to the spirits, whenever it should present itself. Francesca is anxious that he should not lose this opportunity by any waste of time, and enters at once into the facts of her sad history, apparently anticipating the possibility of their being swept away by the malignant blast in the middle of her narrative; and one infers that, with the courtesy of a true lady, she almost offers an apology beforehand, should this take place.

—"O animal grazioso e benigno, Che visitando vai per l' aer perso \* Noi che tignemmo il mondo di sanguigno:

90

Semiramis and Cleopatra, Virgil passed, by a graceful transition, over the "more than a thousand" shades, to the knights and dames of chivalry, whose sin was unlawful love, and not unbridled lust, and of these are the unfortunate pair in question.

\* perso . . . sanguigno : Chaucer (Canterbury Tales, Prologue, 441, 442) describes the Doctour of Phisike thus:—

"In sanguin and in perse he clad was alle Lined with taffeta, and with sendalle."

Dante uses the word in several places, and in Convito, iv, 20, ll. 12-16: "il perso dal nero discende. . . . Il perso è un colore

Se fosse amico \* il re dell' universo, Noi pregheremmo lui della tua pace, Poichè hai pietà del nostro mal perverso.

Di quel che udire e che parlar ti piace Noi udiremo e parleremo a vui, Mentrechè il vento, come fa, si tace.†

95

"O living being, courteous and kind, who goest through this murky air visiting us who stained the world with blood: if the King of the Universe were our friend, we would pray unto him for thy

misto di purpureo e di nero, ma vince il nero, e da lui si denomina."

See also Inf. vii, 103:-

"L' acqua era buia assai più che persa." And in Purg. ix, 97, when speaking of the three steps on which the Angel Warder is seated at the Gate of Purgatory, Dante says:-

"Era il secondo, tinto più che perso."

\* Se fosse amico, etc.: There is an immense depth of pathos in this half-uttered prayer of Francesca. She puts into words the thoughts that are in her heart, a combination of womanly tenderness and reverence for holy things, when suddenly she remembers that she is no longer in a state of grace, but in Hell, where prayers are no longer heard:-

"L' altra [orazione] che val, che in ciel non è udita?" as Belacqua tells Dante (Purg. iv, 135), saying that to be of any avail, a prayer must come from a heart full of living grace.

+ Mentreche il vento . . . si tace: Compare Virg. Georg. iv, 471-484, where, at the song of Orpheus, all the movements in the Infernal regions paused in rapture:

"At cantu commotae Erebi de sedibus imis

Umbrae ibant tenues . . .

Quin ipsae stupuere domus atque intima Leti Tartara, caeruleosque implexae crinibus angues Eumenides, tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora, Atque Ixionii vento rota constitit orbis."

Compare also Æn. vii, 27, 28:-

"Cum venti posuere, omnisque repente resedit Flatus, et in lento luctantur marmore tonsae." Benvenuto thinks that the momentary respite that was granted to Francesca and Paolo, was by no means for alleviation of their torment, but rather in aggravation of it, in the sad reminiscences that they recalled of their love on earth. peace, since thou hast compassion for our fatal woe. Of what it pleases thee (Dante) to hear and to speak, (that) we will hear, and speak to (both of) you, while the wind is lulled, as it is (just now).

She tells Dante that she was born at Ravenna.

Siede la terra \* dove nata fui, Sulla marina dove il Po discende Per aver pace co' seguaci sui.

\* Siede la terra, etc.: La terra means the city of Ravenna. On the very common use of terra in the Middle Ages to signify "city," see note on Inf. xxvii, 43, where La terra che fe' già la lunga prova means the City of Forlì. Ravenna is now situated at a distance of two or three miles from the sea, and about ten or twelve from the principal mouth of the Po, that is, of the right branch of it. Benvenuto says: "intellige quantum ad brachium rectum: intrat enim Padus in mare in loco qui vocatur Primarium." Any one now visiting the city, sees outside of it a dreary pestilential marsh, in the midst of which the magnificent early Christian Church of St. Apollinare in Classe alone breaks the monotony and desolation of the surrounding plain. But in the time of Dante, Classe, or, as it was at that time probably called, Chiassi, was really on the sea-shore (sulla marina), and was the harbour of Ravenna (Portus Classis), as it had been in the great days of the Roman Empire. It was, when Dante frequented it, a district of great beauty, and when in the latter years of his life, during his exile from Florence, he was hospitably entertained by Guido Novello, the great Lord of Polenta, the nephew of Francesca da Rimini, we gather from Purg. xxviii, 10-21, that he was wont to seek for tranquillity and seclusion in the beautiful pine forest, the Pineta, which skirts the plain, and extends in the direction of Rimini:-

"... le fronde, tremolando pronte,
Tutte e quante piegavano alla parte
U' la prim' ombra gitta il santo monte:
Non però dal lor esser dritto sparte
Tanto che gli augelletti per le cime
Lasciasser d'operare ogni lor arte;
Ma con piena letizia l' ôre prime,
Cantando, ricevièno intra le foglie,
Che tenevan bordone alle sue rime,
Tal qual di ramo in ramo si raccoglie
Per la pineta in sul lito di Chiassi,
Quand' Eolo Scirocco fuor discioglie,"

The city wherein I was born is seated on the shore of the (Adriatic) sea, where the Po with his tributaries descends to find rest.

In a few words of singular beauty and pathos, Francesca relates how she and Paolo became enamoured, and even in Hell she fails to restrain the feelings of tenderness with which she still regards him, while on the other hand she indignantly predicts the lowest place in Hell for her ferocious husband, for even in death her womanly modesty revolts at the recollection of the way she and Paolo were slain.

Amor,\* che al cor gentil † ratto s' apprende,
Prese costui della bella persona
Che mi fu tolta, e il modo ‡ ancor m' offende.
Amor, che a nullo amato amar perdona,
Mi prese del costui piacer sì forte,
Che come vedi, ancor non mi abbandona.

tcor gentil: I follow here the interpretation of Boccaccio: "deesi qui intendere quel che dice al cor gentil, cioè flessibile, siccome quello che era nato atto a ricevere quella passione."

til modo ancor m' offende: This may either mean because being slain in the act of sin, she had no time for repentance, or, that the brutal violence of the mode of her death was especially repugnant to one of her high birth and delicate nurture. Some prefer to read mondo, which in the MSS. was written modo, and would imply, says Dr. Moore (Textual Criticism, pp. 286-290), that Francesca and Paolo were wrongfully accused of the crime for which they were killed. Dr. Moore, however, cites an immense preponderance of authority in favour of modo. Some contend that il modo . . . m' offende

<sup>\*</sup>Amor: Longfellow calls attention to the threefold occurrence in these three terzine of the word love, as was the case with the word honour in Inf, iv, 72-80. He says the verses murmur with it, and he quotes the well-known lines from Tennyson's Princess, Canto vii, commencing:

"... Sweet is every sound," etc.

Readings on the Inferno. Canto v.

Amor condusse noi ad una morte: Caino \* attende chi vita ci spense."-Queste parole da lor ci fur pôrte.

Love, which quickly lays hold on a susceptible heart, captivated this one with the lovely form of which I was deprived, and the mode (thereof) still offends me. Love, which to no loved one gives exemption from loving in return, seized me with so intense a delight in him, that, as thou seest, he does not even now desert me. Love brought us to one death. Cain awaits him who extinguished our life." These words were borne to us from them.

When Dante is able to reply, he does so as one in a soliloguy.

rather refers to the deceit said by Boccaccio to have been practised upon Francesca, of making her believe that Paolo, when he came to Ravenna to wed her by proxy for his brother, was in reality espousing her himself. But if this were so, she would have been innocent in thought, and would hardly have been represented by Dante as being punished among the

Sensual.

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\*Caino: "dice che furono morti per amore, e colui che li uccise si è atteso da Cain, lo quale uccise Abello suo fratello; sicchè è tanto a dire che quelli che li uccise era fratello d' uno di loro." (Lana). Dr. Moore (Textual Criticism, p. 38, note) thinks it probable that Dante wrote Cain or Caino, thus describing the first murderer as himself awaiting the arrival of the modern fratricide with malicious eagerness. Of the Prime Quattro Edizioni, Foligno reads cayno; Jesi caim; Mantua chaina; and Naples cayno. The reading Chaina or Caina means the first of the four Rings (giri) in the Ninth Circle of Hell, in which treacherous murderers of their kindred are specially punished. But Dante had not, when he saw Francesca, been down to that lowest part of Hell called *La Caina*, and had Francesca spoken of it by that name, she would have used an expression perfectly unintelligible to Dante, even if she herself might have heard of it. Dante is, as a rule, so marvellously careful, as to make it improbable that he could be guilty of such an oversight as this. Besides, if Caina is used, it should be la Caina, on the analogy of l' Antenora and la Giudecca.

Da che io intesi quelle anime offense,
Chinai 'l viso, e tanto il tenni basso,
Finchè 'l poeta mi disse:—" Che pense?"—

Quando risposi, cominciai:—" O lasso,
Quanti dolci pensier,\* quanto disio
Menò costoro al doloroso passo!"—

After that I had heard those afflicted souls, I bowed my face, and so long did I hold it down, that at last the Poet said to me: "Of what art thou thinking?" When I answered, I began: "Ah me! how many tender thoughts, how much fond desire, led them to this woeful pass!"

Dante has remarked that in the narrative of Francesca up to this point, there is a considerable gap. She told him of the passionate love of herself and Paolo for one another, and then passed on at once to tell him how that love led them together into one death. He is anxious to have this void filled, and to know the further details, feeling that a whole history lies between, of which he knows nothing, and about which Francesca has hitherto been silent.

Poi mi rivolsi a loro, e parla' io, E cominciai:—"Francesca, i tuoi martiri

<sup>\*</sup>dolci pensier: In Convito, ii, 2, ll. 22-32, Dante speaks of the thoughts generated by love: "Ma perocchè non subitamente nasce amore e fassi grande e viene perfetto, ma vuole alcuno tempo e nutrimento di pensieri, massimamente là dove sono pensieri contrari che lo impediscono, convenne, prima che questo nuovo amore fosse perfetto, molta battaglia intra 'l pensiero del suo nutrimento e quello che gli era contrario, il quale per quella gloriosa Beatrice tenea ancora la rocca della mia mente."

Al lagrimar mi fanno tristo e pio.\*

Ma dimmi: al tempo de' dolci sospiri,

A che† e come concedette amore,

Che conosceste‡ i dubbiosi § desiri?"—

120

Then I turned again to them, and I spake, and began: "Francesca, thy sufferings make me sad and full of pity even unto tears. But tell me: at the time of your sweet sighings, by what sign and in what manner, did Love grant that you should realise your unconfessed desires?"

Francesca complies with Dante's request, and the lines in which the scene of her fatal love is recounted, are justly considered to be one of the most beautiful passages ever written in verse. The modesty and reticence therein displayed adds much to the charm of the poetry.

<sup>\*</sup>Al lagrimar mi fanno tristo e pio: That is, "make me weep from sorrow and pity."

<sup>†</sup> A che: Cesari (Bellezze della Divina Commedia, vol. i, p. 97) has: "A che, col verbo conoscere, o con simile, vale quanto, A qual segno, o indizio. Compare Boccaccio, Decam. Giorn. v, Nov. x: 'E se tu non te ne avvedessi ad altro, sì te ne dei avvedere a questo.'"

conosceste: Witte and others read conoscesti.

<sup>§</sup> dubbiosi desiri: "Chiamagli dubbiosi i desiderj degli amanti perciocchè quantunque per molti appaja che l' uno ami l' altro, e l' altro l' uno, tuttavia suspicano non sia così come a lor pare, insino a tanto che del tutto discoperti e conosciuti sono." (Boccaccio, Comento). "Desiderj di amore non ancora palesato, e però non uniti nella certezza di esser corrisposti." (Scartazzini). Some understand dubbiosi as pericolosi, a sense of the word which is occasionally found among the prose writers of the thirteenth century, and notably in the Novellino. The Gran Dizionario (s.v. dubbioso, § 2, explains the sentence: "la passione reciproca, della quale eravate non certi, nè della propria ben conscii a voi stessi." I have followed the version given by the Rev. A. F. Tozer, in his useful English Commentary on Dante's Divina Commedia, Oxford, 1901; and the interpretation quoted from the Gran Dizionario seems to fully bear out Mr. Tozer's view of the passage.

Ed ella a me:—" Nessun maggior dolore,\*
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria; e ciò sa il tuo dottore.†
Ma se a conoscer ‡ la prima radice

\* Nessun maggior dolore, etc.: This passage, which has been imitated by many poets, is almost a verbatim reproduction of the words of Boethius, De Consol. Phil. Book ii, Pros. iv: "In omni adversitate fortunae, infelicissimum est genus infortunii fuisse felicem."

Compare also Chaucer, Troilus and Creseide, Book iii, 1624:

"For of fortune's sharp adversite
The worst kind of infortune is this,
A man to have been in prosperite,
And it remember, when it passed is."

And Tennyson, Locksley Hall :-

Canto v.

"This is truth the poet sings, That a sorrow's crown of sorrow Is remembering happier things."

And Fortiguerra, Il Riciardetto, xi, st. 100:-

"... rimembrare il ben perduto Fa più meschino lo presente stato."

til tuo dottore: Some Commentators, among whom are Daniello, Venturi, Magalotti, Biagioli, and Bianchi, have tried to prove that by dottore Dante meant Boëthius, who wrote the words quoted in the previous note. Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, First Series, p. 283) remarks that although the title of dottore would much more naturally belong to Virgil (the dottore then present), it is not easy to identify any passage corresponding to this in his works. The passage generally thought to be referred to, is Æn. ii, 3:—

"Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem."

It must be admitted, as Dr. Moore observes, that the resemblance of this to the very definite sentiment enunciated in the passage we are discussing is surely very slight. Dante however calls Virgil il mio dottore in several places, and notably so in 1. 70 of this very Canto:—

"Poscia ch' io ebbi il mio dottore udito," etc. He never distinguished Boëthius by that appellation.

† se a conoscer . . . tu hai cotanto affetto: Dr. Moore (op. cit. p. 283) says that it must certainly be admitted that this terzina seems to imply a reminiscence of Virgil Æn. ii, 6-13:—

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## Readings on the Inferno.

Canto v.

Del nostro amor tu hai cotanto affetto,
Farò come colui che piange e dice.\*

Noi leggevamo † un giorno per diletto
Di Lancelotto, come amor lo strinse:
Soli eravamo e senza alcun sospetto.

Per più fiate gli occhi ci sospinse

" . . . Quis talia fando

Temperet a lacrimis?

Sed, si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros, Et breviter Troiae supremum audire laborem; Quamquam animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit, Incipiam."

\*colui che piange e dice: Compare the words of Count Ugolino, Inf. xxxiii, 7-9:—

"Ma se le mie parole esser den seme,

Che frutti infamia al traditor ch' io rodo, Parlare e lagrimar vedrai insieme."

Francesca recalls her past happiness and weeps over her lost condition. Ugolino has no happy past to look back to, and though weeping at the memory of the awful pangs he endured, is only induced to relate them with the revengeful view of injuring the reputation of his betrayer, Archbishop Ruggieri.

+ Noi leggevamo, etc.: Lamennais (La Divine Comédie de Dante Alighieri, Paris, 1855, vol. i, p. lxxiii) comments on this incident so happily, that I venture to quote his remarks at length: "Les deux amants qu'emporte et roule dans son cercle éternel l'infernal ouragan, s'arrêtent à la prière de Dante, et Francesca lui fait le récit de leurs infortunes. Combien l'effet en est différent de ce qu'il serait si le poëte l'avait mis dans la bouche de celui qui jamais d'elle ne sera séparé. Un poëte vulgaire n'y eût pas manqué; il aurait cru répandre ainsi sur l'amante silencieuse un certain charme de modestie pudique: et au contraire, outre l'exquis sentiment de délicatesse passionnée par lequel elle semble se rendre propre comme une commune faiblesse, c'est en l'avouant ellemême qu'elle l'excuse, c'est par la vive expression de l'amour qui la fascine encore, qu' elle imprime à cet amour qui survit au corps, qui réside dans l'âme seule, je ne sais quel charactère chaste d'où nait la pitié douloureuse et tendre qu'inspirent ceux dont il fera, au fond d'une joie secrète, l'immortel tourment."

Quella lettura, e scolorocci il viso:

Ma solo un punto fu quel che ci vinse.

Quando leggemmo il disiato riso

Esser baciato da cotanto amante,

Questi, che mai da me non fia diviso,

La bocca mi baciò tutto tremante:

Galeotto fu il libro e chi lo scrisse:

Quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avante."—\*

And she to me: "No greater sorrow (is there) than to remember the time of happiness in misery; and this thy teacher knows. But if thou hast such desire to know the first root of our love, I will do like one who weeps and tells (i.e. tells a sad story with tears). We were one day for pastime reading of Lancelot, how love enchained him: alone were we, and without any fear. Many a time did that reading cause our eyes to meet, and our faces to change colour: but one passage alone was it that overcame us. When we read how the smiling and longed-for lips (of Queen Guenevere) were kissed by so noble a lover, this one who nevermore shall be parted from me, all trembling kissed me on the mouth. The book and he who wrote it were both a Gallehaut (i.e. a go-between) to us: That day we read on no further."

The meaning of this sentence is that the book of the Romance of Lancelot du Lac† was to Francesca and Paolo the go-between that facilitated their

<sup>\*</sup>non vi leggemmo avante: At the end of this Canto will be found a separate digression upon the passage from Noi leggevamo (l. 127) to non vi leggemmo avante (l. 138), set to music by Rossini for insertion into Lord Vernon's great folio edition of the Inferno, as a contribution from himself to the work.

<sup>†</sup> The passage in the O.F. Romance here referred to is printed by Dr. Paget Toynbee in his Dante Dictionary (s.v. Galeotto) from a thirteenth century MS. in the British Museum. See also the article on "Dante and the Lancelot Rom" his Dante Studies and Researches.

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realising their love for each other, just as in the Romance itself, Gallehaut was the intermediary between Lancelot and Queen Guenevere. Benvenuto words it: "Sicut Galleottus fuit conciliator et mediator amoris inter Lanzilottum et Ginevriam, ita Liber iste in quo legebant fuit mediator et conciliator qui conjuravit ipsos duos simul."

Dante ends the Canto by describing the effect upon himself of the passionate grief of Paolo, a grief no doubt greatly intensified by the thought that he had been the chief author of the death and eternal doom of one whom he had loved so well.

> Mentre che l' uno spirto questo disse, L' altro piangeva sì, che di pietade Io venni meno sì com' io morisse; E caddi, come corpo morto cade.

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While one spirit said this, the other wept so (bitterly), that from sympathy I swooned as though I were dying; and fell down as a dead body falls.

Benvenuto remarks on the above passage:-

"And here take note, that what the author pictures as having happened to himself on this occasion, had in very truth happened to him in life when he was enamoured of Beatrice. For when on a certain occasion, he had purposely gone to a banquet where Beatrice was, and was passing up the stairs, she by accident came suddenly upon him, whereat the young man fell down half dead, and being laid upon a bed, remained there for a considerable time senseless; and consider how often in this Canto the author shows himself to be torn by strong passions, having

been for a long time beyond measure ensnared by this same disease."

It is probable that Benvenuto founded this story upon a passage in the Vita Nuova, § xiv, ll. 1-65, but Benyenuto seems to be much more circumstantial in his account of the episode than the paragraph justifies. It relates that Dante was conducted by a friend to a banquet given to a bride in the house of the bridegroom, and that wishing to do a pleasure to his friend, he agreed to assist him in doing service to the gentle ladies present. But on a sudden he began to tremble all over, and leaned against the painted wall of the house to conceal his emotion, on perceiving Beatrice among the ladies; on which he says: "Allora furono sì distrutti li miei spiriti per la forza che Amore prese, veggendosi in tanta propinquitade alla gentilissima donna, che non mi rimasero in vita più che gli spiriti del viso; . . . onde . . . l' amico di buona fede mi prese per la mano, e traendomi fuori della veduta di queste donne, mi domandò che io avessi. Allora riposato alquanto . . . e partitomi da lui, mi ritornai nella camera delle lagrime." There is nothing here about his having been laid upon a bed, except by inference.

END OF CANTO V.

Readings on the Inferno. Canto v.

## DIGRESSION.

At the time when my father was preparing his great folio edition (Inferno di Dante Alighieri, da G. G. Warren, Lord Vernon, Londra, 1858-1865), generally known as The Vernon Dante, the celebrated composer Giovacchino Rossini, who was a personal friend of his, sent him, as a contribution to his work, the following composition, in which he has set to music the words of Francesca da Rimini in ll. 127-138 of this Canto. The beautiful and plaintive melody is indeed worthy of the subject. In completing Lord Vernon's work for the press after his death, Sir James Lacaita wrote opposite this music in the Album Volume (vol. iii, p. 83): "Il celebre Maestro si degnò di aggiunger pregio all' Album, con questo bellissimo componimento, che esprime con malinconiche note il luogo della Divina Commedia, che spira maggiore affetto. Di questa degnazione Lord Vernon senti tutto il pregio, e ne fu riconoscentissimo all' insigne creatore de' capolavori, che continueranno a commuovere gli uomini, finchè scintilla di civiltà rimanga nel mondo."

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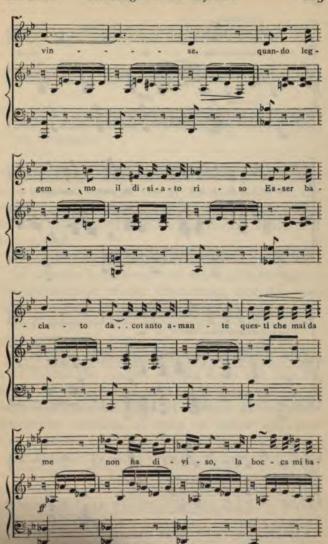


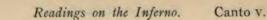














A MILORD VERNON Il suo Candido Estimatore, GIOACHINO ROSSINI.

## CANTO VI.

THE THIRD CIRCLE—THE GLUTTONOUS—CERBERUS— CIACCO—HIS PROPHECY CONCERNING THE FACTIONS OF FLORENCE.

WE left Dante at the end of the Fifth Canto falling into a swoon brought on by his sympathy for the sorrows of Francesca and Paolo. He wakes to find himself in the Third Circle, where the sin of Gluttony is punished.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In Division I, from ver. 1 to ver. 33, Dante relates the punishment of the Gluttonous, and describes Cerberus, their guardian and tormentor.

In Division II, from ver. 34 to ver. 57, the shade of Ciacco accosts Dante, who converses with him.

In Division III, from ver. 58 to ver. 93, Dante asks Ciacco the reasons for the feuds and factions by which Florence is rent; and further enquires what has been the fate of certain distinguished Florentine citizens, to both of which questions Ciacco replies.

In Division IV, from ver. 94 to ver. 115, Dante and Virgil quit Ciacco, and have a conversation respecting any possible aggravation in the penalty of lost souls after the Day of Judgment.

Benvenuto (before commenting on the text) observes that the sin of Gluttony might naturally have been treated by Dante before that of Lasciviousness, for the former sin fosters the latter, but that Dante considers Gluttony the more culpable and sinful of the two, and therefore as tending more to drag down to the centre of Hell.

Division I.—Just in the same manner as Dante awoke from his swoon at the Acheron, so now do his eyes on opening behold an entirely different scene from that which he had gazed upon in the last Canto.

> Al tornar della mente, che si chiuse Dinanzi alla pietà de' due cognati, Che di tristizia tutto mi confuse, Nuovi tormenti e nuovi tormentati Mi veggio intorno, come ch' io mi mova, E ch' io mi volga, e come ch' io mi guati.

On sense returning, which had closed itself before the anguish of the two kinsfolk, that completely overwhelmed me with sadness, I discern around me fresh torments and fresh tormented ones, wherever I move, and wherever I turn, and wherever I look.

He finds that invisible hands have transported him into the next division of Hell, the dreary and lugubrious aspect of which he describes in terms which cannot fail to depress the reader.

> Io sono al terzo cerchio della piova Eterna, maledetta, fredda e greve: Regola \* e qualità mai non l' è nuova.

<sup>\*</sup> Regola e qualità: The rain is unvarying in measure from its ceaseless downpour, and unvarying in its quality, which is accursed, cold, and heavy.

Grandine grossa, e acqua tinta,\* e neve
 Per l' aer tenebroso si riversa:
 Pute la terra che questo riceve.

10

I am in the Third Circle of the eternal rain, accursed, cold and heavy: both in measure and in quality it is ever unchanging. Thick hail, and black water, and snow, come pouring down through the murky air: fetid is the earth which receives this (downpour).

The guardian of this Circle is the monster Cerberus, three-headed, as he is depicted in the heathen mythology. With his ever ravenous mouths he stands as a symbol of excessive gluttony.

\*tinta: Tinto does not only mean "stained, dyed"; but it is very generally used in Tuscany to signify "dark, black, swarthy." Scartazzini observes that from 1. 100, where Dante speaks of sozza mistura, we may understand that tinta has the sense of "nauseous, disgusting," etc.

In Gordigiani's Canti Popolari Toscani, in the charming ballad E lo mio amore è andato a soggiornare a Lucca bella, etc.,

the following lines occur :-

"Tutti mi dicon che il mio damo è tinto, Ed a me pare un angiolin dipinto."

[They all tell me that my lover is swarthy, and to me he seems like a little Angel in a picture.]

Vasari, speaking of Leonardo da Vinci wishing to produce the greatest relief in his pictures, says: "Andava tanto con l' ombre scure a trovare i fondi dei più scuri, che cercava neri che ombrassino e fussino più scuri degli altri neri, per fare che il chiaro, mediante quelli, fussi più lucido; ed in fine riusciva questo modo tanto tinto, che non vi rimaneva chiaro," etc. (Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, etc., Leonardo da Vinci). I see Lamennais rightly translates acqua tinta, "d'eau noire." In modern Italian idiom acqua tinta is the same as the French de l'eau rougie, and means a tumbler of water with just enough red wine to colour it.

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Cerbero,\* fiera crudele e diversa,† Con tre gole caninamente latra Sopra la gente che quivi è sommersa.1 Gli occhi ha vermigli, la barba unta ed atra, E il ventre largo, e unghiate le mani ; § Graffia gli spiriti, ingoia, ed isquatra.

Cerberus, monster fierce and terrible, with triple throat barks dog-like over the people who are

\* Cerbero: The description of Cerberus is evidently imitated from Virgil, Æn. vi, 417, 418:-

Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci Personat, adverso recubans immanis in antro."

t diversa: Diverso has many significations. Blanc (Voc. Dant.) remarks that it is often very difficult to know which of them to take in the various passages in which the word occurs in the D. C., but in this instance he explains it : "ciò occurs in the D. C., but in this instance he explains it; the differisce da tuttociò che si conosce, onde: 'orribile, spaventevole,'" and that meaning I follow here. From the primary signification of "differing from what is customary," we get the subsidiary ones of "strange, uncouth, difficult, unusual, unseemly, disgusting." Compare I. 86 of this Canto, where diversa colpa probably means "crimes of different kinds," as the personages referred to are not in the same place of punishment; Inf. vii, 105 via diversa, where Landino interprets it "difficile"; Inf. xxxiii, 151, where uomini diversi d' ogni costume is thought to mean "estranged from every good habit." Compare also Vita Nuova, § xxiii, ll. 28-30: "E dopo queste donne, m' apparvero certi visi diversi ed orribili a vedere, i quali mi diceano : Tu se' morto."

† sommersa: "Sono questi i golosi, immersi e ammelmati [suffocated] nel puzzolento fango, prodotto dalla pioggia." (Fraticelli).

Sunghiate le mani: The fore-paws of the bear are termed manus by Pliny, Naturalis Historia, lib. viii, cap. 36.

| ingoia: The usual reading is scuoia, "flays," but I have followed the Oxford text, which reads ingoia, as do Buti, Benvenuto and others. Ingoiare means literally "to swallow," but Cerberus would hardly quarter the shades after swallowing them, but before; so I have ventured to render ingoia et seq., "seizes them in his mouths, and rends them limb from limb (isquatra)." "ingoia; quia vicium gulae de rei veritate devorat et deglutit saepe gulosos, vel quia ingurgitat et absorbet totum patrimonium." (Benvenuto).

overwhelmed there. His eyes are red, his beard befouled and darksome, his belly large, and his fore-paws armed with talons; he claws the spirits, seizes them in his mouths, and rends them limb from limb.

His red eyes denote hunger, his large belly his immense capacity for gorging himself, and his taloned paws show the rapacity with which he seizes upon his prey. The filthiness of his beard demonstrates the want of all self-respect in gluttons.

The intolerable suffering of the spirits is next described.

Urlar gli fa la pioggia come cani:\*

Dell' un de' lati fanno all' altro schermo; † 20

Volgonsi spesso ‡ i miseri profani. §

The rain makes them howl like dogs: with one of their sides they make a defence for the other: the polluted wretches turn themselves backwards and forwards.

\*cani: "In tutto il capitolo dice questi spiriti avere maniera di cane." (Anonimo Fiorentino).

tschermo: In Inf. xvii, 46-49, the restless attempts of the Usurers to ward off the falling flames are compared to the movements of dogs:—

"Per gli occhi fuori scoppiava lor duolo:
Di qua, di là soccorrien con le mani,
Quando a' vapori, e quando al caldo suolo.
Non altrimenti fan di state i cani," etc.

† Volgonsi spesso: Compare Purg. vi, 148-151:—
"E se ben ti ricordi, e vedi lume,

Vedrai te simigliante a quella inferma, Che non può trovar posa in sulle piume, Ma con dar volta suo dolore scherma."

§ profani: Profano properly means "in front of, i.e., outside, the temple," hence, "unholy, polluted, characterised by impurity." Compare Heb. xii, 16: "Lest there be any fornicator, or profane person, as Esau, who for one morsel of meat sold his/birthright."

In every Circle in Hell, except in the case of Geryon, who was too fraudulent to make an open attack, we find the demon guardians of the Circle approach Dante in fury, and Cerberus is no exception to the rule; but Virgil baffles him in indignant contempt.

Quando ci scorse Cerbero, il gran vermo,\*

Le bocche aperse, e mostrocci le sanne:†

Non avea membro che tenesse fermo.

E il duca mio distese le sue spanne; ‡

\*vermo: Verme, vermo, was commonly used by ancient writers to express any kind of loathsome insect or reptile, that is (says the Gran Dizionario) long and thin. Compare Isaiah lxvi, 24: "And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcases of the men that have trangressed against me; for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched, and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh." Also Mark ix, 44 (and repeated in verses 46 and 48): "Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." Compare also in Surtees's History of the County of Durham, the legend of the Lambton Worm; "Worm" being used to signify Dragon or Monster. Compare Milton, Par. Lost, ix, 1067-1069:—

"O Eve, in evil hour thou didst give ear To that false worm, of whomsoever taught To counterfeit Man's voice."

In Todd's edition of Milton, London, 1852, a note on these lines says: "Worm is the Teutonic word for serpent, according to Dr. Johnson, who notices the existence of blind-worm and slow-worm in our language. The Norwegian word for serpent is 'Orm.'"

† sanne: In Donkin's Etymological Dictionary I find: "Zanna It. tusk, hook; from the O.H.G. zand, zan, G. zahn a tooth. Another form sanna is found, which is probably due to L. sanna."

‡ spanne: Compare Par. xix, 79-81:-

"Or tu chi sei, che vuoi sedere a scranna, Per giudicar da lungi mille miglia, Con la veduta corta d' una spanna?"

Spanna in Italian, as well as span in English, are derived from the Teutonic verb spannan, to extend; and in both languages the words imply a space of about 9 inches, the space from the Canto VI. Readings on the Inferno.

IgI

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Prese la terra,\* e con piene le pugna La gittò dentro alle bramose canne. Qual è quel cane che abbaiando agugna,† E si racqueta poi che il pasto morde, Che solo a divorarlo intende ‡ e pugna; Cotai si fecer quelle facce lorde Dello demonio Cerbero che introna §

L' anime sì ch' esser vorrebber sorde.

end of the thumb to the end of the little finger when the fingers are most extended. In Italian, besides the above meaning, it is used by Boccaccio and other old writers to signify "a small quantity of anything." The Gran Dizionario says that spanna in the present passage (on the principle of pars pro toto) simply means the hand-and that Virgil took up two handfuls of earth, to cast into the mouths of Cerberus.

\* Prese la terra, et seq. : Virgil's action here is similar to that of the Sibyl in En. vi, 419-423, who casts cakes of honey into the mouths of Cerberus :-

"Cui vates, horrere videns jam colla colubris, Melle soporatum et medicatis frugibus offam Objicit. Ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens Corripit objectam, atque immania terga resolvit Fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur antro."

† agugna: See Gran Dizionario, s.v. agognare, § 3: "D' animale che mostra negli atti la brama o di mangiare o di mordere."

t intende: Among the fifty-eight sections of the verb intendere in the Gran Dizionario, the signification of this passage will be best found in § 8: "Modi più o meno enfatici denotanti proposito fermo.'

Compare Ariosto, Orl, Fur. v, st. 29:-

"E sol d' essermi moglie intende e brama: E so che certo sai ch' ella non t' ama."

s introna: Compare Inf. xvii, 70-72:-"Con questi Fiorentin son Padovano; Spesse fïate m' intronan gli orecchi, Gridando: 'Vegna il cavalier soprano.'"

We find a very precise interpretation of the word intronare, in Varchi, Ercolano, 61: "Quelli i quali, per esser la saetta caduta loro appresso . . . si chiamano ancora intronati, perchè intronare, appresso i Toscani è attivo, e non neutro, come appresso i Latini intonare, e significa propriamente quel romore che fanno i tuoni, chiamato da alcuni frastuono." I find under When Cerberus the great worm, perceived us, he opened his mouths, and showed us his fangs: not a limb had he that kept still (i.e. he quivered with fury). And my Leader spread out both his palms; took up earth, and with both hands full, flung it into the rapacious gullets. E'en as a dog that barks as he ravens with hunger, and is quieted as soon as he gnaws his food, inasmuch as but to devour it he thinks and struggles; even so were quieted those loathsome faces of the demon Cerberus, who so stuns the spirits (with his noise), that they would fain be deaf.

Benvenuto admires the comparison of the gluttons to dogs, and describes the points of resemblance between them in somewhat too minute detail!

the word intronato in the Gran Dizionario, § 2, that when used as an adjective in speaking of a man, it has the sense of "balordo [blockhead], stupido, e che non sappia ciò ch' ei si faccia, detto così da quella stupidità che induce l' intronamento in altrui." There was a certain Academy at Siena in the sixteenth century called the *Intronati*. See I. D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, London, 1834; 6 vols. 12mo, vol. iv, pp. 330-346, an article entitled *Ridiculous titles assumed by the Italian* Academies; in which the author alludes to the numerous academies that simultaneously started up in Italy about the sixteenth century, and their ridiculous denominations. He adds: "Literary history affords no parallel to this national absurdity of the refined Italians. Who could have suspected that the most eminent scholars, and men of genius, were associates of the Oziosi, the Fantastici, the Insensati?" The author further mentions that these academies having been considered as dangerous meetings by the despotic States of Italy, several were suppressed, "but more particularly the 'Stunned, gli Intronati," which excited loud laments.

[I think Mr. D'Israeli should have rendered Intronati in its figurative sense of "Blockheads," as corresponding better with the Oziosi, Fantastici, and Insensati; in the same way that the lawyers of London have styled their Volunteer Corps "the Devil's Own," and as a certain Masonic Lodge of lawyers in London has given itself the quaint title of "The Forty

Thieves."]

Division II.—At this point Dante is addressed by the shade of one who had been well known at Florence by the name of Ciacco, who has raised himself up as far as he is allowed, not apparently being at liberty to stand upon his feet.

Noi passavam su per l' ombre che adona \*

La greve pioggia, e ponevam le piante 35

Sopra lor vanità che par persona.†

Elle giacean ‡ per terra tutte quante,

Fuor ch' una che a seder si levò, ratto

Ch' ella ci vide passarsi davante.

—"O tu, che se' per questo inferno tratto,"—

Mi disse,—"riconoscimi,§ se sai:

\*adona: Adonare is an obsolete verb of uncertain origin, and signifies to "beat down to the earth," "to subdue." It only occurs once again in the Divina Commedia. See Purg. xi. 10. 20:—

xi, 19, 20:—
"Nostra virtu, che di leggier s' adona,
Non spermentar," etc.

tvanità che par persona: Benvenuto thinks this may either mean that an empty shade is as visible and tangible as the body, as is explained in Purg. xxv, or that these forms seemed bodies, and yet were not so, for though bearing human bodies, yet were they as pigs, wallowing in the mire. Compare Purg. ii, 79:—

"O ombre vane, fuor che nell' aspetto!"

† giacean: Compare this with 1. 56 a simil pena stanno "are abiding in (i.e. are undergoing) the same punishment." See Readings on the Purgatorio, Second Edition, vol. i, pp. 148, 149, footnote on stavano in Purg. iv, 104. All were lying down except one (l. 38) who was sitting up, and yet all stanno, i.e. "continue to be" in the same punishment.

§ riconoscimi, se sai: By Ciacco addressing Dante in the singular, it is evident that he has perceived that one of the two spirits near him is alive, and is being guided by the other. Compare the way that Manfred accosts Dante, n Purg. iii, 103-105:—

"'Chiunque
Tu se', così andando volgi il viso,
Pon mente, se di là mi vedesti unque.'"
In Purg. xxiii, 43-45, Dante is unable at first to recognise his

Tu fosti, prima ch' io disfatto,\* fatto."-

We were passing on over the shades whom the heavy rain beats down to the earth, and were setting our feet upon their empty semblance which seems a body. They all were lying upon the ground, save one who raised himself into a sitting posture, as soon as he saw us pass before him, "O thou that art being conducted through this Hell," said he to me, "recall me, if thou canst: thou wast made before I was unmade."

It is evident that the brutish appearance of Ciacco's features have changed them beyond all possibility of recognition on the part of Dante, who notwithstanding, makes a courteous apology to the abject being

wife's kinsman, Forese de' Donati, among the Gluttonous in Purgatory, merely from seeing his face, but does so when he hears his voice:—

"Mai non l' avrei riconosciuto al viso; Ma nella voce sua mi fu palese

Ma nella voce sua mi tu palese Ciò che l' aspetto in sè avea conquiso."

Similarly in Paradise Dante fails to recognise Forese's sister, Piccarda de' Donati from her glorified face, but her words reveal to him her identity (Par. iii, 58-62):—
"Ond' io a lei: 'Ne' mirabili aspetti

'Ond' io a lei: 'Ne' mirabili aspetti
Vostri risplende non so che divino,
Che vi trasmuta dai primi concetti.
Però non fui a rimembrar festino,
Ma or m' aiuta ciò che tu mi dici,

Sì che raffigurar m' è più latino."

Note the same feature of unrecognisability in the case of Misers and Prodigals, Inf. vii, 53, 54; of Usurers in Inf. xvii, 54; and that of Forese in Purgatory just alluded to. (See Studies in Dante, Second Series, 1899, p. 76).

\* prima ch' io disfatto, fatto: Dante was born in 1265, and Ciacco died in 1286.

Compare Purg. v, 134:—
"Siena mi fe', disfecemi Maremma."

And Inf. iii, 55-57:—
"E dietro le venìa sì lunga tratta
Di gente, ch' i' non avrei mai creduto,
Che morte tanta n' avesse disfatta."

that is wallowing in the mire at his feet; and in order to avoid saying that his features have become too bloated by his excesses, and too befouled by the mud for him to be recognisable, he assigns the cause to the marks of suffering upon his face.

Ed io a lei:\*—"L' angoscia che tu hai
Forse ti tira fuor della mia mente,
Sì che non par ch' io ti vedessi mai.

45
Ma dimmi, chi tu se', che in sì dolente †
Loco se' messa, ed a sì fatta pena
Che, s' altra è maggio,‡ nulla è sì spiacente."—

And I to him: "The anguish that thou hast, perchance withdraws thee from my memory, so that it does not seem as though I had ever seen thee. But tell me, who art thou, that to a place

Also ix, 32.

† maggio: This is the archaic form of maggiore, which has become obsolete. But peggio for peggiore, and meglio for migliore are still living words in the Italian language. In the Cronica of Donato Velluti there is an allusion to Via Maggio which we all know so well at Florence: "Così ricevette diminuzione la via, che ove era chiamata via maggiore, fu chiamata Via Maggio." Dante uses the word not unfrequently. I cite two other instances, Par. xiv, 97-99:—

"Come distinta da minori e maggi Lumi biancheggia tra i poli del mondo Galassia," etc.

And Par. xxvi, 29, 30:-

"Così accende amore, e tanto maggio Quanto più di bontate in sè comprende."

<sup>\*</sup>io a lei: Take note that lei is in the feminine agreeing with ombra or anima understood, but it seems more convenient to translate "him," or "her" according to the sex of the personage, with whose shade Dante is speaking. The same applies to messa in l. 47. See Moore on this, in Textual Criticism, p. 291.

<sup>†</sup> sì dolente Loco: Compare Inf. iii, 1:-

of so much woe art relegated, and to a penalty so ordained, that if other may be greater, none is so displeasing."

Benvenuto here remarks that Dante says well, for nothing is more displeasing than to be tied down to a recumbent posture; and he goes on to describe the discomforts of a bed-ridden person somewhat more graphically than elegantly.

Ciacco, in deference to Dante's wish, tells him who he was, but only names himself by the pseudonym his gluttony had acquired for him. His words appear to be spoken wearily, and without any intention of prolonging the conversation, had not Dante persisted in sustaining it.

> Ed egli a me:-" La tua città, ch' è piena D' invidia \* sì che già trabocca † il sacco, Seco mi tenne in la vita serena. I

\* D' invidia: G. Villani (viii, 39) particularly states that the discords in Florence were caused by envy and jealousy: "Avvenne che per le invidie si incominciarono tra' cittadini le sette." Boccaccio (Comento) says the one especial envy in Florence was that of the Donati family against the Cerchi.

trabocca il sacco: "Avvi tanta invidia in Fiorenza, che già esce fuori, et vedesi nell' operazioni." (Anonimo Fiorentino).

tvita serena: This means the calm, tranquil, bright, pure and beautiful life (sereno in Italian, as in English, having all those significations), to which Ciacco looks back with regretful longing, in the happy world which he had been forced to quit. Compare his words in 1. 88:-

"Ma quando tu sarai nel dolce mondo," etc.

Also compare Inf. vii, 121, 122:-"' Tristi fummo

Nell' aer dolce che dal sol s' allegra.'"

And Inf. xv, 49-51:-"'Là su di sopra in la vita serena,' Rispos' io lui: 'mi smarri' in una valle, Avanti che l' età mia fosse piena,' "

Voi cittadini mi chiamaste Ciacco:\* Per la dannosa colpa della gola, Come tu vedi, alla pioggia mi fiacco; Ed io anima trista non son sola, Chè tutte queste a simil pena stanno Per simil colpa:"-e più non fe' parola.

And he to me: "Thy city (Florence) which is so full of envy that the sack (i.e. measure) overflows already, held me as hers during my tranquil life. You citizens called me Ciacco: for the pernicious sin of gluttony I languish, as thou seest, in the rain. And I, wretched spirit, am not alone, for all

these are undergoing the like punishment for the like fault." And he spake not a word more.

\* Ciacco: Said to be a corruption of Giacomo, in which sense Fanfani (in a note in the Anonimo Fiorentino) mentions that he has seen it used in old MSS. But Voi mi chiamaste Ciacco seems far more likely to imply a nickname, remarks Scartazzini, in his Commentary of 1900.

Lord Vernon (see the Vernon Dante on this) observes that, although the primary meaning of Ciacco is "Hog," yet he cannot believe that Dante meant it to have that signification here, for when conversing with Ciacco, he expresses such deep sympathy for his sufferings, that he feels moved to tears. At such a moment, Lord Vernon thinks, he could not have made use of so degrading a nickname, and as a matter of fact, there is at Florence, up to this day, a family of Ciacchi. Boccaccio, in his Commentary, says that the word means "hog," and is derived from the noise made by the cracking of the acorn

when crunched by hogs.

Prof. Scherillo, in an interesting pamphlet entitled Il Ciacco della Divina Commedia, discusses at length the question as to whether "Ciacco" is a real name or a nickname. A good deal turns on the question of the punctuation. Either we may read, as in the Oxford text, a colon after "Ciacco" (1. 52), and understand him to say that he is languishing in the rain on account of his gluttony, or we may adopt another reading which leaves out the stop after "Ciacco," thereby implying that the Florentines called him "Ciacco" because they knew him to be a bestial glutton. Prof. Scherillo, though in much doubt, inclines rather to the opinion that "Ciacco" may have been a real name, and on account of his vice, have been afterwards associated with gluttony.

Boccaccio speaks of Ciacco both in the Decameron, and in his Commentary. In the latter he says that Ciacco was a nickname given to a citizen of Florence, who was in constant intercourse with those rich persons who ate most sumptuously and delicately, and to their tables he made it a practice to go, whether invited or uninvited, being entirely given up to gluttony. Apart from this, he was a well-bred man according to his condition, eloquent, affable, and of good feeling; on account of which he was welcomed by every gentleman.

In the Decameron (Giorn. ix, Nov. 8) we read an amusing anecdote of Ciacco, which presents a lively picture of Florence in Dante's time, and is moreover interesting for the glimpse it gives, not only of Ciacco. but of Filippo Argenti, of whom we shall read (Canto viii, 31-62) as expiating his evil temper in the mire of the Styx. In this story Boccaccio distinctly shows that Ciacco was a nickname, for instead of saying of him "ebbe nome Ciacco," he says that there was at Florence one "called Ciacco by everybody (da tutti chiamato Ciacco)." I give an abbreviated summary of a very long tale. One day Ciacco, chancing to pass through the fish market during the season of Lent, saw a certain Biondello buying two goodly lampreys for Messer Vieri de' Cerchi. Biondello was, like Ciacco, a glutton and a parasite, who frequented the tables of the rich. He was a man of very small stature, but extremely scrupulous in his attire. In reply to Ciacco's eager inquiries, Biondello informed him that Messer Corso de' Donati had received as a gift three other large lampreys and

a sturgeon, but these not being sufficient for the number of guests whom he wished to entertain, he had sent out Biondello to buy these two others. Ciacco, on hearing this, resolved to present himself uninvited at the feast, and on being asked by Messer Corso, on entering, what was his pleasure, replied that he had come to dine with him. Corso bid him welcome, but gave orders that nought else should be placed upon the board than a poor dish of peas, a little piece of Tunny, and a few small fried fish. The next day, Ciacco, on being mocked by Biondello about his abundant dinner, turned away vowing vengeance against him. Then, having engaged a street hawker, to whom he gave an empty glass bottle, he told him to go to the house of Messer Filippo Argenti, and say that Biondello had sent the bottle. praying that he would erubinate it with his best red wine, as Biondello wished to make merry with some of his friends. This Filippo Argenti was a man of huge stature, and of a most violent temper, and conceiving himself to be insulted, in a fury tried to lay hands upon the hawker, but on the latter eluding his grasp, he sought out Biondello, and meeting him by the way, stepped close up to him and gave him a cruel blow on the nose, and then so beat and mauled his face, that the bystanders dragged him off in horror; but not before he had said to Biondello, "Villainous traitor that thou art, I'll teach thee what it is to erubinate with red wine either thyself or thy cupping companions." Biondello perceived that he had met with the worser bargain, while Ciacco had escaped scot-free without any blows:

and thereupon when after some time he was healed of his grievous hurts, and he and Ciacco met, they both desired a peaceful atonement, each of them always carefully abstaining from flouting the other. Benvenuto relates this story nearly word for word after Boccaccio, in his Commentary on the Eighth Canto, when speaking of Filippo Argenti.

Division III.—Dante\* is evidently disappointed at the brevity of Ciacco's reply to his question, and to draw him out still further, asks him for some information as to the probable issue of the great feud going on between the rival factions of the Bianchi

"Questa favilla tutta mi raccese
Mia conoscenza alla cambiata labbia,
E ravvisai la faccia di Forese,"

There is no doubt that in these words Dante is describing one whom he had seen before. Whether Ciacco's unenviable reputation was known to Dante we are not told, but by his addressing him with "tu" we may at least infer that he did not regard him as a person to be treated with great deference or consideration. Dante's pity for Ciacco, Prof. Scherillo thinks, was chiefly due to the fact that Ciacco was the first Florentine shade that he had encountered in Hell, and this circumstance alone may account for his emotion.

<sup>\*</sup>Professor Scherillo differs from the old Commentators, most of whom take for granted that Dante and Ciacco had been acquainted. Dante says at once that he may have known him, but that he certainly does not recognise him now. Ciacco in all likelihood perceived that Dante was a Florentine, either from his dress or his speech, and, from noticing that he was about thirty-five years old, presumed that he might have heard of him. But when he tells Dante his name or his nickname, whichever "Ciacco" is, Dante does not by any means utter any exclamation of quick recognition as (e.g.) he does in the case of Forese de' Donati in Purg. xxiii, 43-48, where he expressly states, that though from his attenuated features he should not have known his face, yet he at once recognises his voice, and adds:—

(his own party) and the Neri. He expresses much compassion for the fallen condition of Ciacco, who, apart from his gluttony, had been a man of culture and of a kindly disposition; but his pity here is of a far less degree than that which caused him to faint on hearing the relation of the sufferings of the unhappy Francesca; and it will be noticed that (with three or four special exceptions in Cantos xiii, xv, xvi and xx) the further down in Hell the Poets descend, the more does Dante's pity diminish.\*

\* Nowhere is this more clearly shown than in the interview with Fra Alberigo, the last sinner in Hell with whom Dante converses (Inf. xxxiii, 109-150). Alberigo had given Dante the information he sought on the distinct understanding that Dante would wipe the frozen tears from his eyes. At l. 115 Dante says, quibbling however on the words:—

"'Se vuoi ch' io ti sovvegna, Dimmi chi sei, e s' io non ti disbrigo,

Al fondo della ghiaccia ir mi convegna.'"
At l. 127 Alberigo accentuates the bargain:—

"E perchè tu più volentier mi rade Le invetriate lagrime dal volto, Sappi," etc.

At 1. 148 Alberigo claims the fulfilment of the promise, but Dante turns from him in pitiless contempt, asserting that he was justified in breaking faith with so black a traitor:—

"'Ma distendi oramai in qua la mano,
Aprimi gli occhi:' ed io non gliele apersi,
E cortesia fu in lui esser villano."

One may add that all through the Ninth Circle, Dante witnesses the sufferings of the traitors in the ice without the faintest exhibition of pity; for, be it remembered that the tenderness and compassion he displays on listening to Count Ugolino's tale of horror, are not by any means for that traitor himself, but for his innocent sons and grandsons. See Inf. xxxiii, 85-87, where he bitterly denounces Pisa:—

"Chè se il Conte Ugolino aveva voce
D' aver tradita te delle castella,
Non dovei tu i figliuoi porre a tal croce."

He now asks information from Ciacco on three points.

Io gli risposi:—"Ciacco, il tuo affanno
Mi pesa sì che a lagrimar m' invita:
Ma dimmi, se tu sai,\* a che verranno
60
Li cittadin della città partita?
S' alcun v' è giusto: † e dimmi la cagione
Perchè l' ha tanta discordia assalita."—

I answered him: "Ciacco, thy grievous plight weighs on me so much that it moves me to tears: but tell me, if thou knowest, to what pass will come the citizens of the divided city (Florence)? if there be in it any one just person: and tell me the cause why such great discord hath assailed it."

Ciacco, in replying to the first of Dante's questions, predicts that the two factions will come to deadly strife, and this (in the first instance) will be followed by the banishment of the Neri.

Ed egli a me :- "Dopo lunga tenzone

These young men suffered on earth for Ugolino's crimes, and whether or no their souls were in Hell Dante does not record. In the case of Bocca degli Abati, who betrayed the Guelphs at the battle of Montaperti, Dante seizes the traitor by the hair, and tears it out by handfuls.

<sup>\*</sup>se tu sai: Dante did not know as yet whether or no the spirits of the lost could foresee the future. It is only when he reaches the City of Dis, that he is told by Farinata degli Uberti that they can. See Inf. x, 100, et seq. See also below, notes on II. 73-75 of this Canto, on the apparent inconsistency of the one passage with the other.

<sup>†</sup> S' alcun v' è giusto: This is the second question of the three, and it has often been remarked upon as strange, that Dante should ask of a shade in Hell his opinion as to the virtue of living men on earth.

Verranno al sangue,\* e la parte selvaggia † 65 Caccerà l' altra con molta offensione.

And he to me: "After long contention they will come to bloodshed, and the country party (i.e. the Bianchi) will drive out the other (the Neri) with much injury.

Benvenuto remarks that when one has read the history of the factions of the Bianchi and Neri, this passage, which otherwise would be obscure, can be easily understood. He says that in the year 1300 Florence was at the acme of its prosperity and power, the very year in which Dante was supposed to begin to write the Divina Commedia. But, as is often the case, prosperity begat discord, and the whole city, beginning with the old nobility, and afterwards followed by the ennobled families that were sprung from the people, was divided into two factions, the Bianchi and the Neri. This feud had its origin at

<sup>\*</sup> Verranno al sangue: This has been generally referred to an event mentioned by G. Villani, viii, 39, concerning a great riot accompanied by bloodshed, which took place in the Piazza Santa Trinita, on the 1st May in 1300. If this be so, it was only three or four weeks after the assumed date of Dante's vision. Compare 1 Sam. (in Vulg. i Regum) xxv, 26: "Nunc ergo, domine mi, vivit Dominus, et vivit anima tua, qui pro-hibuit te ne venires in sanguinem," etc.

<sup>+</sup> parte selvaggia: Scartazzini points out that in styling the Bianchi la parte selvaggia, Dante is speaking of a party that is no longer his own, for at the time he wrote these words, he had already for a long time made a party for himself, as he makes Cacciaguida predict (vaticinium post eventum) in Par. xvii, 61-60, where he calls the Bianchi la compagnia malvagia e scempia, and tutta ingrata, tutta matta ed empia, and adds: sì che a te fia bello Averli fatta parte per te stesso. Probably the Bianchi were called by Dante la parte selvaggia, because the Cerchi had recently come from the parish of Acone (pivier d' Acone) in the Val di Sieve, and also perhaps because, as G. Villani says of them, that they were uomini salvatichi ed ingrati.

Pistoja in the great and powerful house of the Cancellieri; but quickly, like a contagious disease, it raged throughout all Florence, and infected the whole body of the State, which was already full of bad humours: for, as Valerius says, "No vice ends in the place where it takes its origin." The leader of the White faction was Vieri de' Cerchi, the head of a family that were very arrogant, both because they were rich and powerful, and because they had only recently come to Florence from the country, and hence were called the country party (la parte selvaggia). The leader of the Blacks was Corso de' Donati. who as a knight had not his equal in Italy at this time. The Donati were of the old nobility, not wealthy, but of great wisdom. The Cerchi had their followers mostly among the people, because they were thought to be more favourable to republican institutions, and therefore nearly the whole of the government was in their power. Boniface VIII. wishing to prevent further scandal, sent for Vieri de' Cerchi to Rome, and commanded him to make peace with Corso de' Donati, but the former refused to obey. One evening in the spring, the young men of the two factions encountered each other in returning from a ball, and during a fight in which many were wounded on both sides, one of the retainers of the Donati cut off the nose of Ricoverino de' Cerchi. Dino Compagni says that "this blow was the destruction of our city, on account of the hatred that it engendered among our citizens," and Benvenuto: "Hoc fuit principium magni mali." Corso, having appealed to the Pope for aid, was

banished from Florence with many of his followers, and at this juncture Boniface summoned Charles Sansterre, brother of Philip le Bel of France, to come and act as peacemaker. Charles without committing himself to either side, cajoled both parties with promises, and then entering into the city without armed forces, was received with great honour; but by degrees he introduced his soldiers within the walls, and then, throwing off the mask, he allowed the Neri to re-enter into Florence, and sack and burn the houses of the Bianchi. In April, 1302, most of this faction, and among them Dante, at the time absent from Florence, were banished, and the permanent ascendancy of the Neri was finally established; and this was within three years (infra tre soli) from the date of the prediction of Ciacco.

Ciacco now goes on to tell Dante that the Bianchi were not to enjoy their temporary triumph for long, and Dante takes this opportunity of making Ciacco's words cast a slur upon his own life-long foe Boniface VIII.

Poi appresso convien che questa caggia Infra tre soli, e che l'altra sormonti Con la forza di tal che testè \* piaggia. †

<sup>\*</sup>testè: In this passage testè signifies "just at the present moment." This remarkable word (like testeso in Par. xix, 7) is an adverb of time with the three significations (a) time past, (b) time present, and (y) time future. See Gran Dizionario, s. v. testè, under paragraphs (1), (2), and (3). For time past, see Boccaccio, Decam. Giorn. viii, Nov. 10: "Io ho testè [not long since] ricevute lettere di Messina." For time present, the passage in the text serves as an instance; and for time future, see Franco Sacchetti, Nov. 147: "E c'è la più bella novella che voi udiste mai: che "I tale passerà testè qui [will pass this way before long], che vien dal luogo suo, ed hassi piene le brache [his brecches full] d' uova."

† piaggia: Buti thinks that this is spoken of Boniface VIII,

who was Pope at the time of the expulsion of the Bianchi, and was the prime mover of it. The words che teste piaggia mean one "who at the present time is standing half way between the two parties," because piaggiare is to sail between the shore and the deep sea. Boccaccio, commenting on this passage says that piaggiare is used when speaking of one who pretends to desire greatly that which he does not really desire, or who seems to hope that something will succeed, which in reality he desires may fail. This is just what some declare that Pope Boniface did in the feud between the Bianchi and the Neri, when he made a show of equal tenderness to each of the parties, and, to bring about peace between them, he sent the Cardinal d' Acquasparta to Florence, and after him Charles de Valois; but this impartiality was false, seeing that he inclined with his whole mind to the side of the Neri. Blanc (Saggio, Versione di Occioni) remarks that as piaggiare is derived from the Low Latin words plagia and plaga, "the sea-shore," the word can only mean to keep oneself along the shore, and would more especially be applied to one, who with evil intent, watches for the time and place of coming ashore, and therefore one naturally asks to whom must be attributed a similar demeanour towards Florence. Among the ancient Commentators, Benvenuto and the Ottimo, followed by many of the moderns, understand tal to refer to Charles de Valois. But it is nearly impossible that at the beginning of 1300, the supposed date of the vision, Charles de Valois could have the smallest inkling of being summoned by the Pope, occupied, as he then was, with the war in Flanders, and besides, there is no reason to say that when he did move to Florence, he went backwards and forwards to watch for a favourable opportunity. This crafty conduct agrees far better with the policy of the Pope, and it was undoubtedly at him that Dante levelled these words, just as Buti and Boccaccio understood them, and which are further confirmed in Par. xvii, 49-51 :-

"Questo si vuole, questo già si cerca, E tosto verrà fatto, a chi ciò pensa Là dove Cristo tutto di si merca."

Longfellow (in some supplementary notes published by the American Dante Society, 1885) suggests that piaggia may be a metaphor from falconry (a favourite subject of course with Dante), in which "coasting" is equivalent to "hovering over." He quotes: "will coast (var. lect. 'cost') my crown." (Henry VI, Part iii, Act i, sc. i). Compare also Milton, Par. Lost, iii, 69-72:—

Tenendo l' altra sotto gravi pesi,\* Come che di ciò pianga, e che ne adonti.†

Then, later on, within three years (lit. suns), this party is destined to fall, and the other (the Neri) to come uppermost by means of the power of one who just now is tacking about (from one party to the other). (This party, the Neri) will hold its head high for a long time, keeping the other under heavy burdens, however much it (the White party) may weep thereat, and however much it may feel shame and resentment for it.

Ciacco now answers Dante's second question, as to whether there are any virtuous men left in Florence.

Giusti son due, t ma non vi sono intesi:

"He then survey'd Hell and the gulf between, and Satan there Coasting the wall of Heaven on this side Night In the dun air sublime."

\*sotto gravi pesi: Compare Dino Compagni, Cron. iii, cap. xxiii: "Vacante lo Imperio per la morte di Federico ii, coloro, che a parte di Imperio attendeano, tenuti sotto gravi pesi, e quasi venuti meno in Toscana e Cicilia," etc.

tne adonti: Adontare is both active and neuter, but is used here as a neuter verb, and expresses both rage and shame. Compare Purg. xvii, 121, 122:—

"Ed è chi per ingiuria par ch' adonti Sì che si fa della vendetta ghiotto."

These are the only two instances of Dante's use of adontare in the D. C., and the Gran Dizionario, in quoting them, s. v. adontare, § 4, remarks: "In questi due dice sentimento grave d'onta ricevuta o figuratasi."

‡ Giusti son due: Benvenuto thinks that although Dante is silent as to the names of these two persons, he probably was indicating himself and his friend Guido Cavalcanti, who, as he says of them, de rei veritate tempore illo erant duo oculi Florentiae. But Isidor Del Lungo, in his Commentary on the Chronicle of Dino Compagni (ii, 515), alluding to the above conjecture, as also to the possibility of Dino Compagni himself, as a just and upright chronicler, being referred to, dismisses these and similar theories by saying: "Io temo che la prudente critica debba rinunciare all' interpretazione di quel verso: nel quale,

Superbia,\* invidia ed avarizia sono †
Le tre faville che hanno i cori accesi."—
Qui pose fine al lagrimabil suono.

75

Two just persons there are, but they are not listened to there (in Florence): Arrogance, Envy, and Avarice are the three sparks that have en-

fors' anco, l' Alighieri volle semplicemente, e senza allusioni personali, significare che in sì grande cittadinanza il numero de' giusti era piccolissimo, e quasi nullo; e quei pochissimi, non ascoltati." Some see an analogy with Purg. vi, 120.

\*Superbia, invidia ed avarizia: Compare G. Villani, viii, 68: "Questa avversità e pericolo della nostra città non fu senza giudicio di Dio, per molti peccati commessi per la superbia e invidia e avarizia de' nostri allora viventi cittadini." And in cap. 96 (ibid.) he repeats: "Per le peccate della superbia, e invidia, e avarizia e altri vizi che regnavano tra loro, erano partiti in setta."

tsono: The fact of this being in the present tense seems to be inconsistent with the principle which we shall see laid down (Canto x) by Farinata degli Uberti as to the amount of knowledge that is vouchsafed to spirits in Hell respecting things passing on earth. Dante observing that Farinata asks him questions about the present state of Florence, though showing himself to be well acquainted with the past and future, puts this question to him (Inf. x, 95-99):—

"'Solvetemi quel nodo,

"'Solvetemi quel nodo,
Che qui ha inviluppata mia sentenza.
E' par che voi veggiate, se ben odo,
Dinanzi quel che il tempo seco adduce,
E nel presente tenete altro modo.'"

To which Farinata replies (ibid. 100-105):-

"'Noi veggiam, come quei ch' ha mala luce, Le cose,' disse, 'che ne son lontano; Cotanto ancor ne splende il sommo Duce: Quando s' appressano, o son, tutto è vano Nostro intelletto; e s' altri non ci apporta,

Nulla sapem di vostro stato umano.'"
Ciacco's knowledge, therefore, of events that were actually taking place in Florence at that time rather clashes with the

principle laid down by Farinata.

There may be some evidence here of the "mark of discontinuity between Cantos vii and viii," alluded to by Dr. Moore, (Studies in Dante, Second Series, 1899, pp. 169-172).

kindled the hearts (of the citizens)." Here he made an end of his strain of lamentation.

Dante has obtained from Ciacco a general statement about events in Florence, but he is anxious to know in what part of the unseen world he will find the shades of certain great Florentine citizens; so as to be assured whether they are lost or saved.

> Ed io a lui:—"Ancor vo' che m' insegni, E che di più parlar mi facci dono.\* Farinata † e Tegghiaio, ‡ che fur si degni, Jacopo Rusticucci, Arrigo § e il Mosca,

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\*mi facci dono: At Florence fare un regalo is a regular idiom for "to do a favour." The remark "If I come into your neighbourhood, I will pay you a visit," would at once elicit the courteous reply, "Mi farà un regalo davvero," i.e. "You will give me a real pleasure."

† Farinata degli Uberti, the great Ghibelline leader, whose condition among the Heresiarchs in the City of Dis will be described in Canto x.

† Tegghiaio: The word must be pronounced as a dissyllable, Tegghiai'. The terminations aio, oio, oia, were commonly used as monosyllables by the Tuscan poets. See primaio (Purg. xiv, 66); Uccellatoio (Par. xv, 110); and Pistoia in a verse of Petrarch. They were pronounced primai'; Uccellatoi', and Pistoi'.

Both Tegghiaio Aldobrandi and Jacopo Rusticucci will be found amongst the Violent against Nature in Inf. xvi.

§ Arrigo: This personage is generally supposed to be Oderigo Fifanti, a member of the very renowned Ghibelline family of that name, and together with Mosca (see next note), one of the murderers of Buondelmonte, whose assassination was the beginning of the long strife between the Guelph and the Ghibelline factions in Tuscany. Dante does not mention him again.

|| Mosca de' Lamberti must, says Benvenuto, be silently coupled with Arrigo, as he was with him in the same crime. See Giov. Villani, v, 38; and compare the description of the woeful plight of Mosca among the Disseminators of Discord in Inf. xxviii, 103-109:—

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Canto VI.

E gli altri che a ben far poser gl' ingegni, \*
Dimmi ove sono, e fa ch' io li conosca;
Che gran disio mi stringe di sapere,
Se il ciel gli addolcia o lo inferno gli attosca."—

And I to him: "I wish thee yet to instruct me, and that thou do me the favour of speaking further. Farinata and Tegghiaio, who were so worthy, Jacopo Rusticucci, Arrigo and Mosca, and the others who gave their minds to doing good, tell me where they are, and contrive that I may know them; for great desire constrains me to find out whether Heaven doth soothe, or Hell empoison them."

Ciacco speedily undeceives Dante as to any hope of their salvation; and after an entreaty that Dante will, on his return to earth, mention Ciacco's name to those who knew him, he sinks back into his wonted torment.

E quegli :- " Ei son tra le anime più nere ; †

85

"Ed un ch' avea l' una e l' altra man mozza,
Levando i moncherin per l' aura fosca,
Sì che il sangue facea la faccia sozza,
Gridò: 'Ricordera' ti anche del Mosca,
Che dissi, lasso! Capo ha cosa fatta,
Che fu il mal seme per la gente tosca.'
Ed io gli aggiunsi: 'E morte di tua schiatta

Ed io gli aggiunsi: 'E morte di tua schiatta.'"

\*a ben far poser gl' ingegni: Dante is only speaking of their civic merits, which seem to have been widely known; he was apparently unaware of the hideous crimes of which they were secretly guilty, and asks his questions about their condition, not knowing whether they are in Heaven, or Hell; though the words fa ch' io li conosca addressed to an inmate of Hell, would hardly seem to warrant the supposition that Dante could hope that they were saved.

tra le anime più nere: A reviewer of my first edition censured me for translating this in the superlative, whereas, according to him (an Englishman), it signifies the comparative. Being desirous of putting myself right in the eyes of those who think Italians the best judges of their own language—I care nothing for the opinion of Ollendorf-taught experts—I

Diversa \* colpa giù li grava al fondo : Se tanto scendi, li potrai vedere. Ma quando tu sarai nel dolce mondo, †

wrote to my friend Professor Scherillo, and have received from him the following answer, in which, after telling me that he had consulted Professors D' Ovidio and Porena, he says: "We all three agree that the sentence has the true and special force of the superlative. Dante did not ask Ciacco: 'Tell me if these shades are with thee here—point them out to me,' but what he did say was: 'Tell me where, that is, in what place beyond the grave [in qual luogo dell' oltretomba], they are, and give me some idea of how I can identify them [for they all three belonged to the preceding generation]. Dante is still in doubt as to whether they are in Hell at all—as to whether Heaven soothes them [gli addolcia], or Hell empoisons them [gli attosca]. Ciacco's answer is in effect this: 'You talk to me about their being in Heaven! ah! very far from it! Not only are they in Hell, but in the Tartarean Hell—in Hell proper—within the City of Dis—among the worst sinners in it.' Notice the progression. 'Among the blackest souls (l. 85)'; 'weighs them down to the nethermost depth (l. 86)'; 'if thou descend so far (l. 87).' All these expressions show that the three of whom Dante has enquired, are among the worst sinners, and not merely 'more black' than the Gluttonous. 'Not only are they not with me,' says Ciacco, 'but they are not even among the Incontinent. If you want to see them, you must go down into Hell proper, among the blackest souls; and only if you are able to go so far down, have you a chance of seeing them.' In short, le anime più nere are those within the walls of the City of Dis; and consequently, in the opinion of D' Ovidio, Porena and myself, the sentence has a superlative value, and you were perfectly right in translating it as you did, and would be quite wrong to alter

\*Diversa: Diverso has many meanings, but as used in this passage I feel little doubt that it emphasises the fact that the persons alluded to are undergoing their punishments in different Circles in Hell for crimes differing the one from the other. I cannot therefore agree with Blanc, who (Voc. Dant.) instances the use of the word as meaning "that which differs from all one knows, hence, horrible, hideous, frightful, ghastly; Germ. grässlich, entsetzlich." Witte translates "verschiedenart"

ge Schuld."

t dolce mondo: Compare l. 51, where Ciacco speaks of la vita serena; and Inf. x, 82, where Farinata says to Dante:

Pregoti \* che alla mente altrui mi rechi: Più non ti dico e più non ti rispondo."-Gli diritti occhi torse allora in biechi:+ Guardommi un poco, e poi chinò la testa: Cadde con essa a par degli altri ciechi.

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And he: "They are among the blackest spirits; crime of different kinds weighs them down to the nethermost depth: if thou descend so far, thou

"E se tu mai nel dolce mondo regge." "Possiam da queste parole comprendere quanta sia l'amaritudine della pene infernali, quando questa anima chiama questo mondo dolce, nel quale non è cosa alcuna, altro che piena d'angoscia di tristizia e di miseria." These words were written by Boccaccio in his Commentary, probably in the very last weeks of his life, and in them, and in the chapter (pp. 26-44) that follows, which is a religious disquisition on the sin of the Gluttonous, who misused the good gifts of the Almighty, few would recognise the pleasure-loving Boccaccio, unless they realise that the last sixteen years of his life were spent in deep contrition for the voluptuous self-indulgence of his early life.

\* Pregoti, et seq.: It may be noticed that this wish to be remembered on earth is only found in Hell among the least guilty offenders, such as Ciacco, and Pier delle Vigne (xiii, 55); and among a few others who wish their literary (xv, 119), or political (xvi, 85) renown not to be forgotten. In Lower Hell, Caccianimico (xviii, 46), Guido da Montefeltro (xxvii, 61-66), and the Traitors in the ice, wish to be utterly forgotten. In Purgatory some desire that intercessions should be made for them, but in Paradise there is no such wish expressed, except that Cacciaguida (Par. xv, 91) reminds Dante that he ought to offer up prayers for Aldighiero, Dante's great-grandfather and Cacciaguida's son, that his penance in Purgatory might be shortened. Tasso in his marginal notes on Dante says of this passage: "Privi del vero bene, ne desiderano almeno l' ombra, la quale dagli eletti e da que' che sono nel Purgatorio non è desiderata.

+ Gli diritti occhi torse . . . in biechi: Gelli says that Ciacco may have looked askance for one of two causes, either from the sudden grief of seeing Dante about to depart, and bitterly reflecting that he could not, like him, return to earth in penitence; or, merely from that turning away the eyes that people make, when they are enduring suffering that is almost intolerable.

mayest see them. But when thou art (back) in the sweet world, I pray thee that thou bring me to the recollection of others: more I tell thee not, and more I answer thee not." He then turned aslant his eyes (which had been gazing at me) straight: looked at me for awhile, and then bowed his head: (and) fell with it to the level of the other blinded (spirits).

The Gluttonous were all lying with their faces in the mud, by which they, and with them Ciacco, were blinded. Figuratively, as they had never in life raised their eyes from the earth, so must they now look upon that, and naught else.

Division IV.—Benvenuto remarks that the digression which follows does not seem quite pertinent to the subject that has been treated before this point, and he thinks that Dante has wandered somewhat away from it. The conversation is commenced by Virgil telling Dante that Ciacco will not stir again from his recumbent posture until the Last Day.

E il duca disse a me:—"Più non si desta\*
Di qua dal suon dell' angelica tromba;†

<sup>\*</sup> Più non si desta: This is a common idiom for non si desterà. I well recollect hearing one woman of the people, across a small street near the market at Florence, begging another one not to knock too loud at the door of a neighbouring house for fear of waking up a sick woman who was asleep. She said: "Faccia pianino, Assunta, se nò la si desta la Carla," which, freely translated, was equivalent to "Please knock softly, Assunta, or else you'll wake up Carla," lii. "or else she, the Charlotte or Caroline, will wake herself up."

<sup>†</sup> angelica tromba: Compare Matt. xxiv, 31: "And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet." And I Cor. xv, 51, 52: "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised

Canto vi.

Quando verrà la nimica podesta,\*
Ciascun ritroverà la trista tomba,
Ripiglierà † sua carne e sua figura,
Udirà quel che in eterno rimbomba."—

And the Leader said to me: "He will awake no more on this side of (i.e. until) the angelic trump; when the Judge shall come (that to sinners is) hostile, then shall each spirit find again its dreary tomb, will resume its flesh and its outward sem-

incorruptible, and we shall be changed." And I Thess. iv, 16: "For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God."

\*podésta for potestà, "power." I do not see why this word should not be translated "Judge," only that I have never found any Italian Commentator who takes this view. Podestà was the title given to the chief magistrate, not only in mediæval Florence, but also in other Italian cities. The podestà was always an alien to the State he was called upon to rule, party jealousy running too high in those days for the unanimous election of any native citizen. La nimica podesta might, although in the feminine, mean "a hostile judge." See Gran Dizionario, s.v. Podestà, § 2: "Si usava nel fem. anche per indicare il supremo magistrato d' una città; e pare che soltanto più tardi si adoprasse nel maschile." Several illustrations of this use are given. And further on: "Podésta per Podestà, non è per la rima; ma aveva a esser viva come Trinita, e Felícita." It may not be generally known that when the Holy Trinity is spoken of, the accent is on the last syllable, e.g. La Santissima Trinità; but when a Church, or a building, or a square, dedicated to the Trinity is mentioned, the accent is on the first syllable, e.g. Ponte Santa Trinita at Florence; but this is only the case if Trinita is preceded by Santa, failing which, even for a building, the accentuation would be Trinità.

† Ripiglierà sua carne e sua figura: This line is explained 106-111, on which see note. The Suicides in the Seventh Circle would seem to be an exception to this rule, for in Canto xiii, 103-105, Pier delle Vigne, speaking of the Resurrection of the dead, says:—

"Come l' altre verrem per nostre spoglie, Ma non però ch' alcuna sen rivesta: Chè non è giusto aver ciò ch' uom si toglie," blance, and hear that (sentence) that will reverberate into eternity.

While Virgil is speaking these words, the Poets have walked away from the spot where they have left Ciacco, and Dante asks Virgil whether the condition of those in Hell will undergo any change after the Resurrection of the dead.

Sì trapassammo per sozza mistura

Dell' ombre e della pioggia a passi lenti,
Toccando un poco la vita futura:\*

Perch' io dissi:—" Maestro, esti tormenti
Cresceranno ei dopo la gran sentenza,
O fien minori, o saran sì cocenti?"—

So passed we on through (that) filthy compound of the shades and the sleet, with lingering steps, touching somewhat on the life to come. Whereupon I said: "Master, will these torments, after the great Sentence, increase, or diminish, or will they be as burning (as they are now, i.e. unchanged)?"

Virgil explains that the torments of the damned will certainly become worse, from causes perfectly natural, and he refers Dante to Aristotle in corroboration of his assertion.

Ed egli a me:-"Ritorna a tua scienza,†

\*Toccando . . . la vita futura : Dante's ideas on the future life are given by him in Conv. ii, 9, Il. 49 et seq.

†tua scienza: Most Commentators understand this to mean the doctrine of Aristotle, embodied in that of St. Thomas Aquinas. The *Temple* Edition of the *Inferno* in a note on this passage says that "these lines are clear when taken in conjunction with ver. 98 and with *Par.* xiv, 45." See that passage (II. 43-45):—

(II. 43-45):—

"Come la carne gloriosa e santa

Fia rivestita, la nostra persona

Più grata fia per esser tutta e quanta."

In both these passages Dante is evidently referring to St.

Che vuol, quanto la cosa è più perfetta, Più senta il bene, e così la doglienza,\* Tuttoche questa gente maledetta In vera perfezion giammai non vada,

Di la, più che di qua, + essere aspetta."-

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And he to me: "Return to thy Science (i.e. the Aristotelian philosophy), which requires that the more perfect a thing is, the more is its sense of pleasure, and so of pain; although these accursed people can never arrive at true perfection, (yet) they expect to be more complete hereafter than now (lit. on the other side of the Day of Judgment more than on this side of it)."

Before the Day of Judgment the souls in Hell lack

Thomas Aquinas (pars. i, qu. xc, Art. 4): "Anima, cum sit pars humanae naturae, non habet naturalem perfectionem, nisi secundum quod est corpori unita." And ibid. (pars. i, 2dae, qu. iv, Art. 5): "Desiderium animae separatae totaliter quiescit ex parte appetibili, quia habet id quod suo appetitui sufficit; sed non totaliter requiescit ex parte appetentis, quia illud bonum non possidet secundum omnem modum, quo possidere vellet. Et ideo, corpore resumpto, beatitudo crescit, non intensive, sed extensive." P. Fanfani (Studi ed Osservazioni . . . sopra il testo delle opere di Dante, Firenze, 1873) thinks that by tua Virgil implies the theological science, that belonged to Dante as a Christian, but not to himself as a heathen. Benvenuto remarks that a good instance is that Man, the more perfect being, can appreciate the delight of the sound of the lyre far more than can the ass; e così la doglienza, meaning, that on the other hand, Man is far more sensitive than the ass, to grief and pain, and would suffer far more from hard toil or from stripes, on account of the nobility of his composition (propter nobilitatem complexionis).

\* Più senta il bene, e così la doglienza: Compare St. Augustine, In Johannis Evang. Tract. xlix, cap. 10: "Sed cum facta fuerit resurrectio, et bonorum gaudium amplius erit, et malorum tormenta graviora; quando cum corpore torquebuntur."

† Di la, più che di qua, et seq.: In Canto x, 10-12, Virgil tells Dante that although he saw the burning sepulchres in the City of Dis lying open before him, yet they would be closed up for ever when the spirits returned to them with their bodies from the Valley of Jehosaphat.

their bodies, but when they have resumed them, they will then have attained a greater perfection, though, as Benvenuto says, it is an evil and a hurtful perfection (mala et damnosa), and consequently they will feel their torments in a far higher degree than they do now.

Dante concludes the Canto by describing their departure from the Circle of the Gluttonous, and the entrance into that of the next sin punished.

> Noi aggirammo a tondo \* quella strada, Parlando più assai ch' io non ridico: Venimmo al punto dove si digrada: Quivi trovammo Pluto † il gran nimico.‡

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\*a tondo: Tommaséo remarks that when the Poets had done talking to Ciacco, they left off walking among the shades, and took their way along the outside edge of the Circle until

they reached the descent.

the guardian demon at the entrance to the Circle of the Gluttonous, so now he places Plutus, the god of wealth, as the guardian of the Fourth Circle, where the Avaricious and Prodigal are punished. It is probable that Dante did not very clearly distinguish between Plutus, son of Ixion and Demeter (Ceres), and Pluto, or Hades, the god of the infernal regions, son of Saturn and Rhea, and brother of Jupiter and Neptune. Even in classical times there was confusion between the two. Whether Dante intended him to be Plutus or Pluto, there can be little doubt that he thought of him as representing the misuse of wealth. The name of Plutus occurs so seldom among Latin authors (says Mr. Tozer), that the mediævals can hardly have been acquainted with it, but they would have been aware that Pluto was associated with wealth from a passage in Fulgentius, quoted by Boccaccio in his De Genealogia Deorum, Lib. viii, cap. 5: "Haec ego sic intelligenda existimo cum juxta Fulgentium Pluto latine sonet divitias, et ideo dispater quasi divitiarum pater a latinis appelletur." It cannot however be meant by Dante that this is Pluto, the leading spirit in Hell, for that position was occupied by Lucifer, while Plutus, or Pluto, holds quite a subordinate place.

til gran nimico: Compare the words of St. Paul (1 Tim. vi,



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We kept circling along that way, speaking much more than I (now) repeat: and came to the point where is the descent: here found we Plutus the arch-enemy.

Scartazzini remarks that Plutus manifests himself as an enemy of peace in the enigmatical words that he utters at the opening of the next Canto.

END OF CANTO VI.

<sup>10): &</sup>quot;For the love of money is the root of all evil; which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows."

## CANTO VII.

THE FOURTH CIRCLE—THE MISERS AND PRODIGALS—THE FIFTH CIRCLE—THE WRATHFUL—ALSO THE SULLEN OR GLOOMY.

In this Canto are related the punishments of the Misers and Prodigals in the Fourth Circle, and afterwards the descent of the Poets into the Fifth Circle.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into five parts:-

In Division I, from ver. 1 to ver. 15,\* an account is given of Plutus or Pluto, the Demon presiding over this Circle.

In Division II, from ver. 16 to ver. 35, Dante describes the torments of the Misers and the Prodigals.

In Division III, from ver. 36 to ver. 66, Virgil tells Dante that the misuse of riches, both by Misers and Prodigals, is particularly to be found among the great Dignitaries of the Church.

In Division IV, from ver. 67 to ver. 99, Dante obtains from Virgil some explanation about Fortune.

In Division V, from ver. 100 to ver. 130, the Poets descend into the Fifth Circle, where are punished the Wrathful, as well as the Sullen or Gloomy.

<sup>\*</sup>I do not follow Benvenuto in carrying this division to the end of ver. 18. The description of Plutus ends at l. 15, and l. 16 relates the descent of the Poets into the Fourth Circle, and is the fitting commencement of Division 11.

Division I .- At the end of the last Canto Dante and Virgil, when about to descend into the Fourth Circle, found themselves opposed by Plutus, the mythological god of Riches, and who is the appropriate guardian of the place where the misuse of wealth is punished. The Canto opens with an attempt on the part of Plutus [or, as some think, Pluto, see note on last line of Canto vil, to arrest the further progress of the Poets, but the words are apparently a jargon as unintelligible as those uttered by Nimrod in Inf. xxxi, 67. The interpretation in both cases has puzzled the Commentators from the time of Dante up to the present day. The words would at least seem to be a warning cry to the Archfiend in the nethermost Hell, that a presumptuous mortal, who has not died in the sin of Avarice, is invading his dominions.\*

<sup>\*</sup>Since I wrote the above, Professor Michele Scherillo, of Naples and Milan, has kindly sent me a recent pamphlet in which he gives a very ingenious explanation of these mysterious words. As regards pape, he agrees with the old Commentators in deriving it from the papae of the Latin dramatists, and the παπαί of the Greeks, and in rendering it as equivalent to the Italian old! But as to Satan, he gives a totally different in-terpretation, taking "Satanas" to signify "an adversary," or "an intruder," in the same sense as we find it in the Vulgate, with which Dante would be perfectly acquainted. Compare 2 Sam. xix, 22: "And David said, What have I to do with you, ye sons of Zeruiah, that ye should this day be adversaries unto me ? (cur efficimini mihi in satan ?).' And again in I Kings, v, 4, Solomon writes to Hiram: "But now the Lord my God hath given me rest on every side, so that there is neither adversary or evil occurrent. (Nunc autem requiem dedit Dominus Deus meus mihi per circuitum; et non est satan neque occursus malus)." Furthermore Professor Scherillo shows that by certain writers and Commentators, anterior to Dante, "Aleph" was interpreted as an exclamation of grief. "Aleph est interiectio dolentis," says one anonymous writer, and "Alephe appo

—" Pape Satan, pape Satan aleppe,"

Cominciò Pluto colla voce chioccia.\*

E quel Savio gentil, † che tutto seppe,

Disse per confortarmi:—"Non ti noccia

La tua paura, chè, poter ‡ ch' egli abbia,

Non ti torrà lo scender questa roccia."

"Pape Satan, pape Satan aleppe," Plutus began, with his grating voice. And that noble Sage, who knew all things, to encourage me, said: "Let not thy fear trouble thee, for be his power what it may, yet shall he not hinder thee from descending this cliff."

Benvenuto points out how much rich men are inflated with pride, and that according to Aristotle

gli Ebrei adverbium dolentis," writes another. The whole line then, according to him, would simply be the warning cry which Plutus would shout out as the sentry or guardian at the entrance of the Fourth Circle: "What ho! an enemy! What ho! an intruder! Ah..." Professor Scherillo points out moreover that this utterance is only the beginning (comincio Pluto) of an unfinished sentence, which was promptly quashed by Virgil after he had re-assured Dante, with the words "Taci, maledeto lupo!" Dante expressly notes also that Virgil (quel Savio gentil, che tutto seppe) was perfectly able to understand the language in which Plutus was speaking.

\* chioccia: Compare Inf. xxxii, 1:-

"Si io avessi le rime aspre e chiocce," etc. Benvenuto Cellini, in his "Life" (Vita di Benvenuto Cellini, Florence, 1832), after telling a fantastic tale of certain words or rather imprecations that he heard uttered by a judge in one of the courts of justice at Paris, which reminded him of Plutus's jargon in Dante's poem, mentions that he himself had an assistant, a man from Ferrara, whose name was Chioccia.

†gentil: Some have attempted here to interpret the word gentil as "Gentile," but as Blanc (Vocab. Dant.) points out, such an interpretation is quite out of place.

† poter ch' egli abbia: Lubin explains that we are to understand "per" before poter. Benvenuto amplifies thus: "Quamvis avaricia sit potens, adeo quod vincit sacerdotes et prophetas, tamen non poterit vincere te."

(Rhet. ii, 16, § 81), they would seem to imagine that, having wealth, they possess every other good; and he quotes a saying that the wise man is much oftener to be met at the houses of the wealthy, than the wealthy at the houses of the wise; and hence we see that Virgil has these ideas in his mind when he peremptorily silences Plutus, who, on hearing that Virgil comes with Divine authority, falls down in abject terror at his feet.

> Poi si rivolse a quell' enfiata labbia,\* E disse:- "Taci, maledetto lupo, +

\* quell' enfiata labbia: Mr. Butler's version of these words "that swollen lip," as also the corresponding passage in Purg. xxiii, 47, where he renders cambiata labbia "altered lip," is most misleading. Labbia never means "lip" in the singular, though it does in the plural. In the singular it signifies "countenance" [volto], and Dante uses it several times in that sense. Compare Seneca, Thyestes, Act iii, 609:-

" Ponite inflatos tumidosque vultus."

Compare Inf. xxv, 21:—
"Infin dove comincia nostra labbia,"

where labbia evidently signifies the human part of the Centaur's two-fold formation. See Vita Nuova, § xxxii, l. 108:-

"Vedendo la mia labbia tramortita."

Compare also the Latin Os, used by Synecdoche, to signify Vultus.

† Benvenuto points out the appropriateness of the epithet Wolf to Plutus, the symbolical representative of wealth misused, and it must be remembered that in Canto i, 49-51, Avarice is personified by a wolf:-

"Ed una lupa, che di tutte brame

Sembiava carca nella sua magrezza, E molte genti fe' già viver grame."

and ibid. 97-99:-

"Ed ha natura sì malvagia e ria,

Che mai non empie la bramosa voglia, E dopo il pasto ha più fame che pria."

And again Purg. xx, 10-12:-

" Maledetta sie tu, antica lupa,

Che più che tutte l' altre bestie hai preda, Per la tua fame senza fine cupa."

IO

Consuma dentro te \* con la tua rabbia.

Non è senza cagion l' andare al cupo:

Vuolsi nell' alto là dove Michele †

Fe' la vendetta del superbo strupo."—‡

Quali § dal vento le gonfiate vele

\*Consuma dentro te: "Consume thyself inwardly." Virgil is commanding Plutus to abstain from giving forth any more blasphemous imprecations, but to smother them within him. Consumarsi per uno is an idiom, and at Naples a young girl pleading to be allowed to marry her sweetheart, will say: "Ah! pate mio! i' me so' cunsumata pe' isso!" [Neapolitan for esso]," i.e. "Ah, my father, I have been dying of love for him." Compare Boccaccio, Decam. Giorn. ii, Nov. 8: "e che della mia giovanezza v' incresca, la qual veramente come il ghiaccio al fuoco si consuma per voi."

+ Michele: Compare Rev. xii, 7-9: "And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him."

‡ strupo a metathesis for stupro "a rape." Mr. Tozer remarks that in the Hebrew prophets "whoredom" and similar words are often used to signify alienation from God. The Anonimo Fiorentino says that Lucifer attempted to violate the Deity of Heaven, which is uncorrupt and immaculate. Benvenuto, in very similar words, contends that Satan did so, in that he sought to make himself equal to the Most High. St. Augustine (Sermo clxii, 1 Cor. 6; vol. 7, p. 783, E) writes: "Ut exinde facile advertamus, illam esse generalem fornicationem animae humanae, qua non adherens quisque Deo, adhaeret mundo." Some have attempted to derive strupo from the Piedmontese dialect-word strup, signifying a flock of sheep, like the French troupeau, and applied to the troops of rebel angels.

§ Quali, et seq.: On this terzina see Venturi, Simil. Dant. p. 221, Sim. 370: "Viva la similitudine e calzante [appropriate]. Le vele gonfiate dal vento danno idea dell' ira orgogliosa di Pluto. Se l'albero maestro, cui sono raccomandate, a un tratto si fiacca, cascano giù d' un colpo ravviluppate; e così Pluto cade a terra dómo [for domato] e quasi raggomitolato [crouched up all of a heap]: quelle [the sails] rese ormai inutili; questi [Plutus] non più temibile."

Caggiono avvolte, \* poichè l' alber fiacca : † Tal cadde a terra la fiera crudele.

Then turned he back to that countenance bloated (with rage), and said: "Be silent, accursed Wolf: with thine own fury consume thyself within. Not without cause is this descent into the Abyss: thus it is willed on high there where Michael executed the vengeance (of God) on the pride-begotten whoredom (i.e. on the wicked Angels who rebelled against God)." Even as the sails inflated by the wind fall entangled together when it (the wind) snaps the mast; so the cruel monster fell to the earth.

Benvenuto thinks that the epithet crudele is meant to express the torment that a miser inflicts upon himself; for in other sins, such as in lasciviousness, gluttony and such like, there is always a certain amount of gratification, but the miser is ever suffering from care, privation and toil.

Division II.—Plutus being overcome, the Poets enter into the Fourth Circle, on reaching which, Dante utters an exclamation of wonder at his first sight of the torment of the Misers and Prodigals.

Così scendemmo nella quarta lacca, i

\*avvolte: Compare Purg. xv, 122, 123, where it is used of the tottering legs of one overcome by wine or sleep :-"e con le gambe avvolte

A guisa di cui vino o sonno piega."

+ P alber fiacca: Understand the sentence thus: "poiche il vento fiacca l' albero." Fiaccare may be taken as a neuter verb, but Casini points out that there is no safe authority of its being so used by the best writers.

t lacca : Donkin (Etym. Dict. Romance Languages), quotes the word as used by Dante, and derives it from the Greek λάκκος, "any hollow, a hole, pit," whence we have the Latin Lacus, lacuna. Compare Inf. xii, 11, 12:-

Pigliando più della dolente ripa, Che il mal dell' universo tutto insacca. Ahi giustizia di Dio, tante chi stipa\* Nuove travaglie†e pene, quante io viddi?

20

"E in su la punta della rotta lacca L' infamia di Creti era distesa."

The Gran Dizionario gives the meanings of "Scesa, luogo basso, ripa." On the present passage see Buti: "Nella quarta lacca, cioè nella quarta china, o scesa, o lama." There is no version better than Carlyle's "concavity" [which is also the right signification of conca in Canto ix, 16], and I follow it. Lacca expresses well the whole amphitheatre of the Circle, and ripa in the next line, the sloping bank down which the Poets were making their way, and which encloses, as in a bag (insacca), all the sins of the world.

\*stipa: In the Commentary of Giovanni Batista Gelli (Florence, 1887), written in 1554, which Scartazzini says is so full of research that it ought to be in the library of every student of Dante, Gelli observes of this passage, that when Dante considered the number and the variety of the torments that he saw in Hell, there came upon him such wonder and awe, that he raised his eyes and appealed to Divine Justice to tell him who it is that packs and presses together the many toils and sufferings that met his eyes. Gelli says that is the exact meaning of stipare, which by sailors is commonly pronounced stivare, with the signification of stowing away merchandise in a ship, pressing it closely together, in order that it may occupy less space. From the Italian stivare and the Spanish estivador we get the English word stevedore, namely, one who stows cargo in the hold of a ship. I most cordially agree with Scartazzini's praise of Gelli, who was a Tuscan heart and soul. Gelli in his Commentary urges again and again the necessity of interpreting Dante's words from the purely Tuscan point of view, the importance of which too many of the modern translators forget, or wilfully ignore.

† travaglie (for travagli): Donkin gives Ital. travaglio; Sp. trabajo; Port. trabalho; Prov. trabalh, trebalh; French travail, Engl. travail and travel, etc. The Troubadours frequently used trebalha or trabalha for trebalh. See Armand de Marueil:—

"Si sen d' amor las trabalhas ni' lo maus."

And J. Esteve :-

"Quant a sas grans dolors E trebalhas e plors."

E trebalhas e plors."
(Quoted by Raynouard (Lexique Roman, Paris 1843, vol. v, p.

E perché nostra colpa sì ne scipa ?\*

Thus descended we into the fourth concavity, making more way down that slope of misery, which encloses all the evil of the universe. Ah! Justice of God, who (but Thou) can crowd together so many new torments and pains as I saw? and why does our transgression thus destroy us?

The sinners in this Circle are divided into two companies, and are compelled to roll heavy weights along the ground. Their punishment is the same, for both the Misers and the Prodigals misused their possessions. To each company is assigned the half of the Circle, and, as one band roll their burdens to the right, and the other band to the left, it follows that they meet at the opposite point, where a collision ensues; and, as the two companies wheel round to turn back, each assails the other with bitter Dante compares their unceasing recrimination. round to the dance called the ridda, and their shock at meeting to the concussion between the opposing currents of the two seas at Charybdis in the Straits of Messina.

Come fa l' onda là sovra Cariddi,†

<sup>392).</sup> Dr. Moore writes to me on the above, that the interesting interchange of travail and travel is a curious illustration of the discomforts of the latter in former days.

<sup>\*</sup> nostra colpa sì ne scipa: Gelli says that Dante, on lowering his eyes again, comes to the conclusion that our evil-doing is what so consumes and destroys us in divers pains and tor-ments. He adds that scipare in Italian means nothing else than what the Latins call dissipare, "cioè mandar male e disperdere." Benvenuto informs his readers that at Florence a woman who has had a miscarriage is said to be scipata. In modern Florentine she would be said to be sciupata, i.e. spoilt.

<sup>†</sup> Cariddi: Charybdis (according to Heathen Mythology) was a very avaricious old woman, who used to steal the cows

Che si frange con quella in cui s' intoppa, Così convien che qui la gente riddi.\* Qui vid' io gente più che altrove troppa,†

25

of Hercules that were grazing hard by. Hercules appealing to his father Jupiter, the latter struck Charybdis with a thunderbolt, and submerged her in the Straits of Messina, where she was supposed to retain the same rapacious propensities, and to swallow up every ship that came too near her. Compare Spenser, Faerie Queene, book iv, ch. 1, st. 42:—

"Ås when too billowes in the Irish sowndes, Forcibly driven with contrarie tydes, Do meet together, each abacke rebowndes With roaring rage; and dashing on all sides, That filleth all the Sea with fome, divydes The doubtful current into divers ways."

Compare also Ovid, Metam. vii, 62-65:-

"Quid? quod nescio qui mediis concurrere in undis Dicuntur montes, ratibusque inimica Charybdis, Nunc sorbere fretum, nunc reddere; cinctaque sævis Scylla rapax canibus Siculo latrare profundo."

\*riddi: The principal feature in the dance called ridda or riddone was that singing accompanied the dancing. Gelli speaks of these two words as not quite obsolete in his time. "Imperocchè ridda ovvero riddone si chiamava a quei tempi, e si chiama ancora oggi in alcuni luoghi del nostro contado quella sorte di ballo tondo, nel quale le persone, presesi per la mano l' un l' altra vanno aggirandosi e cantando. Ed è detto da quel ridursi insieme tali persone, il che si chiama ancor oggi volgarmente ridotto." The combination in this ridda of dancing and singing made the comparison most appropriate between it and the singers in this Circle, who wheel round, meet at a given point, and then, after uttering their abusive antiphon, turn round to meet again at the opposite point of their half circles.

+ gente più che altrove troppa: Compare Virg. En. vi, 610,

" Aut qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis,

Nec partem posuere suis: quae maxima turba est."
Benvenuto thinks that the number of Misers is infinitely greater than that of other sinners, and he points out how singularly appropriate the penalty is to the offence, for these burdens are symbolical of the toils and cares which are for ever pressing on, and weighing down the bodies and souls of Misers and Spendthrifts. Their bodies are never at rest as

E d' una parte e d' altra, con grand' urli Voltando pesi per forza di poppa: Percotevansi incontro, e poscia pur li\* Si rivolgea ciascun, voltando a retro, Gridando:-"Perchè tieni," e "Perchè burli?"+-30 Così tornavan per lo cerchio tetro, Da ogni mano all' opposito punto, Gridandosi † anche loro ontoso metro: Poi si volgea ciascun, quando era giunto Per lo suo mezzo cerchio all' altra giostra.§ 35

they hurry about over sea and land, over hills and valleys, exposing themselves to all sorts of dangers; from the waters. from the sky, from pirates, from robbers, enduring every kind of hardship; hunger, thirst, cold and heat; and even if the bodies be at rest, then it is their minds that are in a state of agitation. He concludes by asking if Misers do not acquire in hard toil, possess in fear, and lose in sorrow. Compare Purg. xx, 7-12, for great numbers.

\* pur li: These words, which would naturally be pronounced with a strong accent on li, are used here to rhyme to urli and burli, with the accent on the first syllable. It is not an unfrequent use in Dante for a monosyllable to lose its proper accent, and to rest enclitically on the preceding word, as e.g. in Inf. xxx, 87, where non ci ha rhymes to sconcia and Inf. xxviii, 123, where O me is made to rhyme to chiome. The word

li must in this instance be written without its accent. † burli: Benvenuto says this is a popular Lombard word, signifying "to throw away."

Gridandosi: The si denotes the interchange of vitupera-

tion. Buti explains it "gridando l' uno all' altro."

§ giostra: Dante metaphorically terms their collision a joust, for, like knights, they charge at each other, each seeking to overthrow his adversary and have victory over him, and each side takes pride in doing so. In Purg. xxii, 42, Statius tells Virgil that if he had not considered his ways after reading Virgil's own lines on Auri sacra fames, he would be rolling weights in the grim jousts :-

"Voltando sentirei le giostre grame."

And ibid. 43-45, he says that after this warning, it became clear to him that Prodigality is as great a sin as Avarice :-

"Allor m' accorsi che troppo aprir l' ali Potean le mani a spendere, e pente' mi Così di quel come degli altri mali."

As does the wave there over against Charybdis, that breaks against the wave that it encounters, so here have the people to wheel round in the dance. Here saw I people more in number than elsewhere, both on the one side and on the other, with loud yells of woe rolling weights by strength of the chest. They met together with a shock, and then on that very spot did each wheel round, rolling (his weight) back again, (the Prodigals) roaring: "Why dost thou hoard?" and (the Misers retorting) "Why dost thou squander?" So returned they along the gloomy Circle, on either hand to the opposite point, again howling at each other their reproachful strain: then did every one of them turn, when along his semicircle he had come to the next joust (i.e. encounter).

Benvenuto says that to understand the mode of this punishment you must imagine a "round circle" (debes imaginari unum circulum rotundum), and across the middle of it a line dividing it into two equal parts. On the one side are the Prodigals hastening as far as the middle line, and on the other side the Misers are with equal zeal pressing forward towards the same goal. Benvenuto considers this middle line to be a symbol of the virtue of moderation or liberality, but he says that neither party ever reaches this point, or, even if they do, they do not persevere in it; on the contrary, they at once turn about and go back again. And mark, that the virtue of liberality stands halfway between the two sins of Avarice and Prodigality. For the liberal man is he who gives, where, when, and how, he ought to do so. The Miser holds back indifferently both what he ought to hold, and what he ought not to hold. But the Prodigal, on the con-

trary, gives away both what he ought to give, and what he ought not, without any discretion, and both of them injure themselves and others, in that they benefit nobody. Dante has placed the Misers on the left hand, and, as we shall read in the Third Division, shows his greater detestation of them.

Division III.—Dante now puts two questions to Virgil. First, he asks who, speaking generally, were all these spirits? and secondly: were the Misers on the left of the Circle all ecclesiastics? Dante is astounded at the sight of so many bearing the tonsure among those damned for Avarice; he can hardly believe his own eyes.

> Ed io che avea lo cor quasi compunto,\* Dissi:- "Maestro mio, or mi dimostra Che gente è questa, e se tutti fur cherci Questi chercuti † alla sinistra nostra."-

<sup>\*</sup> compunto: Compare Inf. x, 109:-"Allor, come di mia colpa compunto," etc.

tchercuti: Gelli remarks that this word is a syncope for chiericuti, and is derived from cherica, which some think means "a crown." Describing the tonsure, he says that probably the intention of it was to demonstrate the authority and dignity of the priesthood. He dissents from some who maintain that it originated in St. Peter, who, when preaching at Antioch, had his head forcibly shaved by his enemies as a mark of derision, and to show that he was mad. He thinks rather that this exceedingly ancient usage arose from the practice in the Early Church of electing their priests, either by popular election, or, as in the case of St. Matthias, by casting lots, of which the issue was committed to Divine Providence; and according to this view cherico would be derived from κληρος, "a lot." According to Liddell and Scott (Lexicon) κληρικός has two meanings (a) "of (or for) an inheritance"; and (b) "belonging to the clergy," a cleric, or clerk.

And I who felt my heart as it were stricken with pity, said: "My Master, prithee show me what people are these, and if these tonsured ones on our left were all clerics."

Virgil, in answer to Dante's first question, tells him that the whole multitude on both sides that he sees before him, were in their lifetime devoid of sense in their misuse of wealth, and that their mutual recriminations make it so evident what they are, that Dante can discern it for himself. Dante's second question Virgil answers in the affirmative.

Ed egli a me:—"Tutti e quanti fur guerci \* 40
Sì nella mente, in la vita primaia,
Che con misura nullo spendio ferci. †
Assai la voce lor chiaro l' abbaia, ‡
Quando vengono a' due punti del cerchio,
Ove colpa contraria li dispaia. § 45

\*guerci: Donkin (Etym. Dict.) derives guercio from the Old High German twer duerch; German quer oblique; English queer. In Comasque Italian sguerc; Rhaeto-Romance, i.e. Grisons guessch (uiersch); Old Spanish guercho; Provençal guer, guerle; Dauphiné guerlio, squinting. In this passage it of course signifies perversion of the eyes of the mind rather than those of the body. The Bolognese painter Gian Francesco Barbieri is known best by his nickname "Il Guercino" (the squint-eyed).

tferci: This is a contraction for fecero qui, i.e. in questa vita.

tabbaia: These sinners are said to bark instead of speaking, and the term is fitting for beings who acted as brute beasts without reason. The same contemptuous term we have seen applied to the Gluttonous in Inf. vi, 19:—

"Urlar gli fa la pioggia come cani."

And in Inf. xxxii, 105, the traitor Bocca degli Abati howls like a dog when Dante tears out his hair:—

"Latrando lui con gli occhi in giù raccolti."

§ li dispaia: Benvenuto remarks that two perfectly opposite
things cannot possibly be joined together. Compare Purg.

"Così entrammo noi per la callaia, Uno innanzi altro, prendendo la scala Che per artezza i salitor dispaia." Questi fur cherci, che non han coperchio Piloso al capo, e Papi e Cardinali, In cui usa avarizia\* il suo soperchio."—

And he to me: "During their first life they were every one of them so perverted (lit. squint-eyed) in mind, that in it they made no expenditure with moderation. Clearly enough does their voice bark it forth (i e. makes manifest the sin of either band), when they arrive at the two points of the Circle, where their contrasting guilt separates them. These, who have no hairy covering on the head, were clerics, and Popes and Cardinals, among whom Avarice finds use for its worst excess."

\*avarizia: Compare Inf. xix, 106, et seq.:—
"Di voi pastor s' accorse il Vangelista,
Quando colei, che siede sopra l' acque,
Puttaneggiar co' regi a lui fu vista:

Fatto v' avete Dio d' oro e d' argento:

E che altro è tra voi all' idolatre,

Se non ch' egli uno, e voi n' orate cento?"

And Ariosto, Orl. Fur. xxvi, st. 31 and 32, speaking of Avarice as a hideous monster:—

"Quivi una bestia uscir della foresta

Parea, di crudel vista, odiosa e brutta, Ch' avea l' orecchia d' asino, e la testa Di lupo e i denti, e per gran fame asciutta: Branche avea di leon; altro che resta, Tutto era volpe: e parea scorrer tutta E Francia e Italia e Spagna ed Inghilterra, L' Europa e l' Asia, e alfin tutta la terra.

Per tutto avea genti ferite e morte,
La bassa plebe e i più superbi capi:
Anzi nuocer parea molto più forte
A re, a signori, a principi, a satrapi.
Peggio facea nella romana corte;
Chè avea uccisi cardinali e papi:
Contaminato avea la bella sede
Di Pietro, e messo scandal nella fede."

Compare also Par. xxii, 79 et seq., where St. Benedict upbraids the monks of his time for Avarice, Concupiscence, etc. Note also that the example of Avarice in Purg. xx, is a Pope, namely, Adrian IV.

50

Benvenuto remarks that Dante has here expressed his indignation very strongly against Avarice in the principal dignitaries of the Church, for, obtaining, as they do, fat benefices and great possessions, they have no excuse for seeking after wealth, especially as they have neither wives nor children for whom to accumulate riches, and, if they have, they dare not acknowledge them. "And certainly I own that I cannot find a cause for Avarice in prelates, unless it be that perchance prohibition engenders concupiscence."

Zeno, Bishop of Verona, in his book on Avarice, says that it is not considered a sin by the world in general, because there is no one with hands clean enough to reprove it.

Dante as usual, seeks for some familiar faces in the two bands, but Virgil informs him that no identification is possible; and be it noted that it is in this Circle alone that he fails to discover any one formerly known to him.

Ed io:—" Maestro, tra questi cotali
Dovre' io ben riconoscere alcuni
Che furo immondi di cotesti mali."—
Ed egli a me:—" Vano pensiero aduni:
La sconoscente \* vita che i fe' sozzi,

<sup>\*</sup> La sconoscente vita: Gioberti points out the meaning of these words, which are equivalent to non conoscente altrui. Dante is alluding to Avarice, which renders people undiscerning; illiberal, ungrateful, because conoscere is also the signification of "to feel grateful." By antithesis we may suppose Virgil to be saying to Dante: "You desire to recognise some of these; but know that as in their lifetime they never recognised any one else, this vice has made them such, that no one can recognise them."

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Ad ogni conoscenza or li fa bruni; †
In eterno verranno alli due cozzi;
Questi risurgeranno del sepulcro
Col pugno chiuso, e questi co' crin mozzi, †

And I: "Amongst such as these I surely ought to recognise some that were contaminated by these iniquities." And he to me: "A vain thought thou gatherest: the undiscerning life which polluted them, now makes them too indistinct for any recognition; to all eternity shall they come to the two-fold encounter; these (the Misers) shall rise from the tomb with the close fist, and these (the Prodigals) with shorn hair.

This means that before the Day of Judgment they will continue in their torment as spirits, but afterwards they will bring back their bodies in the same shape exactly as when they were buried. Misuse of the good gifts of God has deprived them of the bright world on high, which is His Kingdom.

Mal dare e mal tener ! lo mondo pulcro

† Mal dare e mal tener: Chaucer (Persones Tale) under the head of De Avaritia, writes as follows: "Avarice, after the description of Seint Augustine, is a likerousnesse in herte to have erthly thinges. Som other folk sayn, that avarice is for to purchase many erthly thinges, and nothing to yeve to hem

<sup>\*</sup>bruni: Understand "too dark, indistinct, dim, for recognition." Mr. Tozer remarks, that the effect of Avarice is that all distinctive traits are lost by which these sinners might be recognised; and that we see the same effect among the Usurers in Inf. xvii, 54; and the punishment of the Avaricious in Purgatory (Purg. xix, 72-120), whose faces are hidden.

tco' crin mozzi: He who throws his life away, and does not use it either for his wants or his good name, is like one shorn of his hair, which is given as a natural adornment. Compare Purg. xxii, 46-48:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Quanti risurgeran coi crini scemi,
Per ignoranza, che di questa pecca
Toglie il penter vivendo, e negli estremi!"

Ha tolto loro, e posti a questa zuffa: Qual ella sia, parole non ci appulcro. \*

Ill-giving and ill-keeping has deprived them of the bright world (i.e. Paradise), and placed them in this conflict: and what that is, I embellish no words to (describe) it.

Virgil in summing up, descants upon the shortlived enjoyment of wealth, and Gelli observes that when Virgil wishes to impress some maxim very forcibly upon Dante, as here, he addresses him as

that han nede. And understond wel, that avarice standeth not only in land ne catel, but some time in science and in glorie, and in every maner outrageous thing is avarice. . . . Sothely, this avarice is a sinne that is ful dampnable, for all holy writ curseth it and speketh ayenst it, for it doth wrong to Jesu Christ; for it bereveth him the love that men to him owen. . . . And therefore sayth Seint Poul, That an avaricious man is the thraldome of idolatrie."

Under the head of Remedium Avaritiae, also in the Persones Tale, Chaucer goes on to speak of Prodigality, which he terms "fool-largesse":—

"But for as moche as som folk ben unmeasurable, men oughton for to avoid and eschue fool-largesse, the which men clepen waste. Certes, he that is fool-large, he yeveth not his catel, but he leseth his catel. Sothly, what thing that he yeveth for vaine-glory, as to minstrals, and to folk that bere his renome in the world, he hath do sinne thereof, and non almesse: certes, he leseth foul his good, that ne seketh with the yefte of his good nothing but sinne. He is like to an hors that seketh rather to drink drovy or troubled water, than for to drink water of the clere well. And for as moche as they yeven ther as they should not yeven, to him apperteineth thilke malison, that Crist shall yeve at the day of dome to hem that shuld be dampned."

\*appulcro: The Gran Dizionario, s.v. appulcrare thus paraphrases the present passage: "Qual ella sia (la pena degli avari e de' prodighi, tu la vedi), parole non ci appulcro (aggiungo per la mia descrizione). Parrebbe che avesse a dirsi : Non la appulcro con parole; ma c'è un senso, e forse più proprio, nel dire: non abbellisco le mie parole a descriverla; non ci spendo

amplificazioni."

65

"My Son," for according to Solomon, the son is bound to lend an attentive ear to the paternal admonitions and discipline of the father, who only proffers them in love.

> Or puoi, figliuol, veder la corta buffa \* De' ben, che son commessi alla Fortuna, Perchè l' umana gente si rabbuffa. Chè tutto l' oro ch' è sotto la luna, † E che già fu, di queste anime stanche

Non poterebbe farne posar una."-

Now mayest thou discern, my Son, the short-lived vanity of those possessions that are committed to Fortune, for which the human race is ever wrangling. For all the gold that is under the Moon, or that ever existed, could not give rest to a single one of those weary souls."

\*corta buffa: In the Vocabolario della Crusca the primary signification given to buffa is "vanity, emptiness," in the same sense in which the word is used in Ecclesiastes. Mr. Tozer happily renders corta buffa, "transient farce."

tutto l' oro ch' è sotto la luna: So also Chaucer, Legende of

Hypermestre, 1. 77:-

" For all the gode under the cold Mone." In Studies in Dante, First Series, p. 285, Dr. Moore observes, speaking of Dante's imitations of Boëthius: "Still more remarkable are the numerous points of imitation in the fine passage about Fortune in Inf. vii. This has obviously been suggested to Dante by De Cons. Philos. ii, Metr. i, and Pros. ii [of which more later on]. There is yet another passage in the same context bearing a very close resemblance to Inf. vii, 64-66, which can scarcely be accidental, especially as this very passage of Boëthius is definitely cited by Dante in Conv. iv, 12, Il. 74-78. See Boëthius, ibid. ii, Metr. ii, 12, Il. 1-8:-

"Si quantas rapidis flatibus incitus Pontus versat harenas Aut quot stelliferis edita noctibus Caelo sidera fulgent, Tantas fundat opes, nec retrahat manum Pleno copia cornu: Humanum miseras haud ideo genus Cesset flere querelas."

Riches not only are of no avail to withdraw souls out of Hell, but neither can they purchase the shortest respite from their torments, for in Hell there is no redemption possible. In the moral sense this would mean, that riches can in no sort of way give rest or peace to those who have made wealth their one object in life.

Division IV.—In concluding his last speech, Virgil had incidentally mentioned "Fortune," and Dante now asks Virgil what is this Fortune which seems to have such an influence upon worldly possessions. Virgil, in his reply, gives an account of Fortune, so little understood by the race of men.

Gelli says that Aristotle blamed the writers of his time because they did not write definite treatises about Fortune, either to prove that there was no such thing, or else to show what it was (as they had done with all other causes); and that Dante, fearing to be trapped into this error, pictures himself, so soon as he hears Virgil mention Fortune, as hastening to ask what it is. Christians do not like the term "Fortune," but attribute all that happens in the world to the Providence of God, Who alone rules and governs it according to His Good Pleasure. Job did not lay the blame of his losses upon Fortune, but said: "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord." This is the view accepted by Christians, approved in Holy Writ, and adopted by Dante; but wishing, poet-like, to throw a veil of allegory over it, Dante imagines Fortune to be the disposer of worldly possessions.

-" Maestro,"-diss' io lui,-" or mi di' anche: Questa Fortuna \* di che tu mi tocche, Che è, che i ben del mondo ha sì tra branche?"-+

"Master," said I to him, "now tell me this also: this Fortune, of which thou hintest to me, what is she, that has the world's goods so completely in her clutches?"

Dante has used the word branche as a term of contempt, for which Virgil now reproves him, and makes him to understand that Fortune is a spirit of Heaven, and a Minister of God. To prove the importance of the doctrine he is about to inculcate, he tells Dante that he must receive his explanation as a child receives nourishment.

E quegli a me:-"O creature sciocche,t

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"La terra che fe' già la lunga prova E de' Franceschi sanguinoso mucchio, Sotto le branche verdi si ritruova."

t creature sciocche: Virgil speaks of men in general as foolish creatures for thinking that worldly goods belong to Fortune, whereas she is only the appointed distributor of them. Gioberti remarks that by making Virgil address him in the plural, Dante wishes to put himself in the position of representing the whole human race.

<sup>\*</sup> Questa Fortuna, et seq.: Dante is putting into the mouth of Virgil (in this discourse upon Fortune), the retractation of an opinion previously expressed by himself upon li ben di questo mondo in Conv. iv, 11, ll. 51-56: "Dico che la loro imperfezione primamente si può notare nella indiscrezione del loro avvenimento, nel quale nulla distributiva guistizia risplende, ma tutta iniquità quasi sempre."

t branche are properly the fore-paws of a lion. This is very well illustrated in Inf. xxvii, 43-45, where the City of Forli is said to be lying under the clutches of the green paws, meaning that it was suffering under the tyranny of the Ordelaffi, then Lords of Forli, who bore on their shield the upper half of a lion vert; and being only the upper half, of course branche would mean the fore-paws:-

Quanta ignoranza è quella che vi offende! Or vo' che tu mia sentenza ne imbocche:\* Colui lo cui saper tutto † trascende, Fece li cieli, e diè lor chi conduce, ‡

\*vo' che tu mia sentenza ne imbocche: The sense of these words paraphrased would be: "I wish you to receive my judgment just as a child receives its food after taking it into its mouth." Scartazzini remarks how often Dante figuratively speaks of knowledge as food. Imboccare signifies "to nourish any one" by putting food into his mouth.

+ tutto: The Omniscience of God is expressed in Psalm cxlvii, 5: "Great is our Lord, and of great power: his understanding is infinite."

† diè lor chi conduce: The allusion here is to the simultaneous creation of the Heavens and the Angels, and is a part of Dante's theological astronomy, in which each of the Heavens has its own appointed spiritual guide. Compare Conv. ii, 5, Il. 5-8: "li movitori di quello [il terzo cielo] sono Sustanze separate da materia, cioè Intelligenze, le quali la volgare gente chiama Angeli." Compare Par. xxviii, 73-78:—

"Perchè, se tu alla virtù circonde

La tua misura, non alla parvenza Delle sustanzie che t' appaion tonde, Tu vederai mirabil conseguenza,

> Di maggio a più, e di minore a meno, In ciascun cielo a sua intelligenza."

Compare also Par. viii, 34 et seq. Compare Ceccho d' Ascoli, Acerba, book i, ch. 2:—

"El principio che muove queste rote

Sono intelligentie separate. Ne stano dal divin splendor remote," etc.

This philosopher, who (according to some doubtful authorities) after having been the friend of Dante, became his bitter opponent, was burnt alive in Florence in 1327, aged 70, as an Astrologer and a heretic. His real name was Francesco Stabili. Compare also Guido Cavalcanti, Canzona in Frottola, in Poeti del Primo Secolo, Florence, 1816, vol. ii, p. 312:—

"Il modo, il corso, e l' opra di fortuna,
E quanto in lei s' aduna,
Moto riceve dal primo Motore
Per guisa tal, che non è mente alcuna,
Che possa chiara o bruna
Antiveder le via del guidatore."

Sì che ogni parte ad ogni parte \* splende,

Distribuendo egualmente la luce:

Similemente agli splendor mondani

Ordinò † general ministra e duce,

Che permutasse a tempo ‡ li ben vani,

Di gente in gente e d'uno in altro sangue,

Oltre la difension de' senni umani:

Perchè una gente impera, e l'altra langue,

Seguendo lo giudizio di costei,

Che è occulto, § come in erba l'angue. ||

And he to me: "O foolish creatures, how great is that ignorance that encumbers you! Now I wish thee (Dante) to receive my judgment of her as it were thy food. He, Whose Omniscience transcends all, created the Heavens, and gave them those who guide them (i.e. the directing Intelligences or Angels), so that every part shines to

\*ogni parte ad ogni parte: This means that each several one of the Angelic choirs shines upon one of the nine heavenly spheres, distributing its own light in equal proportion.

† Ordinò: Compare St. Augustine, Da Civitate Dei, v, 9: "Nos enim eas causas, quae dicuntur fortuitae (unde etiam fortuna nomen accepit), non dicimus nullas, sed latentes, easque tribuimus, vel veri Dei, vel quorumlibet spirituum voluntati."

‡ Che permutasse a tempo: It seems doubtful whether to translate "who might change at the allotted time," or, "who might change from time to time." Either version would be permissible, but on the whole I prefer the former, "at the allotted time." Compare Par. viii, 60:—

"Per suo signore a tempo m' aspettava."

§ è occulto: Compare Lucretius, De Rerum Natura, lib. v, 1232, 1233:—

"Usque adeo res humanas vis abdita quaedam Obterit."

It should be noticed that occulto agrees, not with costei, Fortune—for in that case it would be occulta—but with giudizio, the decree of Fortune.

"Qui legitis flores et humi nascentia fraga,
Frigidus, o pueri, fugite hinc, latet anguis in herba."

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every part, equally distributing the light: in like manner for worldly splendours He ordained a common regent and conductress, who at the allotted time might change the vain possessions from nation to nation and from one family to another, beyond the hindrance of human intelligence: for which reason one people rules, and another languishes, obeying the decree of her (i.e. Fortune), which (decree) is hidden, as is a snake in the grass.

As without warning the lurking snake will bite the unsuspecting passer-by, so will Fortune come suddenly upon a man, and hurl him down, while, in fancied security, he is in the very flower of prosperity; and this is meant to symbolise the hidden and inscrutable purposes of God, which all the collected wisdom of Man is powerless to hinder.

> Vostro saper non ha contrasto \* a lei : Questa provvede,† giudica e persegue Suo regno, come il loro gli altri Dei.‡

Your (human) knowledge has no counterstand § against her: she foresees, judges and carries on

<sup>\*</sup>non ha contrasto: Compare Rom. ix, 19: "For who hath resisted his will?"

<sup>†</sup> provvede, giudica e persegue: "Provede, cioè col suo sapere pensa e discerne; giudica, come ha proveduto, e prosegue, cioè mette in esecuzione." (Buti).

<sup>†</sup> Dei: See Par. xxviii, 121, where Dee is used in the same sense, namely, to signify Intelligences: "In essa gerarchia son le tre Dee," etc. Compare also Conv. ii, 5, ll. 7, 8: "Intelligenze, le quali la volgare gente chiama Angeli." And ibid. ll. 32-39: "e chiamale Plato Idee, che tanto è a dire, quanto forme e nature universali. Li Gentili le chiamavano Dei e Dee, avvegnachè non così filosoficamente intendessero quelle come Plato: e adoravano le loro immagini, e facevano loro grandissimi templi."

<sup>§ &</sup>quot;no counterstand:" I owe this translation to Longfellow.

her reign, as do the other deities (i.e. the Celestial Intelligences) with theirs.

The reign which Fortune pursues is her rule over temporal goods, which are as much under her dominion as the different spheres of Heaven were, in the time of Dante, said to be under the absolute sway of the Angels or Intelligences appointed to rule over each of them.

Virgil now tells Dante how inevitable are the changes in the condition of those to whom Fortune has given wealth; she takes from one, and gives to another, according to what she, in her occult judgments, sees to be for our good; and these changes are incessant.

> Le sue permutazion \* non hanno triegue: Necessità † la fa esser veloce, Sì spesso vien chi vicenda consegue.

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Ponendo che gli ben de la fortuna Necessitati sono con lor meta.

<sup>\*</sup> Le sue permutazion, et seq.: Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, First Series, p. 286) invites comparison of this passage with Boëthius, De Cons. Phil. ii, Pros. i, ad finem: "Tu vero volventis rotae impetum retinere conaris? At . . . si manere incipit, fors esse desistit." Again, ibid. Pros. i, su'. med.: "Hi semper ejus mores; haec natura est. Servavit circa te propriam potius in ipsa sui mutabilitate constantiam." See Par. xvi, 73-84, where Cacciaguida explains to Dante how continuously the great families of Florence, each in turn, are rising and falling; and that as many of the greatest cities of olden time had fallen into obscurity, he thinks it ought not to be surprising to Dante that families should fall too; and these changes in Florence are as incessant and regular as the tides on the sea-shore.

<sup>†</sup> Necessità la fa esser veloce: Ceccho d' Ascoli was highly indignant at this idea of Dante's, and severely censures it in the Acerba, book ii, l. 19 et seq.:—
"In ciò peccasti, fiorentin poeta,

Her permutations have no truces: Necessity causeth her to be swift, so that there oft cometh one who obtains his turn of luck.

Non è fortuna, che rason non venca.
Hor pensa, Dante, se prova nessuna
Se può far che questa se convenca.
Fortuna non è altro che disposto
Del che dispon cosa animata;
'Qual disponendo se trova l' opposto
Non vien necessitato il ben felice.
Essendo in libertà l' alma creata,
Fortuna in lei non può, se contradice.

Benvenuto says that with all due deference to Ceccho d'Ascoli, he cannot help remarking that if the latter had been as good a poet as he was an astrologer, he would not have inveighed so rashly against Dante, for he ought to have taken it for granted that the author of the *Purgatorio* would hardly have given a direct contradiction to his own words in *Purg.* xvi, 67-75:—

"Voi che vivete, ogni cagion recate
Pur suso al ciel, così come se tutto
Movesse seco di necessitate.
Se così fosse, in voi fora distrutto
Libero arbitrio, e non fora giustizia,
Per ben letizia, e per male aver lutto.
Lo cielo i vostri movimenti inizia,
Non dico tutti: ma, posto ch' io il dica,
Lume v' è dato a bene ed a malizia,
E libero voler," etc.

And Benvenuto adds that some explain this passage for Dante thus: "If Fortune exists at all, she is of necessity ever changing, for Boëthius observes that if once she begins to stand still, she ceases to be Fortune. Therefore necessity is a natural consequence, as, for example, it is necessary for any one to be reasonable: it is necessary for me to have a free will." Horace, in his Ode to Fortune (1 Carm. xxxv, 1-4), thus addresses her:—

"O diva, gratum quae regis Antium, Praesens vel imo tollere de gradu Mortale corpus vel superbos Vertere funeribus triumphos."

And ibid. 17 :-

"Te semper anteit saeva necessitas."

It is necessary that God's provisions should be carried out, and the different vicissitudes of Fortune occur so frequently, that she must of necessity be swift in her movements. Virgil goes on to point out how unjust men are to upbraid Fortune, when they have suffered from those permutations by falling from prosperity in adversity; and he concludes by remarking that Fortune is equally indifferent to praise or censure.

> Quest' è colei \* ch' è tanto posta in croce + Pur da color che le dovrian dar lode, Dandole biasmo a torto e mala voce. Ma ella s' è beata, t e ciò non ode: Con l' altre prime creature § lieta Volve sua spera, e beata si gode.

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<sup>\*</sup> Quest' è colei, et seq. : Compare this terzina with Boëthius, Phil. Cons. ii, Pros. ii (imit.): "Vellem autem pauca tecum fortunae ipsius verbis agitare . . . 'Quid tu homo ream me cotidianis agis querelis: quam tibi fecimus injuriam? quae tua tibi detraximus bona? quovis judice de opum dignitatum-que mecum possessione contende."

t posta in croce: The Vocabolario della Crusca says that porre in croce means to censure with curses, Lat. vituperare. The expression is quite common in Tuscany.

t Ma ella s' è beata, et seq.: Compare this terzina with De Cons. Phil. ii, Metr. i, Il. 5-7:-

<sup>&</sup>quot; Non illa miseros audit, aut curat fletus; Ultroque gemitus, dura quos fecit, ridet. Sic illa ludit, sic suas probat vires."

And Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, i, p. 285) suggests adding to this, ibid. Pros. ii, Il. 27-29: "Haec nostra vis est, hunc continuum ludum ludimus: rotam volubili orbe versamus, infima summis, summa infimis mutare gaudemus."

Sprime creature: These are the Angels who, with the Heavens, were said to have been the first creations of God. Compare Inf. iii, 7-8:-

<sup>&</sup>quot;Dinanzi a me non fur cose create, Se non eterne."

This is she who is so execrated (lit. crucified), even by those who ought to give her praise, (and instead are) wrongfully giving her blame and evil repute. But she is happy, and heeds it not: with the other Primal Creatures (i.e. the Angels) she joyfully rolls her sphere onward, and rejoices in her gladness.

This means, that Fortune continues to direct all the revolutions and permutations of worldly possessions which are committed to her charge, in the same way as do the other Angels in the spheres committed to them. And let us again recollect that by Fortune is symbolised Divine Providence.

Benvenuto and Buti both interpret volve sua spera as simply meaning the wheel of Fortune; and Buti says that poets figuratively pictured the wheel as revolving, in order to show how the different changes went round as it were in a circle. He adds that these revolutions can be seen in cities and provinces, for when provinces by the mutability of Fortune have become poor, they become of necessity humble; humility gives them patience; patience brings peace; peace brings wealth; but wealth brings pride; and pride impatience; impatience brings war, and war poverty; and poverty again brings back humility, and so it proceeds as it were in a circle. And although this is more to be seen in cities and provinces, yet at times it may also be found in individual men, and that shows that these permutations are not without cause, for men are themselves the cause of them. And the better to demonstrate this circular revolution. Buti gives a figure, here reproduced, by which one may more clearly follow and understand what he has just

said, and he adds that these effects are more to be discerned in the State, where more people's wills come in contact, than in the individual man, who is



able to curb his will more easily than can be expected from the whole population of a State.\*

Having ended his remarks about Fortune, Virgil

Guido Cavalcanti's Song of Fortune, which ought to be carefully compared with this passage of Dante, begins:-

"Io son la donna, che volgo la rota, Sono colei, che tolgo, e do stato; Ed è sempre biasimato A torto el modo mio da voi mortall." (In Poeti del Primo Secolo, Firenze, 1816, vol. ii, p. 326).

<sup>\*</sup>The Wheel of Fortune was a favourite subject of art in the Middle Ages. A figure of such a revolving wheel is represented in white marble, set in the pavement of the Nave of the Cathedral of Siena, and in the Church of San Zenone at Verona; and elsewhere may be seen examples of Wheel of Fortune windows.

invites Dante to accompany him down into the next Circle, the Fifth, where are the spirits of the Wrathful, the Sullen, and the Gloomy. And here it must be noted, that up to this point Dante has been treating of those sins which take their origin in the flesh, and which are punished in the upper Circles of Hell, as being less heinous than those of which he is now about to speak. These latter are sins of the temper, which Dante esteems to be more prejudicial to Society, and, as they carry no gratification with them, less excusable.

This Fifth Circle of Hell is situated on the same level as the Sixth, which is the City of Dis. The Stygian marsh separates the two, and forms the moat round the City of Dis.

Or discendiamo omai a maggior pièta:
Già ogni stella cade,\* che saliva
Quando mi mossi, e il troppo star si vieta."—

Now let us descend to even deeper woe: already every star is sinking which was rising when I set out, and to tarry too long is forbidden."

Division V .- The Poets enter the Fifth Circle.

Noi ricidemmo il cerchio all' altra riva

TOO

Toglieva gli animai che sono in terra, Dalle fatiche loro," etc.

We learn from the present passage that ogni stella cade, che saliva quando [Virgilio si mosse]; therefore it is now past midnight, and we are entering upon the early hours of Easter Eve. In the last line of Canto i, it is said of Virgil: "Allor si mosse."

<sup>\*</sup> Già ogni stella cade: This is the third reference to time given in the Inferno. The night was falling when the two Poets set out on their way. See Inf. ii, 1-3:—
"Lo giorno se n' andava, e l' aer bruno

Sopra una fonte, che bolle e riversa Per un fossato che da lei deriva.\*

We cut across the Circle to its other bank (passing) above a spring that bubbles up and flows out through a gully that leads down from it.

The Circle they cut across is the Fourth, which they are about to quit; the other bank means that which begirds the Fifth Circle. By their being above a spring must be understood that they are standing on considerably higher ground, and can see the spring below them.

They would seem, previously to this, to have been skirting the edge of the high bank, but now they strike right in, and commence descending, parallel with the torrent, into the Fifth Circle, where a totally different landscape meets their view.

L' acqua era buia assai vie più che persa: †
E noi, in compagnia dell' onde bige,

"'Se il presente rigagno Si deriva così dal nostro mondo, Perchè ci appar pur da questo vivagno?'"

† persa: This colour has been sufficiently explained in a note on Canto v, l. 89:-

"Che visitando vai per l' aer perso," etc.
Boccaccio (Comento), noticing Dante's own definition of it in
Conv. iv, 20, ll. 14-16, as a colour in which black predominates
over purple, remarks that if the water of the Styx is much
darker than perse, it follows that it must be very black indeed.

<sup>\*</sup>deriva: Derivare, which is both active and neuter and reflective, is here used in its neuter sense. Compare Purg. xxxiii, 127: "Ma vedi Eunoè che là deriva." This line is thus paraphrased by Casini: "Ma vedi il fiume Eunoè, che uscendo dalla fontana scorre verso quella parte." In Inf. xiv, 112-138, we have an account of the origin of all the rivers of Hell, including the Styx. In ll. 121-123 we have derivarsi in its reflective form:—

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Entrammo giù per una via diversa. \*
Una palude fa, che ha nome Stige, †
Questo tristo ruscel, quando è disceso
Al piè delle malvage piaggie grige. ‡

The water was dark, very much more so than perse: and we, accompanying its dingy waves, entered downward by a difficult path. This dismal stream, when it has descended to the foot of the dark and sinister banks, forms a marsh, which has the name of Styx.

Dante now sees a new spectacle in the penalty of the Wrathful.

<sup>\*</sup>una via diversa: Some, among whom is Benvenuto, explain via diversa as meaning a different way, but I prefer to follow Buti and Landino, both Tuscans, who give it the same signification that it has when applied to Cerberus in Inf. vi, 13, fiera diversa. Buti says of diversa here: "cioè sconcia e ria [rugged and evil]. Nulla via è buona che mena ai vizj, e convenientemente nulla via che sia nell' inferno si dee dir buona." Landino: "diversa, cioè difficile, che così significa in fiorentino, e meritamente dimostra che la via che conduce all' ira sia difficile."

<sup>†</sup> palude . . . che ha nome Stige: Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, First Series, p. 180) says that this is one of the many instances in which Virgilian epithets are found repeated in Dante. See Virg. Æn. vi, 323, 324:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Cocyti stagna alta vides, Stygiamque paludem, Di cujus jurare timent et fallere numen."

<sup>†</sup> grige: Benvenuto remarks that these dark banks have a subfusk hue like a black monastic habit (quae habent colorem subnigrum qualis est vestis nigra monacalis). For malvage piaggie grige others read maligne piaggie, on which Dr. Moore (Textual Criticism, pp. 292, 293) remarks that although malvage has numerically slender support, he is inclined to think it is the correct reading; and that maligne was substituted for it as indicating a sense of the cacophonous effect of malvage piaggie grige. It is at any rate difficult to see why malvage should ever have appeared in the text if the more obvious and more euphonious word maligne had been original. "There is nothing (Dr. Moore adds) in the early Commentators to throw light on the reading here, except that Vellutello comments on maligne."

Ed io, che di mirar mi stava inteso, Vidi genti fangose in quel pantano, Ignude tutte e con sembiante offeso.\* Questi † si percotean non pur con mano Ma con la testa, col petto e co' piedi, Troncandosi coi denti a brano a brano.

IIO

And I who stood intent to gaze, saw people bemired in that swamp, all of them naked and with a look of rage. They smote each other not alone with hand, but also with the head, with the chest, and with the feet, rending each other piecemeal with their teeth.

Virgil explains to Dante that two classes of sinners

\* sembiante offeso: The appearance of anger in these shades is quickly borne out by their actions, percoteansi, etc.; and Benvenuto adds that the Wrathful, when they lack weapons, will often rend one another after the manner of wild beasts; and as a matter of fact he once saw two of his own pupils, who not content with knocking each other down, tore each other with their nails and with their teeth. Lubin renders offeso as adirato and I follow him. Mr. Butler strangely renders it: "With mien of one tripped up." Mr. Tozer more happily: "With a look of suffering."

+ Ouesti si percotean, et seg.: Scartazzini observes that the Wrathful are immersed in the dark and filthy waters of the Styx, more or less deep, in proportion to the gravity of their sin, and are pretty nearly unrecognisable from the mud with which their countenances are besmirched. Those partially submerged fight and rend each other with the greatest ferocity; those wholly submerged splutter forth words and sighs. The Styx represents the passion of anger; the blows, the biting, above water, and the gurglings below water, are merely the reproduction of the deeds of these sinners in life; their sin is one which deprives man of the use of Reason and the faculty of speaking coherent words. Mr. Tozer remarks that "the filthy water represents the debasing influence of anger; but the chief symbolism turns on the derivation of the Greek Στύξ from στυγείν 'to hate.' Dante, who himself knew no Greek, may have obtained this from Servius (on Virg. Æn. vi, 134) or Isidore (Origines, xiv, 9), both of whom were among his authorities. Isidore says, 'Styx ἀπὸ τῆς στυγνότητος, i.e. a tristitia dicta'; this corresponds to tristo ruscel in l. 107."

are punished here, namely, the Wrathful, and the Sullen or Gloomy.

Lo buon Maestro disse:—"Figlio, or vedi
L' anime di color cui vinse l' ira:\*
Ed anche vo' che tu per certo credi,
Che sotto l' acqua ha gente che sospira,
E fanno pullular quest' acqua al summo,
Come l' occhio ti dice, u' che † s' aggira.

The good Master said: "Son, thou seest now the souls of them whom Wrath overcame: and I would also have thee know for certain that the water has people underneath it who sigh, and make this water bubble on the surface, as thine eye tells thee, whichever way it ranges.

I have followed Gelli's construction of the words

<sup>\*</sup> color cui vinse l' ira: Chaucer in the Persones Tale, under the heading De Ira, thus speaks of Ire or Wrath: "This sin of Ire, after the descriving of Seint Augustine, is wicked will to be avenged by word or by dede. Ire, after the Philosophre, is the fervent blode of man yquicked in his herte, thurgh which he wold harme to him that he hateth; for certes the herte of man by enchaufing and meving of his blood waxeth so troubled, that it is out of all maner jugement of reson. . . . Certes this cursed sinne annoyeth both to the man himself and eke his neighbour. For sothely almost all the harme or damage that ony man doth to his neighbour cometh of wrath: for certes, outrageous wrathe doth all that ever the foule fende willeth or commandeth him; for he ne spareth neyther for our Lord Jesu Crist, ne his swete moder; and in his outrageous anger and ire alas! ful many on at that time, feleth in his herte ful wickedly, both of Crist, and also of all his halwes [i.e. Saints, from Scand. Helge]. Is not this a cursed vice? Yes certes. Alas! it benimmeth [takes away] fro man his witte and his reson, and all his debonnaire lif spirituel, that shuld kepe his soule. Certes it benimmeth also Goddes due lordship (and that is mannes soule) and the love of his neighbours: it striveth also all day ayenst trouth; it reveth him the quiet of his herte, and subverteth his soule.

tu' che s' aggira: "U" here is equivalent to the Latin ubi, Italian ove, and u' che is for ovunque.

sotto l' acqua ha, as l' acqua ha sotto, taking sotto for al According to Scartazzini (in his Leipzic edition, 1874) all the old Commentators agree that the spirits underneath the water are those of the Slothful or Sullen, and he thinks it evident that Dante, in this Canto, distributes the sinners according to the principle laid down by him in Conv. iv, 17. Il. 65-67, that every virtue has two collateral enemies, that is to say vices, one of excess and one of default. And as in the last Circle he placed the Misers and Prodigals in contiguity to one another, so in this Circle he places the Wrathful in contiguity to the Slothful or Sullen, their sins being equally contrary to each other. Pietro di Dante confirms this view, but he observes that as Sullenness is a vice which is not so readily seen, therefore Dante pictures the Sullen as being punished in secrecy. With this I agree, but I notice that in Scartazzini's latest Commentary, of which, at the time of his death only the Inferno (Leipzig, 1900) was published, he rather seems to doubt the correctness of his former supposition, as to the Sullen (Accidiosi) being those totally submerged beneath the Styx, because, in Canto xi, 70-90, Dante specifies distinctly that only sins of Incontinence are punished in the first five Circles of Hell, and Scartazzini contends that Accidie is the exact opposite of Incontinence. He considers that the question as to where Accidie is punished in Hell is an enigma forte that must await its Oedipus to solve it. "In any case," writes Dr. Moore to me, "even if those underneath are Accidiosi, it must be in a very different

sense of the word from that which belongs to it in the *Purgatorio*, as distinctly one of the Seven Deadly Sins."

> Fitti nel limo dicon:—'Tristi fummo Nell' aer dolce \* che dal sol s' allegra, Portando dentro accidioso fummo: † Or ci attristiam nella belletta ! negra.'

\* Nell' aer dolce: Here again Dante makes the shades in Hell look back with fond regret to their life on earth; just as Ciacco (vi, 51) speaks of having been a citizen of Florence in la vita serena.

†accidioso fummo: in relation to tristi fummo in l. 121: Compare St. Thom. Aquin. Summ. Theol. ii, 2dae, Qu. xxxv, Art. i: "Respondeo dicendum quod acedia, secundum Dumascenum (Orth. fid. lib. ii, cap. 14), 'est quaedam tristitia aggravans,' quae scilicit ita deprimit animum hominis, ut nihil ei agere libeat." Chaucer thus describes Accidie in the Persones Tale under the head of De Accidia: "After the sinne of wrath, now wol I speke of the sinne of accidie, or slouth: for envie blindeth the herte of a man, and ire troubleth a man, and accidie maketh him hevy, thoughtful and wrawe [peevish]. Envy and ire maken bitterness in herte, which bitternesse is mother of accidie, and benimeth him the love of alle goodnesse; than is accidie the anguish of a troubled herte. And Seint Augustine sayth: It is annoye of goodnesse and annoye of harme. Certes this is a damnable sinne, for it doth wrong to Jesu Crist, in as moche as it benimeth the service that men shulde do to Crist with all diligence. He doth all thing with annoye, and with wrawnesse, slaknesse, and excusation, with idleness and unlust. For which the book sayth: Accursed be he that doth the service of God negligently. Than [then] is accidie enemie to every estate of man. . . . Now certes this foul sin of accidie is eke a ful gret enemie to the livelode of the body; for it ne hath no purveaunce ayenst temporel necessitee; for it forsleutheth, forsluggeth, and destroieth all goods temporel by recchelessnesse."

† belletta negra: Boccaccio (Comento) says that limo (l. 121) and belletta mean the same thing: "limo è quella spezie di terra, la quale suole lasciare alle rive de' fiumi l'acqua torbida, quando il fiume viene scemando, la qual noi volgarmente chiamiamo belletta: e di questa maniera sono quasi tutti i fondi de' paludi."

Quest' inno \* si gorgoglian nella strozza, 125 Che dir nol posson con parola integra."-+

Fixed in the slime they say: 'Sullen were we in the sweet air that is gladdened by the Sun, bearing within us the fumes of apathy: now are we sullen in the black ooze.' This hymn they gurgle in their throats, for (from being choked by the mud) they cannot articulate it in distinct words."

Benvenuto commenting on this passage, makes the following very characteristic remarks upon the demeanour in church of the priests of his day, which even in more modern times might not appear to be uncalled for to any one who has watched the priests chanting Vespers in Italian churches: "And mark here, that a hymn is praise rendered to God, and is to be sung in churches; and so the author is justified in putting a hymn into the mouths (of these spirits of the Slothful), for the priests, whose duty it is to chant these hymns, are just those who are most given up to the vice of sloth and asininity (vicio accidiae et asininitatis), so that these lazy fellows often are scarcely able to move their lips when they are chanting the Sacred Office, and while they slothfully and inaudibly mumble out 'Thou shalt open my lips, O Lord,' they sit themselves Therefore Dante has done well in adding

<sup>\*</sup>inno: Observe how Dante ironically compares the muttering of these wretches to a hymn. Compare Inf. x, 87:-"Tale orazion fa far nel nostro tempio."

<sup>†</sup> parola integra: We find a similar phrase in Boccaccio, Decam. Giorn. viii, Nov. 3 (ad finem): "Calandrino faticato dal peso delle pietre e dalla rabbia con la quale la donna aveva battuta, e del dolore della ventura la quale perduta gli pareva avere, non poteva raccogliere lo spirito a formare intera la parola alla risposta."

the cause of this gurgling, by saying that they are not able to chant their hymn in articulate words, for these priests very often do not pronounce the words of the Psalms distinctly, but rather swallow them down."

Another view, sometimes held, is that these are not the accidiosi in the technical sense found in the Purgatorio, but represent the sullen or sulky type of anger  $(\pi \iota \kappa \rho o i)$  as contrasted with the passionate type  $(\partial \rho \gamma (\lambda o \iota))$ . The two types would naturally be punished together, though with an appropriate difference of detail in the manner of their punishment. They are treated together by Aristotle, and this sense of "sullen" or "sulky" certainly fits in with ll. 121-123.

The Canto is brought to a conclusion with a description of how the Poets walk along the edge of the fen until they come to the spot whence, in the next Canto, they are to be ferried by Phlegyas in his boat over the water that divides them from the City of Dis.

Così girammo della lorda pozza\*

<sup>\*</sup>lorda pozza: Gelli, who is always so particular as to the correct Tuscan signification of every word in the poem, remarks that pozza and pozzanghera mean every kind of collection of waters, such as pool, pond, lake, lagoon, dam, fen, etc. He says that lorda signifies "dirty," and that in his time, wood, before it had been cleansed, was always called lana lorda. Compare Inf. ix, 100, 101, where the same epithet is applied to the same waters, when the Angel who has been sent to open the gates of the City of Dis, retraces his path over them:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Poi si rivolse per la strada lorda, E non fe' motto a noi."

130

Grand' arco tra la ripa secca \* e il mézzo, †
Con gli occhi volti a chi del fango ingozza:
Venimmo al piè d' una torre al dassezzo. ‡

So fetched we a great compass around the foul fen, between the dry bank and the swamp, with our eyes turned towards those who gulp down its mire: unto the foot of a tower came we at last.

Those swallowing the mire, upon whom the Poets were turning their eyes, are of course the shades of the Wrathful, for the Sullen or Gloomy are unseen.

\*ripa secca: Buti has a curious variant here, reading ripa sesta, and explains that although we are describing the Fifth Circle, yet this bank is the bank of the Sixth, which, be it remembered, is concentric with the Fifth, and if not quite on the same level with it, has an inclination so slight, as only to determine the downflow of the water, by an unseen conduit, into the Circle of the Violent below, where we shall again see it as the Phlegethon. As Dr. Paget Toynbee writes in his Dante Dictionary (s. v. Fiumi Infernali), the rivers of Hell are in reality one and the same stream, assuming different names in successive parts of Hell. "At first it bears the name of Acheron, and forms the boundary of Hell proper; after being lost for a time, it reappears in the shape of a boiling black spring, the waters of which form the filthy marsh of Styx; again disappearing, it emerges from the wood of the Suicides as the blood-red stream of Phlegethon; and finally flows down to the bottom of Hell, where it forms the frozen lake of Cocytus."

† Mézzo, "marsh, or swamp," is not to be confounded here with mezzo "middle," and, with two insignificant exceptions, all the Commentators interpret it to signify the soft ground between which and the dry bank the Poets are walking. Gelli explains it as tenera e molle. See Donkin, Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages: "Mezzo" It. (with close e and sharp zz) soft, decayed, withered; from mitis through a form mitius mitjus; Cremonese mizz, Neapolitan and Genoese nizzo, Milanese nizz.

† al dassezzo: See Donkin, lib. cit. s.v. Sezzo: "Sezzo, sessajo, zezzo, It. = ultimo; from secius, cf. in Low Latin Glossary, secius, segnius, found also in da sezzo, the opposite of da prima." In Norwegian "last" is sist.

## CANTO VIII.

THE FIFTH CIRCLE - THE WRATHFUL (CONTINUED) PHLEGYAS-FILIPPO ARGENTI-THE CITY OF DIS-THE
FALLEN ANGELS AT THE GATE.

THE conclusion of the last Canto left Dante and Virgil just arriving at the foot of a tower, after having skirted the Stygian fen for a considerable distance along its edge, from which they were able to view the punishment of the Wrathful. This they continue to witness in the present Canto, until by means of a ferry-boat they reach the opposite shore, where stands the City of Dis, which is itself the Sixth Circle.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In Division I, from ver. I to ver. 30, Dante mentions the two watch-towers on the opposite sides of the fen, and how, after an exchange of signals between them, a boat is despatched, and the Poets are ferried across the dark water.

In Division II, from ver. 31 to ver. 63, the shade of Filippo Argenti makes a vain attempt to arrest their progress, and is repulsed by both Poets.

In Division III, from ver. 64 to ver. 81, they disembark at the Gates of the City of Dis, after remarking during their passage that its buildings are red with eternal fire.

In Division IV, from ver. 82 to ver. 130, Dante relates the fierce opposition to his entrance within the gates that was made by the Demon Guardians of the City.

Division I.—In the first words of this Canto, Dante mentions that he speaks, in continuation . . . of what? Some think he simply means that he continues speaking about the sinners in the Fifth Circle, but Boccaccio \* and other Commentators see

"Dico, la bella istoria ripigliando," etc. And Canto xxii, st. 3:—

"Ma tornando al lavor, che vario ordisco."

Dr. Moore however (Studies in Dante, Second Series, p. 169) writes: "The story is found in Boccaccio, and there seems no conceivable reason for its invention. . . . Boccaccio professes to have heard it from a nephew of Dante, Andrea Poggi, who was also an intimate friend of his own, as well as from another Florentine named Dino Perini. . . I confess I am not one of those who think because an event is said to have happened . . . that is a primâ facie reason for doubting or disbelieving it. . . . Nor do I think it reasonable to argue that,

<sup>\*</sup> Boccaccio on the words io dico seguitando, with which the Canto opens, relates a story which has been accepted as an historical fact by some Commentators, and of which the main facts are, that Dante's wife found in a chest or secret cupboard the first seven Cantos of the Commedia which he had written before his exile. These were shown to Dino Frescobaldi, a poet of some repute, and he forwarded them to Moroello Malaspina, at whose castle in the Lunigiana Dante was then staying. Moroello, on receiving them, delivered them to Dante, strongly urging him to complete his work. Dante replied that he had long ago given up these Cantos for lost, but as God had brought them back to him, he would do all in his power to carry out his original scheme. Against this it has been urged by several learned Dantists that if the opening words of this Canto furnish a proof that Dante's work was here resumed after a long interruption, it might as well be affirmed that Ariosto was interrupted in his Orlando Furioso, because he begins Canto xvi, st. 5:—

in this verse the signs of his resuming his work on the Divina Commedia after the long interruption due to his exile. This opinion is, Scartazzini thinks, erroneous, as Dante did not commence writing his poem until the last eight years of his life, but he remarks in his volume of Prolegomeni, that although the anecdote related by Boccaccio of the finding of the first seven Cantos of the Inferno, may not have been entirely correct, it might well be that what was found on that occasion was, not the first seven Cantos, but the whole of Dante's outline sketch for the construction of the poem in that wonderful symmetry which it attained. Scartazzini adds that all great writers worthy of the name invariably accumulate a mass of materials, and Dante had doubtless arranged a skeleton form, the dry bones of which he may from time to time have clothed with flesh. Perchance all the episodes, and all the similes of the Commedia had been collected together like so many rare gems to form a diadem, which he only put together in the last eight years of his life.

Benvenuto remarks that although to some this Canto appears easy and of no particular account, it is in truth difficult, though at the same time one

because Boccaccio is best known by his brilliant works of fiction, therefore everything he wrote, even when it professes to be history or biography, must also be fiction. Nor is this a priori conception of him borne out by facts, since there are many striking instances in which his statements have been proved accurate by recently discovered documentary evidence. . . Boccaccio frequently gives us the actual sources of his information due to his own personal inquiries, which seem often to have been very carefully made."

of great beauty. In the opening words, Dante makes a retrogression into the preceding Canto, at the close of which he related how he and Virgil. after walking along the bending shore of the pool, stayed their steps at the foot of a lofty tower. He now commences the present Canto by explaining, in continuation of the concluding words of Canto vii, that for a considerable time before they did reach the foot of this tower, they had noticed an interchange of signals between it and some distant spot not visible to the eye, which spot however is the City of Dis. The two lights are displayed to summon the ferry-boat to convey two spirits across the water, and by the counter-signal it is understood that the summons is being obeyed.

> Io dico seguitando, ch' assai prima Che noi fussimo al piè dell' alta torre, Gli occhi nostri n' andar suso alla cima, Per due fiammette \* che i' + vedemmo porre, E un' altra da lungi † render cenno Tanto ch' a pena il potea l' occhio tôrre.

<sup>5</sup> 

<sup>\*</sup> Per due fiammette: This refers to the methods of military signalling in use at the time-Boccaccio in his Comento thus describes it : "Far si suole per le contrade nella quali è guerra, che avvenendo di notte qualche novità, il castello o il luogo vicino al quale la novità avviene, incontanente per un fuoco o per due, secondo che insieme posti si sono, il fa manifesto a tutte le terre del paese." See also Landino: "Ad imitazione di quello che si fa tra gli uomini, quando nei tempi sospetti l'una all' altra terra [one city to another] di di fa cenno col fumo, e di notte, come era allora col fuoco." Compare Inf. xxii, 8: "e con cenni di castella."

<sup>+</sup>i': Contraction for ivi, or for the more generally used vi. tun' altra da lungi: In Inf. ix, 35, 36, Dante describes the high tower, upon which the Furies appeared, and mentions its

I say in continuation (then) that long before we reached the foot of the (afore-mentioned) lofty tower, our eyes were turned upward to its summit, by reason of two cressets that we saw displayed there, and another one afar off returning the signal, so distant that the eye could scarcely apprehend it.

Buti remarks that Dante pictures there being order and concord among the demons in managing their household upon a regular system, which proves the truth of the words of Christ.\*

The demons on the first tower signal to those in the City of Dis by hanging out as many lights as there are spirits to be conveyed across.

Dante expresses his astonishment both at the signal and at the counter-signal.

Ed io mi volsi al mar di tutto il senno;†

Dissi:—" Questo che dice? e che risponde

Quell' altro foco? e chi son quei che il fenno?"—

having fire on the top of it. It was probably from here that the counter-signal had been given:-

"Perocchè l' occhio m' avea tutto tratto Vêr l' alta torre alla cima rovente."

\* See Matt. xii, 25, 26: "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand: And if Satan cast out Satan, he is divided against himself; how then shall his kingdom stand?"

+ mar di tutto il senno: Compare Inf. vii, 3:—
"E quel Savio gentil, che tutto seppe."

In Par. xiii, 94-96, St. Thomas Aquinas, in speaking to Dante of Solomon, calls him that king who asked for wisdom:—

"Non ho parlato sì che tu non posse
Ben veder ch' ei fu re, che chiese senno,
Acciocchè re sufficiente fosse."

And I, turning to the Sea of all knowledge (Virgil), said: "What does this light mean? and what does that other one answer? and who are they that enkindle it?"

Benvenuto thinks that by his question Dante really meant to ask whether the signals were being made by mortals or by fiends.

Virgil replies that the interchange of lights was for the purpose of summoning the ferry-boat which is now seen to be approaching.

> Ed egli a me :- "Su per le sucide onde IO Già puoi scorger quello che s' aspetta, Se il fummo del pantan \* nol ti nasconde."-

And he to me: "Over the foul waves thou mayst e'en now discern what we are waiting for, if the vapours of the marsh hide it not from thee."

Benvenuto points out that although Dante had been able to see the lofty tower with its signal lights, his eye-sight cannot penetrate through the thick marshy exhalations to discern so small an object as a man in a boat.

The rapid advance of the skiff over the waters of the Styx is compared to the flight of an arrow from a bow.

<sup>\*</sup> fummo del pantan : Compare Inf. ix, 5, 6:-"Chè l' occhio nol potea menare a lunga Per l' aer nero e per la nebbia folta.'

Corda non pinse \* mai da sè saetta, †
Che sì corresse via per l' aere snella,
Com' io vidi una nave piccioletta
Venir per l' acqua verso noi in quella,

15

\*Corda non pinse, etc. The velocity of the approach of Phlegyas over the dark waters and through the thick mists of the Styx may be contrasted with that of the Pilot Angel bringing the souls over the sapphire ocean in the light mists of the bright hour of sunrise on the Mountain of Purgatory. Here we have the weird figure of Phlegyas uttering curses, there the radiant Angel directing the blessed spirit-throng, who are all of them chanting: "When Israel came out of Egypt." See Purg. ii, 16-18:—

"Cotal m' apparve, s' io ancor lo veggia, Un lume per lo mar venir sì ratto, Che il mover suo nessun volar pareggia;"

and the remainder of the passage as far as l. 51. This contrast may be borne out by Dante's own exclamation of delight in Purg. xii, 112-114, when he notes the difference of his reception by the Angels in the Cornices of Purgatory from that of the fiends in the Circles of Hell:—

"Ahi! quanto son diverse quelle foci Dalle infernali; chè quivi per canti S' entra, e laggiù per lamenti feroci."

† saetta: For a rapid course being likened to an arrow, see the description of the flight of one of the Furies in Virg. Æn. xii, 853-856:—

"Harum unam celerem demisit ab aethere summo Jupiter, inque omen Juturnae occurrere jussit. Illa volat, celerique ad terram turbine fertur: Non secus ac nervo per nubem impulsa sagitta."

And in Euripides, Orestes, 311, 312, the Furies are addressed as

" Δρομάδες ὧ πτεροφόροι, Ποτνιάδες θεαί."

Compare Inf. xvii, 136, where it is related that Geryon having set down Dante and Virgil in Malebolge,

"Si deleguò, come da corda cocca."

Also Par. ii, 23-25 :-

"E forse in tanto, in quanto un quadrel posa, E vola, e dalla noce si dischiava, Giunto mi vidi." Sotto il governo \* d' un sol galeoto, † Che gridava :- "Or se' giunta, anima fella?"-

Never did bow-string shoot from itself an arrow that ran so swift a course away through the air, as I beheld at that moment a tiny bark coming over the water towards us, under the guidance of a single helmsman, who shouted out: "So! thou art arrived, guilty soul?"

We noticed that two lights had been hung out from the watch-tower, indicating that there were two spirits to be conveyed, but Phlegvas would seem to have discovered immediately he caught sight of the two Poets, that only one of them was likely to be destined for punishment, as the other one was clothed with flesh; and he therefore addresses himself to Virgil alone. That Poet however silences him at once, calling to him by his name, with which he appears to be as well acquainted as with that of Charon and the other fiends whom they encounter farther down. He may be supposed to have acquired this knowledge on the occasion of his previous visit to the lowest Circle of Hell, to which he alludes in the next Canto (ix, 16-30).

-" Flegiàs, † Flegiàs, tu gridi a voto,"-

<sup>\*</sup> governo: Compare the French gouvernail for the rudder.

<sup>+</sup> galeoto for galeotto, like Baco for Bacco (Inf. xx, 59); affige for affigge (Par. xxxiii, 133); fusi for fussi (Par. iii, 108). Boccaccio (Comento) thus explains the word galeotto: "Galeotti sono chiamati que' marinari, i quali servono alle galee; ma qui, licenza poetica, nomina galeotto il governatore d' una piccola barchetta."

<sup>†</sup> Flegiàs: In the Greek Mythology Phlegyas is said to have been King of the Lapithae. Being incensed against Apollo for having beguiled his daughter Coronis, he set fire to the temple of the god, who thereupon killed him with his arrows,

Disse lo mio signore,-"a questa volta: 20 Più non ci avrai, che sol passando il loto."-\* Quale colui, che grande inganno ascolta Che gli sia fatto, e poi se ne rammarca, † Fecesi Flegiàs nell' ira accolta." ‡

" Phlegyas, Phlegyas, this time thou shoutest in vain," said my Lord, "thou wilt not have us longer than while we pass over the mire." As one who hears that some great deception has been practised upon him, and then chafes over it, such became Phlegyas in his pent-up fury.

Benvenuto observes that in truth Phlegyas has had a great disappointment, for, having speeded across the waters in his bark, hoping to have a lost soul on whom to vent his anger, he finds himself obliged to carry over a living man, and one who is in the Grace of God, although in the past he had sinned through Pride.

The Poets now enter the skiff.

Lo duca mio discese nella barca, E poi mi fece entrare appresso lui,

and condemned him to severe punishment in the lower world. He appears as the Guardian fiend, both of the Fifth Circle, and of the City of Dis. As Mr. Butler justly observes, the function is assigned to him of guarding the approach to the lower part of Hell, where injustice in all its forms is punished, as the type of those who had violated the laws of justice. Compare Virgil, Æn. vi, 618-620:—
". . . Phlegiasque miserrimus omnes

Admonet, et magna testatur voce per umbras: 'Discite justitiam moniti, et non temnere Divos.'"

<sup>\*</sup> loto: Derived from the Latin lutum, mire, filth.

<sup>†</sup> rammarca for rammarica.

ira accolta: Compare Virgil, Æn. ix, 63, 64:-". . . collecta fatigat edendi Ex longo rabies."

E sol quand' io fui dentro parve carca.\*

Tosto che il duca ed io nel legno † fui,

Secando se ne va l' antica prora

Dell' acqua più che non suol con altrui.

20

My Guide stepped down into the boat, and then made me enter after him, and only when I was in, did it seem laden. As soon as my Guide and I were embarked, the ancient prow moved away, furrowing the water deeper than its wont with others.

The accustomed burden of the skiff was impalpable shades, who, like Virgil in the present instance, did not add to the weight. Perhaps one reason for Phlegyas moving away so hastily was that having in his boat passengers not destined for punishment, he was anxious to be rid of them as soon as possible.

Division II.—We are now told how the shade of Filippo Argenti attempts to arrest the progress of the skiff in which the Poets are passing over the water. Dante speaks of the pool being stagnant, because in that part of it where they meet Filippo Argenti, they

<sup>\*</sup>sol quand' io fui dentro parve carca: Compare the description in Virg. Æn. vi, 408-414, where Charon brings his boat to the bank of the Styx and Æneas and the Sibyl embark in it:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Ille admirans venerabile donum
Fatalis virgae, longo post tempore visum,
Coeruleam advertit puppim, ripaeque propinquat.
Inde alias animas, quae per juga longa sedebant,
Deturbat, laxatque foros; simul accipit alveo
Ingentem Æneam. Gemuit sub pondere cymba
Sutilis, et multam accepit rimosa paludem."

<sup>+</sup> legno: This word is used indiscriminately in most parts of Italy to express either a ship or a carriage. "That is a manof-war!" = "E un legno di guerra." "At what time shall I order the carriage?" = "A che ora devo comandare il legno?"

have left behind them the water near the shore, the surface of which is bubbling with the sighs of the Gloomy or Sullen, and they are now in the presence of the Wrathful only, immersed, but not submerged in the slime.

Mentre noi corravam \* la morta gora, †

Dinanzi mi si fece un pien di fango,
E disse:—"Chi se' tu che vieni anzi ora?"—

While we were running over the stagnant pool, there rose up before me one covered with mud, and said: "Who art thou that comest before thy time (i.e. before thou art dead)?"

This is the shade of Filippo Argenti, whose name in full was Messer Filippo Argenti de' Cavicciuli-Adimari, a knight, extremely wealthy, and so purse-proud that he had the horse he usually rode shod with silver, whence he acquired the nickname of Argenti. He was athletic, muscular, of great stature,

\*corravam: Compare Purg. iv, 31:—

"Noi salavam per entro il sasso rotto."

Nannucci (Analisi Critica dei Verbi Italiani, p. 142 et seq.)
observes that the early Italian Writers gave the same infections to the first persons plural of verbs of the Second and
Third Conjugations as to those of the First Conjugation, and
wrote: amavamo, temavamo, leggiavamo, sentavamo, from that
same parity of cadence which we have in the other persons,
singular and plural, ami, temi, senti; amiamo, temiamo, sentiamo.
Of the Four First Editions, Foligno, Jesi and Naples read
leggiavamo (Inf. v, 127), and corravam in the present passage;
Mantua alone reads leggevamo, and choreuam, but it, like the
other three, reads salavam.

t gora: According to Bargigi gora is a volume of water turned from a stream to be conducted to a mill or to any other use, having performed which, it is allowed to return into the river from which it has been turned. The English equivalent is mill-pond. Here it simply means the great pool, marsh or fen.

and of a very violent temper. The fact that the family of the Cavicciuli-Adimari were of the opposite faction to Dante, and had fiercely resisted his sentence of banishment being cancelled, may somewhat account for his representing their kinsman undergoing so degrading a punishment, and one can well imagine how the haughty family of the Adimari must have relished having read out in Florence this description of one of them wallowing in the mire. The fear of ridicule is far stronger in the South of Europe than among the colder nations of the North.

Dante's indignation is aroused at the evident belief of Filippo Argenti that he is destined to come to Hell at some time or other, and he retorts with true Tuscan promptitude.

> Ed io a lui:- "S' io vegno, non rimango; Ma tu chi se', che sei sì fatto brutto?"-35 Rispose :- "Vedi che son un che piango."-

And I to him: "If I do come, I remain not; but who art thou that art become so foul?" He answered: "Thou seest that I am one who weep."

Filippo Argenti, both from cowardice and vexation, tries to conceal his identity. So in Malebolge, we find Venedico Caccianimico hiding his face,\* though

\* See Inf. xviii, 46, 47:-"E quel frustato celar si credette Bassando il viso, ma poco gli valse." And on being taxed with his identity exhibits much vexation (11. 52, 53):-

" Mal volentier lo dico; Ma sforzami la tua chiara favella." All through the Inferno and the Purgatorio Dante would appear not immediately to recognise the spirits with whom he comes Dante recognises him notwithstanding. In Inf. xxxii, 94, we see Bocca degli Abati, the traitor of the battle of Montaperti, attempting to withhold his name, which provokes Dante into treating him with ferocious violence. Benvenuto thinks that Dante's answer to Filippo was purposely intended to increase his anguish, as though he would say, "I do not have to remain, but thou must do so;" that he then feigns not to recognise him, and in his question, "Who art thou that art become so foul?" he seems to say in addition: "Where now is all the wealth about which thou wert wont to be so arrogant?" He then goes on with further taunts.

Ed io a lui:—"Con piangere e con lutto, Spirito maledetto, ti rimani: Ch' io ti conosco, ancor\* sia lordo tutto."—

And I to him: "With weeping and with sorrow remain thou, accursed spirit: for I know thee, all befouled though thou art."

in contact, but gets a hint of who they are, either from some peculiarity of their person, their speech, their posture, or the mode of their punishment. See the conversation with Cavalcante Cavalcanti (Inf. x, 64, 65):—

"Le sue parole e il modo della pena
M' avevan di costui già letto il nome."

M' avevan di costui già letto il nome."
So again in Purg. ii, 85, 86, he recognises his old friend Casella, the musician, by his soft, gentle voice:—

"Soavemente disse ch' io posasse :--Allor conobbi chi era."

Dr. Moore writes to me: "Another instance of recognition by the voice is Forese (Purg. xxiii, 43-45). I think in Cavalcante's case it was not by the sound of his voice, but by what he said, as in the case of Forese's sister Piccarda in Par. iii, 62."

\*ancor: This is equivalent to ancor che, Latin quamvis, etiamsi.

These words seem to have so exasperated the shade of Filippo Argenti, that in a wild outburst of ungovernable rage, he makes for the boat with the intention of overturning it, or of dragging Dante out of it, but Virgil sternly repels him, and then commends Dante for his righteous wrath against him.

Allora stese al legno ambo le mani:

Perchè il Maestro accorto lo sospinse,
Dicendo:—"Via costà con gli altri cani."—\*

Lo collo poi con le braccia mi cinse,
Baciommi il volto, e disse:—"Alma sdegnosa, †
Benedetta colei ‡ che in te s' incinse.

40

\*cani: Benvenuto remarks of Filippo Argenti that his whole conduct and demeanour are like that of a mad dog, and that when Virgil thrust him back, he meant to say: "Go away among the other shades of the Arrogant, who fly into a rage at the slightest word, like a dog at every fly."

† sdegnosa: Although Blanc (Voc. Dant.) explains this word as "filled with a noble indignation," I prefer to take it in the same sense that it undoubtedly bears in Inf. x, 41, 42, where Farinata's mien in addressing Dante is "disdainful":—

"Guardommi un poco, e poi quasi sdegnoso Mi dimandò: 'Chi fur li maggior tui?'"

Di Siena remarks that the disdain of Dante is placed in happy contrast to the arrogance of Filippo Argenti, there being no such punishment to men like him than to be despised by others. Fraticelli draws particular attention to the distinction between ira and sdegno; the first is punished, as being generally the vice of an impotent mind; the second is praised, as arising chiefly from hatred to sin.

‡ Benedetta colei, et seq.: Compare Luke xi, 27: "Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps that thou has sucked." Gelli remarks of di te s' incinse, i.e. "became pregnant of thee," that the word incignere, though in his time obsolete, was in general use in the time of Dante. This is noteworthy, for Gelli wrote in 1555, during the cultivated age of Leo X, and yet at the present day it is as common to hear the expression una donna incinta for a pregnant woman in Italy, as it is to hear of une femme enceinte in France.

Then stretched he forth both hands unto the boat: whereupon the watchful Master thrust him back, saying: "Away there with the other dogs." Then threw he his arms about my neck, he kissed my face, and said: "Disdainful Soul, blessed is she that conceived thee!

It is very rarely that Virgil addresses any shade whom Dante has addressed first, and vice versa. I can only recall one other instance, where (Inf. xxiii) both Poets converse with Catalano, the Frate Godente.\*

Benvenuto here relates the story of Filippo's cruel vengeance against Biondello for playing a practical joke upon him, which we noticed in Canto vi, and he comments upon it in his quaint Latin as follows: Ad propositum ergo vide, qualiter Filippus Argenti pro una vana buffa distratiavit crudeliter vilem homuncionem per lutum cum furore. Ideo bene nunc distratiatur viliter, ut canis rabidus ab aliis canibus per triste coenum infernale. (Benvenuto, Vol. i, p. 287).

Virgil goes on now to impress upon Dante that this squalid wretch had in his lifetime been filled with arrogant pride without really having anything whatever to be proud about, and adds that there are but too many like him.

<sup>\*</sup> In the case of Pier delle Vigne, Virgil after having been the first to address that ill-fated shade, invites Dante to question him further, but Dante refuses (Inf. xiii, 79-84):—

<sup>&</sup>quot;'Da ch' ei si tace,'
Disse il Poeta a me, 'non perder l' ora;
Ma parla, e chiedi a lui se più ti piace.'
Ond' io a lui: 'Domandal tu ancora
Di quel che credi che a me satisfaccia;
Ch' io non potrei: tanta pietà m' accora.'"

Quei fu al mondo persona orgogliosa;\* Bontà non è che sua memoria fregi: Così s' è l' ombra sua qui furiosa. † Quanti si tengon or lassù gran regi, Che qui staranno come porci in brago, £ Di sè lasciando orribili dispregi!" §

In the world he was an arrogant personage; no good quality is there which adorns his memory: therefore is his shade here in fury. How many are there at this moment (in the world) above who hold themselves mighty princes, who like hogs shall wallow here in the mire, leaving behind horrible dispraises of themselves."

Dante would seem to have been desirous of still further humiliating the memory of Filippo Argenti, as though his degradation had not been sufficiently exhibited. He mentions this wish to Virgil, whose

<sup>\*</sup> orgogliosa: Landino and Vellutello interpret the word as meaning arrogant, an epithet that designates a man who esteems himself more than he ought to do, and arrogates so much to himself that he cannot bear to be opposed or contradicted in any way whatsoever. Filippo Argenti's arrogance (orgoglio, made him wrathful (iracondo). In Dante's Hell he was punished for Wrath, the root of which is Pride and Arrogance.

t furiosa: Filippo Argenti's frenzy of rage is evoked on finding that a living man has recognised him, knowing full well as he does what an evil reputation he has left behind him in the world. It is only after Dante has pronounced the words io ti conosco, that this fury breaks forth.

<sup>†</sup> Come porci in brago: Compare Horace, 1 Epist. ii, 26:"Vixisset canis immundus, vel amica luto sus."

<sup>§</sup> dispregi: Compare Fazio degli Uberti, Dittamondo, Lib. i, cap. i, Terz. 6:-

<sup>&</sup>quot;. . . Ogni vita è cassa, Salvo che quella, che contempla Iddio, O che alcun pregio dopo morte lassa." Camerini interprets dispregi as "vil fama di turpitudini."

reply shows him to have much sympathy with Dante's malicious pleasure.

Ed io:—" Maestro, molto sarei vago \*
Di vederlo attuffare in questa broda,
Prima che noi uscissimo del lago."—
Ed egli a me:—" Avanti che la proda
Ti si lasci veder, tu sarai sazio:
Di tal disio converrà che tu goda."—

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And I: "Master, much should I like to see him soused in this slush, before we disembark from the lake." And he to me: "(Even) before the shore comes into thy view, thou shalt be satisfied: it is right that thou shouldst have such a wish gratified."

Virgil's meaning, according to Lombardi, is that the frays among the shades of the Wrathful are so frequent, that many minutes cannot pass before the shade of Filippo Argenti will suffer in its turn. And so it turns out.

"Se disiassimo esser più superne,
Foran discordi li nostri disiri
Dal voler di colui che qui ne cerne,
Che vedrai non capere in questi giri,

Anzi è formale ad esto beato esse Tenersi dentro alla divina voglia, Per ch' una fansi nostre voglie stesse."

<sup>\*</sup>molto sarei vago, etc.: Gelli thinks Dante wishes here to show that his indignation was not only just according to moral philosophy, as Virgil had just demonstrated, but also in complete agreement with Christian doctrine, and such being the case, he only desires such vengeance to fall upon Filippo Argenti, as the punishment that had already been allotted to him by the justice of God; that is of being ducked in that mire in which he is to remain to all eternity. And in this petition he shows that all our petitions and prayers must be in conformity to the Will of God. In Par. iii, 73 et seq., Piccarda de' Donati impresses this upon him:—

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Dopo ciò poco vidi quello strazio\* Far di costui alle fangose genti, Che Dio ancor ne lodo e ne ringrazio. Tutti gridavano: - "A Filippo Argenti!" --E 'l Fiorentino spirito bizzarro † In sè medesmo si volgea co' denti.

\*strazio: Blanc thinks that possibly this word comes from the Latin distractio, any kind of ill-usage; and this agrees with Donkin (Etym. Dict.) s.v. straziare. Others derive it from strages. Compare Inf. xiii, 139-141:-

" . . . O anime che giunte Siete a veder lo strazio disonesto, [the shameful havoc]

Ch' ha le mie fronde sì da me disgiunte."

But in Inf. x, 85, the word has the signification of massacre, and is equivalent to strages :-

. . . Lo strazio e il grande scempio Che fece l' Arbia colorata in rosso," etc.

In Petrarch, Trionfo della Castità, we find it with the sense of "punishment":-

"Legar il vidi; e farne quello strazio, Che bastò ben a mill' altre vendette, Ed io per me ne fui contento e sazio."

+ bizzarro: Boccaccio (Comento, vol. ii, p. 150) writes: "Noi tegnamo bizzarri coloro che subitamente e per ogni piccola cagione corrono in ira, nè mai da quella per alcuna dimo-strazione rimuovere si possono." The Gran Dizionario has: "Bizzarro, adj. = Iracondo, stizzito [enraged]. Non da Bis varius, ne da Divariare, ma avendo affinità nel suono e nel senso a Izza e a Rabies, e allo Slavonico Biest, che denota e l' infuriare e l'imbizzarire. Perchè alla stizza è fomite [incentive] il capriccio e la fantasticheria, Bizzarro venne a denotare Capriccioso." Compare Boccaccio, Decameron, Giorn. ix, Nov. 7: "Costui avendo una giovane chiamata Margarita bella tra tutte l'altre per moglie presa, ma sopra ogni altra bizzarra, spiacevole e ritrosa." And ibid., Nov. 8, where the word occurs applied to the same Filippo Argenti, and evidently copied from Dante: "Mostrogli in quella un Cavalier, chiamato Messer Filippo Argenti, uomo grande, e nerboruto, e forte, sdegnoso, iracundo, e bizzarro più che altro."

See also the Dictionaries of Skeat and Littré about the origin of this word, which has given rise to much controversy.

Shortly after this I saw such an onslaught made upon him by the miry throng, that even now I praise and thank God for it. "At him! At Filippo Argenti!" they were all yelling; and the frenzied spirit of the Florentine turned with his teeth upon his own self.

Lombardi compares the occasions in which Dante shows compassion for the Lost, with those in which he seems rather to delight in witnessing their torments, and thinks that one may take this as an established fact, that he only takes pleasure in the punishment of those who, like Capaneus, Vanni Fucci, and this Filippo Argenti, have set themselves up in defiance of God; whereas he shows marked compassion for the Unchaste in Canto v, and for the Gluttonous in Canto vi.

Division III.—Dante now takes no more notice of Filippo Argenti and the Wrathful, but turns his attention to the City of Dis, just looming into sight, the wailing of whose ill-fated inmates can be heard across the water. Virgil, observing his wandering gaze, anticipates his question, and tells him what it is that they are just beginning to perceive through the mist.

Quivi il lasciammo, chè più non ne narro:

Ma negli orecchi mi percosse un duolo,\*

Perch' io avanti l' occhio intento sbarro:+

<sup>\*</sup>duolo: The Gran Dizionario, s.v. duolo, 3, gives as one of the significations "suon di dolore." Compare Ariosto, Orl. Fur. xi, st. 83:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Quando all' entrar d' un bosco, un lungo grido, Un alto duol l' orecchie gli feria."

<sup>+</sup> sbarro: This means that Dante opened his eyes wide, and

Lo buon Maestro disse :- "Omai,\* figliuolo, S' appressa la città che ha nome Dite, Co' gravi cittadin, col grande stuolo."-

Here we left him, so of him I relate no more: but a (sound of) lamentation smote upon my ears, whereupon I strain (lit. unbar) my eyes intently forward. The good Master said: "Now, my Son, the city that is called Dis is nigh at hand, with its sin-laden denizens, with its mighty garrison."

It will be remembered that the Fifth Circle, which is occupied by the Stygian marsh, and the Sixth Circle, which is the City of Dis, are situated on the same level. The latter, which the Poets are now approaching, not only includes the place of punishment of the heretics and unbelievers, but also the whole extent of Lower Hell, from this point right down to Lucifer, seeing that in all the remaining Circles are chastised those who sinned grievously from malice prepense, and not from mere human frailty like those who are punished in the Circles above. The city is strongly fortified, and is situated in the middle of the Stygian marsh.

Nether Hell, which as we read in 1, 75, here

strained them eagerly into the dim and misty distance in front of him. "Apro [gli occhi] per vedere quello che fosse cagione di quel duolo." (Buti.)

\*Omai: Compare the word omai with the passage in Purg. ii, 30, where Dante and Virgil see the first Angel. Virgil, with bated breath, exclaims to Dante:-

"Ecco l' Angel di Dio: piega le mani: Omai vedrai di sì fatti offiziali."

[From this time onwards thou wilt see ministers with forms such as these];

and from that point Dante continued to see Angels all through Purgatory and Paradise.

begins, is the kingdom of Dis or Pluto, the sovereign of the Infernal Regions. Benvenuto says that it is well named after him, for in it are hidden away the great treasures of Hell, namely, such great sinners as heretics, tyrants, ravishers, assassins, blasphemers, sodomites, usurers, the fraudulent, forgers and traitors.

Ed io:—"Maestro, già le sue meschite 70
Là entro certo nella valle cerno
Vermiglie,\* come se di foco uscite
Fossero."—Ed ei mi disse:—"Il foco eterno
Ch' entro l' affoca, le dimostra rosse
Come tu vedi in questo basso † inferno."— 75

And I: "Master, already can I clearly make out its mosques there in the valley, as bright red as though they had come out of the fire." And he said to me: "The eternal fire which enkindles them within, makes them look red, as in (the gloom of) this Nether Hell thou canst perceive."

Some Commentators remark that as the City of Dis is the special abode of the heretics, it is especially described as having mosques, the places of worship of a false religion. Benvenuto and Buti explain at some length that meschite are places, built

<sup>\*</sup>Vermiglie: The red-hot iron walls and mosques were before Dante's eyes as a lurid beacon in the murky air. Compare Virg. Æn. vi, 630, 631:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Acceleremus, ait: Cyclopum educta caminis Moenia conspicio, atque adverso fornice portas."

tin questo basso inferno: The classification of the crimes punished in this Lower Hell will be found in Canto xi. The Upper Hell (alto Inferno) which they have just quitted is the receptacle of all crimes of Incontinence; the lower (basso or profondo Inferno) receives those who have sinned through Malizia or Bestialità, which Aristotle characterises as κάκια οτ θηριότης.

in honour of Mahomet, where the Saracens worship, and having minarets instead of church towers. And as on earth, when travellers are approaching a city, the first objects they see from afar are its temples, which are usually lofty and conspicuous, so now the first objects the Poets descry, as they approach the City of Dis, are the temples of that infernal city, which are the sepulchres of the heretics; and their brazen coverings lifted up on high, have a roof-like appearance like unto Churches. Dante uses the Saracenic word mosques to describe them, because the places of worship of heretics, being built in honour of the Devil rather than of God, cannot be termed Churches. He represents these sepulchres as being apart from the main body of the city, and situated on its extreme edge; for such (says Benvenuto) is the way with the conventicles of heretics, that they avoid the contiguity of others.

> Noi pur \* giugnemmo dentro all' alte fosse, Che vallan † questa terra sconsolata: Le mura mi parean che ferro fosse. I

<sup>\*</sup>pur: I follow Benvenuto and Lubin in translating this particle "at length," nor can I agree with one Commentator who uses it in what is another of its significations, "nevertheless." Benvenuto has: "Noi pur giugnemo, idest nos tandem pervenimus," etc. Lubin has: "Noi alla fine (pur) giugnemmo," etc. Scartazzini: "pur, finalmente."

<sup>+</sup> vallan: Boccaccio (Comento) says that the proper signification of vallo is that palisading which in times of war is erected round cities to make them stronger, and which was more properly called steccato [stockade]; and that hence the word also comes to mean any means of defence outside the walls of a city; and therefore Dante says that he passed within the fosses [or moats] which strengthen (che vallan) that city.

<sup>1</sup> che ferro fosse: Compare Virg. En. vi, 548-554:-

Non senza prima far grande aggirata,

Venimmo in parte dove il nocchier forte \* 8c

—"Uscite,"—ci gridò,—"qui è l' entrata."—

We at length arrived within (the circumvallation of) the deep moats that fortify that city of despair. Its walls appeared to me to be of iron. Not without fetching a wide compass, we came unto a place where the ferryman shouted loudly to us: "Get you out, here is the entrance."

Benvenuto compares the above description with that of Charon ferrying the shades across the Acheron, but he observes that there is nothing superfluous in this account of the second ferryman,

"Respicit Æneas subito, et sub rupe sinistra
Moenia lata videt, triplici circumdata muro;
Quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis
Tartareus Phlegethon, torquetque sonantia saxa.
Porta adversa ingens, solidoque adamante columnae;
Vis ut nulla virûm, non ipsi exscindere ferro
Coelicolae valeant. Stat ferrea turris ad auras."
And Milton, Par. Lost, ii, 643-648:—

"... At last appear
Hell bounds, high reaching to the horrid roof,
And thrice three-fold the gates; three folds were brass,
Three iron, three of adamantine rock,
Impenetrable, impal'd with circling fire,
Yet unconsum'd."

Of the construction parean che ferro fosse, Venturi says: "Discordanza attica, in virtù della quale si pone il fosse singolare, retto da mura, in luogo di fossero, plurale, che meglio accorda." There is a very rare variant fusser fosse, which Dr. Moore (Text. Crit. 293) says is so clearly wrong that it is hardly worth discussing, since if it was adopted fosse would be repeated in the same group of rhymes in the same sense, and (Scartazzini remarks) Dante would be committing the absurdity of saying that the walls appeared to him like ditches!

\* forte: I follow Witte and Scartazzini in taking the word as an adverb with the sense of "loudly," but Benvenuto and some other Commentators take it as an adjective agreeing with il nocchier, with the sense of superbus.

who conveys the souls from the valley of the Styx to the City of Dis, for the whole fiction is most ingeniously contrived. Dante pictures this great and most ancient city [we must understand that Benvenuto is speaking of the whole of Hell] with three lines of fortifications, as for example are to be seen in the City of Padua, one of the most ancient in Italy. Now in the first and most extended of the enclosures, which is not very closely guarded, dwell they who sinned from Incontinence. In the second, which is more contracted and closely guarded, are those who sinned from Violence. But in the third and innermost citadel, the one of narrowest limits. are they who sinned from Fraud, and at that point there will be found a third conveyor of souls more horrible than the others, namely Geryon; and finally in the very centre of the City is the darkest prison of all, namely, the Pit in which are punished the Traitors.

Division IV.—When Dante, with Virgil, issues from the boat at the peremptory command of Phlegyas, he looks up to see in what new region he has been landed. A strange and weird spectacle is presented to his eyes, in the shape of a vast horde of fiends gathered together on the bastions of the fortress of evil. We must remember too that Dante now sees these fiends for the first time. All through the regions above he has only met the Guardians of the Circles, such as Charon, Minos, Cerberus, Plutus and Phlegyas; but from this point (omai), he will continue to meet the minor officials of Hell, until

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the time comes when the Giant Antaeus will set him down on the ice in the Ninth Circle, and he will then find himself face to face with Lucifer alone.

The fiends offer a ferocious opposition to the entrance of the Poets into the city, and Virgil, seeing that the cause of this is the living presence of Dante, tries the effect of quiet persuasion upon them, before invoking the assistance of a Higher Power.

Io vidi più di mille \* in sulle porte †
Da' ciel piovuti, ‡ che stizzosamente
Dicean:—"Chi è costui, che senza morte
Va per lo regno della morta gente?"—
E il savio mio Maestro fece segno
Di voler lor parlar segretamente.

\* più di mille: This is an expression of frequent occurrence in the Divina Commedia signifying "in countless numbers."

tin sulle porte: This is generally understood to mean "at the gates" rather than "above the gates," but curiously enough, I cannot find any one Tuscan Commentator who gives any explanation of the idiom, and the Gran Dizionario only interprets in su as "above," or, in reference to time, as "about," e.g. "in sull' ora di mezzanotte" = "about the hour of midnight." On the other hand in Botticelli's sketches, which so faithfully illustrate the text, I find the gate of the city of Dis represented with one cluster of fiends in the gateway, and another cluster just above it. On the whole I prefer to translate "About the gates."

<sup>†</sup> Da' ciel piovuti : Compare Pulci, Morgante Maggiore, Canto ii, st. 31 :-

<sup>&</sup>quot;Io voglio andar a scoprir quell' avello Là dove e' par che quella voce s' oda;

Quanti ne piovvon mai dal ciel nel centro."

And Frezzi, Quadriregio, lib. iv, cap. 5:—

About the gates I saw more than a thousand of those rained down from Heaven (namely, the fallen Angels) who angrily cried out: "Who is this, that without (experience of) death is going through the kingdom of the people dead?" And my sage Master made a sign of wishing to confer with them in private.

Benvenuto thinks that the repugnance of the demons to the presence of a living person was owing to their conviction that a recital on Earth of the torments of Nether Hell would act upon men as a strong deterrent from sin.

Virgil's advances are not wholly without effect.

Allor chiusero un poco \* il gran disdegno, E disser :- "Vien tu solo, † e quei sen vada, Che sì ardito entrò per questo regno. Sol si ritorni per la folle ! strada :

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"Li maladetti piovuti da cielo." Milton (Par. Lost, vii, 131-135 speaks of the fall of the Angels from Heaven.

". . . Lucifer from Heaven (So call him, brighter once amid the host Of Angels than that star the stars among) Fell with his flaming legions through the Deep Into his place."

\* chiusero un poco il gran disdegno: "Non dice che il ponesser giuso, ma alquanto col non parlar così stizzosamente il ricopersono: e qui disdegno si prende in mala parte, perciocchè negli spiriti maladetti non può essere nè è alcuna cosa che a virtù aspetti." (Boccaccio, Comento).

t Vien tu solo: In the same passage Boccaccio remarks further: "E vuole in queste parole l' autore dimostrare, che negli altri cerchi di sopra ha dimostrato, cioè che per alcun de' ministri infernali sempre all' entrar del cerchio sia spaventato: e così qui dovendo del quinto cerchio passar nel sesto, il quale è dentro dalla città di Dite, introduce questi demonj a doverlo spaventare, acciocchè del suo buon proponimento il rimovessero."

I folle strada: After first meeting Virgil, Dante confides to

Provi se sa; chè tu qui rimarrai Che gli hai scorta \* sì buia contrada."—

Then suppressed they somewhat their great fury, and said (to Virgil): "Come thou alone, and let him be gone, who has so audaciously entered into this kingdom. Let him return by himself on his path of folly: let him try, if he knows how; for thou shalt remain, who hast shown him so dark a highway."

Dante's terror at the prospect of being left alone is so great, that he apostrophises his readers, begging them to imagine themselves in his position, and to enter into his feelings. He implores Virgil not to desert him, and invokes him by a recapitulation of all the protection and guidance he has hitherto afforded him.

Pensa, Lettor, se io mi sconfortai

Nel suon delle parole maledette:

Ch' io non credetti ritornarci mai.

"O caro duca mio, che più di sette †

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him his fears that if he blindly resigns himself to go into Hell, his journey may prove foolishness. (See Inf. ii, 34, 35):—

"Perchè se del venire io m' abbandono, Temo che la venuta non sia folle."

\*gli hai scorta: Read thus, the meaning is "who hast shown him (mostrata)"; but others follow the Nidobeatina in reading che scorto l' hai per signifying, "who hast been his escort over." I follow the reading of the Oxford Dante, which is that of the La Crusca.

+ più di sette: Compare Prov. xxiv, 16: "For a just man falleth seven times, and riseth up again: but the wicked shall fall into mischief."

Vellutello in his Commentary says that we may either take più di sette as meaning "many," or we may take it in the literal sense, as up to then Virgil had come eight times to his assistance: "E dice più di sette volte, prendendo questo molto usitato numero per molte, come quando diciamo, Io sono stato nel tal luogo più di cento, o più di mille volte, e come poco di

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Volte m' hai sicurtà renduta, e tratto D' alto periglio che incontra mi stette, Non mi lasciar,"-diss' io,-" così disfatto: \* E se 'l passar più oltre c' è negato, Ritroviam † 1' orme nostre insieme ratto."-

sopra, Io vidi più di milla [sic] in su le porte. O veramente, che più ne piace, Più di sette, perchè fin a qui troviamo essere stato sovenuto da laiuto di Virg. otto volte. La prima, quando lo levò dinanzi a la lupa. La seconda, quando avilito de limpresa dhaverlo a seguitare, fu, per le sue parole, ritornato nel proposito di prima. La terza contra di Caron. La quarta contra di Minos. La quinta contra di Cerbero. La sesta contra di Plutone. La settima contra di Flegias. La ottava contra di Filippo Argenti, quando stese le mani a la barca per tirarlo nel fango." In my first edition I gave the credit of the above to Dr. Scartazzini, as I see Mr. Tozer does to Philalethes, but in both cases it is a quotation from the Commentary of Vellutello published at Venice in 1544. It seems more reasonable to take seven as an indefinite number, for it would be absurd to suppose that Dante, in a moment of such terrible anxiety, would have counted up the number of times that Virgil had restored confidence to him. Compare Job v, 19: "He shall deliver thee in six troubles; yea, in seven there shall no evil touch thee." Compare also Ecclus. xxxvii, 14: "For a man's mind is sometime wont to tell him more than seven watchmen, that sit above in a high tower." We may remember the comment on this passage in Ecclesiasticus by Uncle Toby, the hero of Sterne's novel Tristram Shandy, "that this could be none other but a corporal's guard."

\*disfatto: Nannucci (Analisi Critica dei Verbi, p. 147) expressly states that in the present passage disfatto does not mean "bewildered" or "helpless," but "ruined, lost," and he quotes a passage in the Provençal poem of the life of St. Onorato:—

"li velh [i.e. gli vegli] de mal aire,

Que Susanna volien desfaire.' [i.e. the Elders of an evil disposition who wished to ruin Susannah]. and Nannucci observes that desfaire in that passage has precisely the same signification as disfatto in that in our present text. Di Siena thinks it rather implies intense exhaustion and weariness consequent on the complete prostration of Dante's spirit, after all the horrors he has witnessed, and the imminence of his present danger. This is perhaps shown by Virgil's answer to Dante in ll. 106, 107:—

"Ma qui m' attendi; e lo spirito lasso Conforta e ciba di speranza buona." + Ritroviam: See for the word, as used in this passage, the Imagine, Reader, if I was not struck with consternation at the sound of the accursed words: for I did not believe that I should ever get back to it (i.e. to the World). "O my beloved Leader, who more than seven times has restored to me security, and brought me out of the imminent peril that faced me," I said, "leave me not thus undone: and if further progress be denied us, let us quickly retrace our steps together."

Virgil with much tenderness soothes Dante's alarm, assures him that their passage through the city cannot be impeded, and that he will in no case abandon him.

E quel signor che lì m' avea menato
Mi disse:—" Non temer, che il nostro passo
Non ci può tôrre alcun: da tal n' è dato."

Ma qui m' attendi; e lo spirito lasso †
Conforta e ciba di speranza buona,
Ch' io non ti lascierò nel mondo basso."

And that Lord who had conducted me thither said to me: "Fear not, for no one can take from us

Gran Dizionario, § 21: "Ritrovar l' orme, o sim. vale Ripigliar la strada fatta, tornare indietro pel cammino già fatto." Luigi Alamanni in his poem (1570) l' Avarchide has the following:—

"... se non debbe
Altra risposta farne Lancilotto,
Ritroviamo il cammin che n' ha condotto."

\* da tal n' è dato: Virgil's reassuring words to Dante remind one of those of Elisha to his servant when encompassed in the town of Dothan by the hosts of the King of Syria (2 Kings vi, 15, 16): "And his servant said unto him, Alas my master! how shall we do! And he answered, Fear not; for they that be with us are more than they that be with them." For tal in the sense of meaning God, compare Purg. xxxi, 37-39:—

"Ed ella: 'Se tacessi, o se negassi Ciò che confessi, non fora men nota La colpa tua: da tal giudice sassi."

+ lasso: "Faticato per la paura." (Boccaccio, Comento).

(i.e. stop) our advance: by Such an One (namely, by God) has it been granted to us. But wait thou for me here; and comfort and nourish thy wearied spirit with good hope, for I will not leave thee in the nether world."

Dante in great terror watches the proceedings of Virgil, who probably was representing to the fiends that Dante, though alive, was there by the Supreme Will of God; but in the City of Unbelief he could get no credence as he had done from Charon, from Minos, and from Phlegyas; and furious at his demand that Dante should be admitted, the demons broke up the parley, rushed through the gateway, and closed the door in his face.

> Così sen va, e quivi m' abbandona Lo dolce padre, ed io rimango in forse; \* IIO Che 'l sì e 'l no † nel capo mi tenzona. 1

\* in forse: See Gran Dizionario, s.v. forse, § 4: "Con la particella In avanti vale In dubbio, In timore, In pericolo. Onde Entrare, Essere, Stare, o Rimanere in forse vagliono Stare in dubbio," etc. Compare Decameron, Giorn. v, Nov. 9: "Poi rimasa fuor della speranza d' avere il falcone, e per quello della salute del figliuolo entrata in forse, tutta malinconosa si diparti, e tornossi al figliuolo."

And Petrarch, Trionfo della Morte, cap. i, terz. 20:-Fu stata un poco: Ben le riconosco, Disse, e so quando 'l mio dente le morse."

Compare also Purg. xxix, 16-18:-

"Ed ecco un lustro subito trascorse Da tutte parti per la gran foresta, Tal che di balenar mi mise in forse."

[That is, the light was so dazzling that it set Dante in doubt as to whether it were lightning.]

til si e il no: Compare Purg. x, 61-63:-"Similemente al fummo degl' incensi

Che v' era immaginato, gli occhi e il naso Ed al sì ed al no discordi fensi."

I tenzona: "Questa parola tenzona è un verbo antichissimo

Udir non pote' quel ch' a lor si porse:

Ma ei non stette là con essi guari, \*

Che ciascun dentro a prova si ricorse. †

Chiuser le porte que' nostri avversari

Nel petto al mio signor che fuor rimase,

E rivolsesi a me con passi rari.

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Thus the gentle Father departs and leaves me there, and I remain in doubt (lit. in perhaps); for both Yes (he will return) and No (he will not return) contend within my brain. I could not hear what was urged upon them (by Virgil): but he did not remain with them a great while, for they all rushed back inside the gates, each striving who should get in first. They shut the gates, did those adversaries of ours, on the breast of my Lord who remained outside, and he returned towards me with slow (meditative) steps.

Benvenuto thinks that one reason for Virgil not being able to guide Dante through the City of Dis

fiorentino, il quale significa combattere. E questo, in quanto a Dante, significa che ogni volta ch' ei si parte dall' uomo il lume di Dio, ei comincia a dubitare e a perdere la fermezza della speranza; e in quanto a Virgilio, ch' ei si debbe sempre cercare con ogni studio di scoprire i modi, con i quali il demonio cerca d' ingannarci." (Gelli).

\*guari: An adverb of quantity, very much used by the early Italian writers, and equivalent to the Latin multum = "much, for a great while." The Gran Dizionario says that it is oftenest found combined with the negation, as, e.g. here:—

"non stette là con essi guari,'
and is most akin to the German gar "much."

tiascun dentro a prova si ricorse: It is impossible to translate this literally while giving the full force of the passage. Longfellow translates it: "Each within in rivalry ran back." A prova means, "striving who should be first." Dante's line expresses the simultaneous rush of the whole throng and the individual rivalry of each to outstrip the others. Compare Canzone vii (in Convito, Canz. ii, at the beginning of Tratt. iii), l. 46:—

"Vanno chiamando Amor, ciascuno a prova."

may be found in the fact that he had never in his writings treated of Fraud in all its varieties with their accompanying punishments. Such were never even dreamt of by him or any other poet before Dante, and Virgil is therefore now depicted exhibiting in his demeanour every sign of confusion, grief, and diffidence. Realising, however, what a depressing effect this must have upon Dante, he again assures him that succour is being sent to them, and is very near at hand.

> Gli occhi alla terra,\* e le ciglia avea rase † D' ogni baldanza, e dicea ne' sospiri: -"Chi m' ha negate I le dolenti case?"- 120 Ed a me disse :- "Tu, perch' io m' adiri, Non sbigottir, ch' io vincerò la prova, § Qual ch' alla difension dentro s' aggiri. Questa lor tracotanza || non è nuova,

. . as when the sun, new risen, Looks through the horizontal misty air Shorn of his beams."

Thi m' ha negate le dolenti case?: Scartazzini says that by the "dwellings of woe" are meant the fiery tombs which will be described at the end of Canto ix, in which the Heresiarchs dwell as if in their own houses. Compare Virg. En. vi, 562, 563, where the Sibyl says to Æneas:-

". . . Dux inclyte Teucrum, Nulli fas casto scleratum insistere limen."

§ vincerò la prova: It is but a few lines further on, namely, in 1, 7 of the next Canto, that Virgil says again:—
"Pure a noi converrà vincer la punga."

| tracotanza: This word is one of those derived (see Donkin's Etymological Dictionary) from the old Italian coitare; Spanish,

<sup>\*</sup>Gli occhi alla terra: Dante here applies to Virgil himself almost the exact translation of the latter's own words in En. vi, 863:"Sed frons laeta parum, et dejecta lumina vultu."

t le ciglia avea rase et seq. : Compare Milton, Par. Lost, i. 594-596:-

## Canto VIII. Readings on the Inferno.

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Che già l' usaro a men segreta porta,
La qual senza serrame \* ancor si trova.

Sopr' essa vedestù † la scritta morta: ‡
E già di qua da lei discende l' erta,
Passando per li cerchi senza scorta,

Tal che per lui ne fia la terra § aperta."—

130

Portuguese and Provençal, cuidar; Old French cuidier; French cuider to care; all in their turn derived from the Latin cogitare. Old Italian coto (see Par. iii, 26) "thought"; Old Spanish cuida; Sp. and Portg. cuidado "care." Hence we get the Italian tracotanza, and the French outrecuidance presumption, = ultracogitantia.

Compare Par. xvi, 115-117, where Cacciaguida says of the

Adimari :-

"L' oltracotata schiatta, che s' indraca Retro a chi fugge, ed a chi mostra il dente, O ver la borsa, com' agnel si placa."

\* La qual senza serrame ancor si trova: Dante is here alluding to the words of the Church in the Office for Holy Saturday: "Hodie portas mortis, et seras pariter Salvator noster disrupit." (Breviarium Romanum). According to an ancient tradition, the fiends attempted to prevent the descent of Christ into Limbo (which descent Virgil describes Inf. iv, 53-63) offering resistance at the Gate of Hell, but Christ shattered the gate which from that time remained open. I am reminded that in the Convent of San Marco at Florence one of Fra Angelico's pictures represents Christ as having pushed down the door, whose hinges are seen torn, and a devil who has evidently had his back against it is lying crushed beneath it. In Matt. vii, 13, the gates of Hell are thus spoken of: "Wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat."

† vedestù : Syncope for vedesti tu.

† scritta morta: This may either mean the inscription over the gates of Hell that lead to Eternal Death, or, the color smorto, oscuro, in which we are told that it was traced (Inf. iii, 1-9).

§ terra: A word of exceedingly common use, taken to mean a city, or fortified place, by Dante and his contemporaries. We have already had it in 1. 77 for the City of Dis, and Dante uses it again in ix, 104 and x, 2; for Florence Inf. xvi, 9; for Mantua Inf. xx, 98, and Purg. vi, 75 and 80; for Lucca Inf.

His eyes were down-cast, and his brows he had shorn of all boldness, and he murmured amid sighs: "Who hath denied me entrance into the dwellings of woe?" And to me he said: "Fear not thou, because I wax wrath, for I shall overcome the trial, no matter who therein combines to impede our entrance. This insolence of theirs is not new, for on one occasion they exhibited it at a less secret gate (namely, that of Hell), which is still found unbarred. Over it didst thou see the characters of death: and even now there is descending the steep on this side of it, passing without escort through the Circles, One of such authority, that by him shall the city be opened."

There is, as we shall see discussed in the next Canto, some difference of opinion as to who was this messenger from Heaven. According to Benvenuto it was Mercury. The late Duke of Sermoneta thought it was Æneas. The generally accepted view is that it was an Angel of God, and that view I follow.

xxi, 40; for Forli Inf. xxvii, 43; for Rimini Inf. xxviii, 86; for Ravenna Inf. v, 97 for Marseilles Par. ix, 92. See long footnote on Inf. xxvii, 43.

END OF CANTO VIII.

## CANTO IX.

THE GATEWAY OF DIS—DANTE'S TERROR—THE FURIES— THE MESSENGER FROM HEAVEN—THE SIXTH CIRCLE, WHICH IS THE CITY OF DIS—THE HERESIARCHS—THE FIERY TOMBS.

We left the Poets standing outside the City of Dis, the gates of which had been shut in Virgil's face by the hostile fiends. The main point in the present Canto is to show how this opposition was overcome, and by whose assistance the Poets gained admission within the walls.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In Division I, from ver. I to ver. 33, Virgil reassures Dante, on observing his terror, by telling him that he is well acquainted with the way, as he has been there before.

In Division II, from ver. 34 to ver. 63, Dante describes the appearance of the three Furies.

In Division III, from ver. 64 to ver. 105, he relates how a messenger from Heaven comes upon the scene, who, after opening the gates and reproving the recalcitrant fiends, returns back by the way that he came.

In Division IV, from ver. 106 to ver. 133, the entrance of the Poets into the City and the penalty of the Arch-Heretics are recounted.

Division I.—Benvenuto remarks that this is a very difficult Canto, and contains as many obscure passages as can be found in the writings of Virgil or any other poet.

The opening lines describe how Virgil, at the insult offered to him, had flushed with anger. who had been paralysed with fear at the scene with the demons, and at their threat of sending him back alone, while they detain Virgil, turns deadly pale. Virgil seeing this, puts a constraint on himself, and partly succeeds in tranquillizing Dante by recomposing his own face. We learn that he is now on the watch for the promised succour, and like one in a forest by night, or among marshy vapours by day, he uses his ears instead of his eyes.

> Quel color che viltà \* di fuor mi pinse, † Veggendo il duca mio tornare in volta, Più tosto dentro il suo nuovo ristrinse.

\*viltà: Gelli thinks that what Virgil noticed in Dante was not real cowardice, for in Inf. ii, 88-90, we are told that:-

"Temer si dee di sole quelle cose

Ch' hanno potenza di fare altrui male: Dell' altre no, che non son paurose."

In Gelli's opinion, it was more probably doubt as to whether Virgil had mistaken the way, and whether they would succeed in overcoming this trial.

+ di fuor mi pinse: This may be taken in two ways: (1) pinse from pingere, to paint, same as dipingere, and which I adopt, and with which compare Purg. ii, 82-84, where Dante finding that he could not embrace Casella's impalpable form, says:

"Di maraviglia, credo, mi dipinsi; Per che l' ombra sorrise e si ritrasse, Ed io seguendo lei oltre mi pinsi,"

or (2) from pingere or pignere, Lat. impignere, same as spingere, to thrust. In the above quotation the word dipinsi illustrates (1), and oltre mi pinsi (2).

Attento si fermò com' uom che ascolta; Chè l' occhio nol potea menare a lunga Per l' aer nero e per la nebbia folta.

5

That colour which cowardice painted on me outwardly (i.e. the pallor of my cheeks), on seeing my Leader turn back, all the sooner repressed within him his new (colour, namely, the red flush of shame and indignation). He stopped attentive like a man who is listening; for his eye could not lead him far through the dark air and the thick mist.

Benvenuto says that to arrive at a comprehension of the extremely difficult and intricate words of Virgil that follow (litera est difficillima et intricatissima), he would ask us to imagine the case of a man having a lawsuit with certain adversaries, and when after long contention he sees that they are getting the best of it, he exclaims in anger: "By Heaven, I must win this fight, even though I have to do I know not what"; and after a pause he adds: "But if not . . ." then he waits a while and says: "I will put myself in the hands of one who will give me powerful help." In like manner here Virgil says: "If I cannot by my own strength force an entrance, I well know one who will put down all resistance."

-" Pure a noi converrà \* vincer la punga,"-+

<sup>\*</sup>Pure a noi converrà, etc.: Benvenuto tells his pupils that these lines must be read with a loud voice and in tones of anger.

<sup>†</sup> punga: Blanc (Voc. Dant.) says this is an ancient form for pugna. It only occurs in this one passage. Rossetti observes that it is like spunga for spugna, and vegno for vengo, piagna for pianga, etc. I notice too that in Purg. xiii, 128, Pier Pettinagno is in some editions read Pettignano.

IO

Cominciò ei :- "se non . . . tal ne s' offerse.\* Oh quanto tarda a me ch' altri qui giunga!"-

"Still it behoves us to win this fight," he began: "unless (but No!) . . . such a one (Beatrice) offered herself. Oh how long to me it seems before that other one (the Messenger from Heaven) arrives."

The full sense of what Virgil has said is this: "It will never do for us to be beaten; we must make our way into the city, unless I misunderstand Beatrice's promise of succour, and that after all we may find entrance impossible, and shall have to retrace our steps. But no! that cannot be, seeing that so great a power (tal) as Beatrice, symbolizing Divine Wisdom, offered us her assistance, and assured us that her words promised so much good. I know she must already be aware of our situation, and will have despatched an Angel to open the gates; Oh! how I wish he would come soon!" Both Landino and Gelli interpret the passage in this sense.

Dante has noticed the abrupt way that Virgil broke off in what he was saying, and his uneasiness and his suspicions of danger are again aroused.

> Io vidi ben, sì com' ei ricoperse Lo cominciar con l' altro che poi venne,

\* tal ne s' offerse: In Inf. ii, 121-126 Virgil assures Dante beforehand of the protection of Beatrice and her two Holy companions:-

"' Dunque che è? perchè, perchè ristai? Perchè tanta viltà nel core allette? Perchè ardire e franchezza non hai? Poscia che tai tre donne benedette Curan di te nella corte del cielo, E il mio parlar tanto ben t' impromette?"

.



Che fur parole alle prime diverse. Ma nondimen paura il suo dir dienne, Perch' jo traeva la parola tronca Forse a peggior sentenza ch' ei non tenne. 15

I well perceived how he covered the beginning of his speech (Se non) with the other (part, Tal ne s'offerse) that followed after, which were words differing from the first. But none the less his tongue gave me fear, for perchance I drew the broken-off sentence to a more unfavourable meaning than what he (really) held.

Gelli thinks this signifies that Dante had misinterpreted Virgil's Se non to mean se non ho smarrita la strada.

Dante now timidly puts to Virgil an indirect question, to ascertain whether he has ever been there before, and consequently knows the way.

-" In questo fondo della trista conca \*

<sup>\*</sup>conca: In some few translations, namely, Witte, Carlyle, Longfellow, Norton, Butler and Haselfoot, conca has been rendered "shell" or "conch," a use of the word which is quite subsidiary, and never used in modern Italian. Besides, allowing that conca (for conchiglia) may in rare exceptional cases mean "shell," it does not mean the kind of shell the shape of which resembles the conical form of Hell, but rather bivalves or pearl-oysters as in Latin. Conca is so well known in Tuscan households as a large earthenware vessel for washing anything in, that no Tuscan commentator would think it necessary to explain it. It is in the form of a truncated cone, and exactly corresponds to the supposed shape of Dante's Hell, in which the extreme apex of the cone was concealed below the ice that girded Lucifer like a belt. Buti says: "ogni cosa che tiene è conca." Fanfani (Vocabolario) gives as the first of many significations: (1) "Vaso di gran concavità, di terra cotta, che serve propriamente per fare il bucato [i.e. to wash clothes in]." After giving the other significations of the word, he explains, that any one standing on the hill of the Poggio Imperiale at Florence and looking down, might call Florence a

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Canto IX.

Discende mai alcun del primo grado,

conca. Of those translators who have interpreted the word rightly, are Blanc, "profundity"; Wright, "so far down"; Charles Rogers (1782), "concavity of woe"; Cary, "concave"; Pollock, "distressful hollow"; Plumptre, "cavern"; Molbech (in Danish), "deep chamber"; Philalethes, "basin, bowl"; Cayley, "cone," and Tozer, "cavity." So few students of Italian are able to have access to the great Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca, and it deals so fully with the word conca and in particular its use in this passage, that I give an extract from the section on conca at the end of the Canto, together with an illustration of a real conca as a perfectly familiar utensil in the offices of a Tuscan household. I repeat what I have often ventured to remark before, that Dante was a Tuscan, and wrote for Tuscans, and if he had meant a shell (conchiglia), he would not have said conca. Northern Italians like Edmondo De Amicis, and the late Padre Giuliani, have always been the first to assert, that to understand Dante and Boccaccio properly, their countrymen in North Italy must render themselves familiar with Tuscan idiom. Edmondo De Amicis (Pagine Sparse, pp. 113-115) relates an amusing scene of how he had got up three Tuscan idiomatic words signifying (1) a second help at dinner; (2) a snack in the forenoon; and (3) a snack in the afternoon. On his reciting them, as if in conversation at dinner, to a Piedmontese family with whom he was living, their astonishment knew no bounds. I cannot agree with Mr. Tozer in speaking of the Tuscan language as a "dialect that was anything but refined." Tuscan is the purest Italian, which is perhaps heard in its greatest beauty, both as to pronuncia-tion and idiom, on the hills above Pistoja and right across Florence down to Arezzo and Siena to the South, and as far as Fabbriano (between Florence and Ancona) to the East. Both De Amicis, and Giuliani in his delightful work Il bel parlare del popolo Toscano, especially emphasise the extraordinary refinement of the Tuscan speech. I was once on a visit to some friends at Pistoja. My host, a judge, of Neapolitan birth, said to me: "I was yesterday examining twenty witnesses from the Pistojan hill-sides. Their language was simply a garden of flowers." De Amicis (Pagine Sparse, pp. 157-159) in speaking of another book of Giuliani's entitled Moralità e poesia del vivente linguaggio della Toscana, says: "Questo libro è quasi tutto composto di discorsi e di frasi, di parole raccolte dalla bocca di contadini e contadine delle varie provincie toscane, . . . ed è una miniera di purissima lingua. . . . Io non credo che ci sia al mondo altro popolo contadinesco [country-folk], il quale

Che sol per pena ha la speranza cionca?"\*

Questa question fec' io; e quei:—"Di rado
Incontra,"†—mi rispose,—"che di nui
Faccia il cammino alcun per quale io vado.

20

"Into this depth of the woeful hollow descends there ever any one belonging to the first grade (i.e. Limbo, the First Circle of Hell), whose only pun-

parli una lingua così gentile, così potente, così splendidamente poetica come quella parlata dal popolo della campagna toscana." But to understand the beauty of the pure Tuscan language, I repeat, let readers of Dante study these two works of Giuliani, and the Pagine Sparse of De Amicis, for then only will they realize what two learned non-Tuscan Italians think

of the grace and the splendour of its diction.

The word conca is sometimes applied to natural objects. The great plain of Palermo, from its shape and remarkable fertility, is known as the conca d'oro, i.e. "golden basin in the mountains," and not "shell," as some translate it. It is about twenty-five miles in circumference, and is surrounded by a noble chain of mountains. Aleardi (Canti Giovanili. Il Matrimonio) speaking of Sicily as the island consecrated to Santa Rosalia, and famous for the Sicilian vespers, also mentions the conca d'oro:—

"E tu di fasti illustre e di sventure, De' Vespri Isola cara a Rosalia, Fra 'l paradiso de' tuoi golfi, e i seni Bruni di melaranci e d' oleandri, Lungo il pendio de la tua Conca d' oro, Tra il mormorio dei limpidi lavacri Del palagio di Ziza," etc.

\*cionca: The word only occurs in this one passage. Blanc thinks it is derived from the Latin truncus, and explains that a limb or branch broken down, but not actually separated from

the parent trunk, is said to be cionco.

† Incontra: The verb incontrare is a neuter as well as an active verb. See Gran. Dizionario, s.v. incontrare, § 12: "Neutr. ass. Accadere, Avvenire, Occorrere, Succedere." Therefore in the present passage we must translate it: "It happens." Compare Inf. xxii, 32, 33:—

"com' egli incontra Che una rana rimane, ed altra spiccia."

And Par. xiii, 118, 119:—
"Perch' egl' incontra che più volte piega
L' opinion corrente in falsa parte."

ishment is that of hope broken down?" This question put I: and he answered me: "Seldom happens it that any one of us (in Limbo) makes the journey upon which I am now going.

According to Benvenuto, the episode that Virgil now relates to Dante of his having been down to Hell on a previous occasion, is an amiable fiction, contrived the better to disperse the terrors with which Dante's heart is filled. And, in allusion to the narrative beginning with the words Ver è, Benvenuto remarks that although it is not true, yet Virgil only invents it for Dante's good, and therefore it is no lie, since a lie is the intention of deceiving, but Virgil feigns this with the intention of instructing Dante. Buti says almost the same thing, namely that the story of Virgil having been called up by the sorceress Erichtho, is a purely poetical fiction of Dante's, for neither is it to be found in the ancient authors, nor can it be affirmed that Dante is here making an allegory, but Buti thinks that he invents this in order to give probability to the tale, as he had before figured Virgil as one of the spirits in Limbo.

He now relates the story, and when and for what purpose the episode occurred.

Ver è \* ch' altra fïata quaggiù fui,

<sup>\*</sup> Ver è, et seq. : This passage is thoroughly investigated by Dr. Moore in Studies on Dante, First Series, who (pp. 234-237) says: "I do not myself think that the passage has ever yet been satisfactorily explained. Is it possible that Dante had access to some mediæval romances or traditions about Virgil which are now forgotten? Of course Virgil figured prominently as a great magician in the Middle Ages, but I have found no trace of any such legend as this, nor does Comparetti's

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Congiurato da quella Eriton cruda
Che richiamava l' ombre a' corpi sui.

Di poco era di me la carne nuda,
Ch' ella mi fece entrar dentro a quel muro,
Per trarne un spirto del cerchio di Giuda.

Quell' è il più basso loco e il più oscuro
E il più lontan dal ciel che tutto gira:\*
Ben so il cammin: però ti fa sicuro.

exhaustive work, Virgilio nel medio Evo, throw any light upon it... The part played by the Thessalian witch Erichtho seems clearly to be borrowed from Lucan, Phars. vi, 507 et seq. We may especially compare the words Di poco era di me la carne nuda, with the point mentioned by Lucan, that the operations of Erichtho were by preference conducted upon bodies recently dead:—

'Ut modo defuncti, tepidique cadaveris ora Plena voce sonent; ne membris sole perustis, Auribus incertum feralis strideat umbra.

(II. 621-623).'

And further, in reference to the particular shade of the Pompeian soldier recalled in the narrative of Lucan, we read:—

Vim faciat fatis, dubium est, quod traxerit illuc, Aspiciat Stygias, an quod descenderit, umbras.

(ll. 651-653).'

Some commentators would extend the reference to Lucan still further by supposing Dante to be here speaking of this particular incident, and that the spirto del terchio di Giuda (l. 27) is none other than the spirit of this Pompeian soldier. There are several obvious objections to this. (1) Why should the intervention of Virgil be foisted into the story of Lucan? (2) Moreover, Virgil was still living at the time, and for many years after. (3) Why should this nameless soldier, who died in honourable fight, be condemned to the lowest circle of the Traitors? . . . perhaps the cerchio di Giuda may be taken in a wide sense to include the whole of the Ninth Circle."

\* dal ciel che tutto gira: Opinions seem pretty evenly divided amongst the Commentators as to whether gira is a verb neuter, signifying "to encircle," in which case the Empyrean would be referred to; or from girare, verb active, signifying "to make whirl round," referring to the Primum Mobile. I prefer the former, as being the most extreme antithesis to il più basso

True is it that I was once before down here, evoked by that fell Erichtho, who used to summon the spirits back into their bodies. But a short while had my flesh been denuded of me (i.e. parted from my soul when I died), when she made me enter within you wall, to bring forth from it a spirit of the Circle of Judas. That is the lowest place and the darkest, and the most distant from the Heaven which encircles all (namely, the Empyrean): well do I know the way: be thou therefore reassured.

In proof of this knowledge of the locality, Virgil explains to Dante that he is well acquainted with the fact that the Styx completely surrounds the city.

Questa palude che il gran puzzo \* spira,

loco. The Heaven which is the abode of God Himself is by far the most remote from the lowest circle of Hell, where Judas is.

\*il gran puzzo: "Emittit ex se magnum foetorem sicut vallis mortua." (Benvenuto). "In questo dimostra la natura universale de' paludi, i quali putono per l'acqua, la quale in essi per lo star ferma si corrompe, e corrotta pute; e così faceva quella, e tanto più quanto non avea aere scoperto, nel quale il puzzo si dilatasse e divenisse minore." (Boccaccio, Comento). Dante is to encounter a far greater stench when once he is inside the City of Dis, within which the whole concentrated foetor of Nether Hell is at once felt.

Compare Inf. x, 134-136 :-"Lasciammo il muro, e gimmo in vêr lo mezzo Per un sentier ch' ad una valle fiede, Che infin lassù facea spiacer suo lezzo."

And again, immediately afterwards in Inf. xi, 4-7, we read that the stench was so intolerable that Dante had to take refuge behind the tomb of Pope Anastasius:-

" E quivi, per l' orribile soperchio Del puzzo, che il profondo abisso gitta, Ci raccostammo dietro ad un coperchio D'un grande avello."

Cinge d' intorno la città dolente, \*
U' non potemo entrare omai senz' ira."—

This marsh which exhales the mighty stench, all round begirds the City of Woe, wherein we cannot enter now without anger (namely, from its guardian fiends)."

Benvenuto and Fraticelli both think that *ira* rather would refer to the just indignation exhibited by Virgil at this opposition.

Division II.—We now read that the demons, seeing the two Poets continue standing before the gates without any intention of retreating, summon to their assistance the three Furies of Mythology, hoping that their dread aspect will frighten the intruders into submission. Dante represents himself as so startled at the suddenness of their appearance as quite to forget the concluding words of Virgil.

Ed altro disse, ma non l' ho a mente;†
Perrochè l' occhio m' avea tutto tratto
Vêr l' alta torre alla cima rovente,
Dove in un punto furon dritte ratto ‡

<sup>\*</sup>città dolente: Although the whole of Hell is called the Città Dolente in Inf. iii, 1, the term is, as here, especially applicable to Lower Hell into which the Poets descend after quitting the fiery tombs of the Arch-Heretics.

<sup>+</sup> mente: Memory, as in Inf. ii, 7-9:-

<sup>&</sup>quot;O Muse, o alto ingegno, or m' aiutate:
O mente, che scrivesti ciò ch' io vidi,
Qui si parrà la tua nobilitate."

<sup>†</sup> ratto: An adverb = Velocemente, Prestamente. Buti interprets it in this passage: "ratto, cioè tostamente." Compare Inf. viii, 102:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Ritroviam I' orme nostre insieme ratto."
And Ariosto, Orl. Fur. xxvii, st. 23:-

40

Tre furie \* infernal di sangue tinte, Che membra femminili aveano ed atto,

E con idre verdissime eran cinte:

Serpentelli ceraste † avean per crine Onde le fiere tempie eran avvinte.

And more he said, but I have it not in memory; for my eye had drawn me wholly towards the lofty tower with its flaming summit, where on a sudden there uprose swiftly three Hellish Furies stained with blood, who had the limbs and the demeanour

> "Poi ch' una volta o due l' occhio aggirato Ebbe la degna coppia, e ben veduto Qual via più breve per soccorrer fosse L' assediato signor, ratto si mosse."

Compare "giusto" (Inf. xix, 12); "chiaro" (Inf. xi, 67); etc.

\* Tre furie infernal: Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, First Series, p. 245) remarks that the aspect of the Furies in this passage is evidently suggested by the description of Tisiphone in Statius, Theb. i, 103-115 :

"Centum illi stantes umbrabant ora cerastae, Turba minor diri capitis . . . (1l. 103, 104).

. . . sanie gliscit cutis (l. 107).

. . . haec vivo manus aera verberat hydro (l. 113).

... fera sibila crine virenti (l. 115)."

In those lines we recognise most of the details of Dante's description.

Compare also Virg. En. vi, 280, 281:-

"Ferreique Eumenidum thalami, et Discordia demens

Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis."

And iv. Georg. 481-483 :-

"Quin ipsae stupuere domus atque intima Leti Tartara, coeruleosque implexae crinibus angues Eumenides."

Classical readers of course know that the Furies, according to Ancient Mythology, were the daughters of Acheron and Nox, and were known as the Eumenides.

t ceraste: "A genus of venomous serpents found in Africa and some parts of Asia, having a projecting scale or 'horn' above each eye; the horned viper. Early and poetic uses are drawn vaguely from Pliny, and other ancient writers, who probably meant a species of the same genus." (Murray's New English Dictionary, s.v. cerastes).

of women, and were begirt with the greenest hydras: for hair they had small serpent cerastes wherewith their cruel temples were entwined.

Virgil, who had already described the Furies in the *Eneid*, now names them.

E quei che ben conobbe le meschine \*
Della regina dell' eterno pianto:

—" Guarda,"—mi disse,—" le feroci Erine.†

Questa è Megera dal sinistro canto:

Quella che piange dal destro è Aletto:

Tesifone ‡ è nel mezzo:"—e tacque a tanto.

\*meschine: Castelvetro (Sposizione a xxix Canti dell' Inferno Dantesco) explains that meschine are serving maids, and that the expression was in common use in his time (1582 in many parts of Italy, and especially in the Valtellina. Littré derives the word from the Walloon meskène, "une servante," and gives many instances of its use from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. Of these I will cite one of the fifteenth: "Elle estoit meschine, faisant le menage commun, comme les lits, le pain, et autres telles affaires." (Louis XI, Nouv. xvii).

And in the sixteenth century:-

"Dont quant ce vice entre en dame ou meschine, Tant plus vieillit et tant plus s' enracine."

(J. Marot, v, 198).

terine: Benvenuto, Buti, Landino, and Vellutello all read Erine. Landino commenting on the word says: "The Greeks call the Furies Erine (Errinyës), because eris (ἔρις) signifies contention." Some texts, however, read Trine, and others crine, but these are evidently the errors of ignorant amanuenses, who did not know the meaning of the word erine, spelt as it was in the MSS. and in the older editions without a capital E. Of the four first editions the Foligno and the Naples read Trine, while the Mantua and the Jesi read crine. I translate Gelli's own words on Erine, but am not responsible for his Greek! "The which name signifies coruptresses of the mind; since erin, a Greek verb [sic] signifies to corrupt, and nus, the mind"!

‡ Tesisone è nel mezzo: On this Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, First Series, pp. 181, 182) remarks that in connexion with certain repetitions of Virgilian epithets we may put together several cases of resemblances in other points of detail or in

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And he who well knew the handmaidens of (Proserpine) the queen of eternal weeping: "Behold," said he to me, "the fierce Erinnyës. This one on the left side is Megaera: that one who weeps on the right is Alecto: Tisiphone is in the middle": and this said, he was silent.

Dante's fears are not only vividly aroused by the frenzied actions of the Furies, but are increased by the threat of their intention to expose him to the sight of the head of the Gorgon Medusa.

Con l'unghie si fendea ciascuna il petto; Batteansi a palme e gridavan sì alto Ch' io mi strinsi al poeta per sospetto. -"Venga Medusa; sì'l farem di smalto,"-\*

isolated expressions, as for instance, "when Dante says in describing the Furies (Inf. ix, 48) 'Tesifone è nel mezzo,' it is not, I think, impossible that he may have had in his mind the ring or echo of the Virgilian line-

'Pallida Tisiphone media inter millia saevit.'

(Æn. x, 761),

though varying the application of the word."

\* smalto: There is overwhelming evidence in the Gran Dizionario that Dante is not here speaking of enamel, which is only a subsidiary signification of smalto, but of concrete, or, anything hardened into stone by cement, etc. Gelli gives the following explanation, nearly in the same words as the Gran Dizionario, of the primary signification of lo farem di smalto: "cioè lo convertiremo in pietra o in altra cosa simile dura a guisa d' uno smalto. cioè d' uno di quei pavimenti fatti di calcina, di ghiaia [gravel] di mattone pesto, e di olio, e battuto tanto ch' egli diventa durissimo a guisa di pietra o di marmo. E di questa sorte smalto bisogna che intenda qui il Poeta, e non di quel che adoprano gli orefici, mettendo in su l' argento per dipignervi poi sopra di varii colori, perchè questa si spicca [cracks] e guasta facilmente." Compare Petrarch, Part i, Canzone i, st. 2:-

"E dintorno al mio cor pensier gelati Fatto avean quasi adamantino smalto Ch' allentar non lassava il duro affetto."

And ibid. Canz. x, st. 3:-

Dicevan tutte riguardando in giuso:

—" Mal non vengiammo \* in Teseo l' assalto."—

Each was rending her breast with her nails; they smote themselves with their palms and shrieked so loudly that from fear I pressed close up to the Poet. "Let Medusa come: so will we turn him into stone (lit. concrete)," they all cried, looking down: "To our sorrow avenged we not on Theseus his assault."

Their meaning is, that had they turned the rash Theseus into stone, no other mortal would have dared to intrude into the Lower Regions.

> "Chi verrà mai che squadre Questo mio cor di smalto."

Vincenzo Borghini (Dell' origine della città di Firenze, 1584-5, 2 vols. 4to) says: "Smalto in vero era quello che a' nostri tempi s' è veduto di ghiaja e calcina, come in molte cose usiamo per la molta comodità del fiume, che ha ottima materia per questo effetto."

\*Mal non vengiammo, etc.: The Ottimo thinks that this vindictive rage shown by the Furies against Dante is from the fear that he should enter into the city and rob them of one of their treasures, as did Theseus. Statius (Thebaid, viii, 52-56) makes Pluto say, after Amphiaraus has been swallowed down into Hell:—

"Anne profanatum toties Chaos hospite vivo Perpetiar? me Pirothoi temerarius ardor Tentat, et audaci Theseus juratus amico: Me ferus Alcides, tunc cum custode remoto Ferrea Cerbereae tacuerunt limina portae."

In his Genealogia Deorum, lib. ix, cap. 33, Boccaccio writes: "Ad Inferos [Theseus et Pirithous] eam [Proserpinam] rapturi declinaverunt. Verum Cerberus adversus Pirithoum insurgens, illum primo interfecit impetu, quem dum juvare conaretur Theseus, in magno vitae fuit discrimine, et ultimo a Plutone detentus est. Tandem . . [Hercules] descendit ad Inferos: . . cui obvius Cerberus factus . . . ab Hercule victus, atque triplici ligatus catena Theseo concessus est. Aliqui volunt Cerbero ab Hercule barbam decerptam, quem liberato Theseo, per Taenaron ad superos triplici traxit catena etiam renitentem."

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Virgil warns Dante of the imminence of the danger that menaces him, and hastily covers his eyes.

—" Volgiti indietro, e tien lo viso chiuso; Chè se il Gorgon si mostra, e tu il vedessi, Nulla sarebbe \* del tornar mai suso."— Così disse il Maestro; ed egli stessi Mi volse, e non si tenne alle mie mani, Che con le sue ancor non mi chiudessi.

"Turn round back, and keep thine eyes closed; for if the Gorgon were to show herself, and thou shouldest see her, never more would there be any returning up again." Thus spake my Master: And he turned me round himself, and did not limit himself to my hands, but with his own also he veiled my gaze.

Dante now himself tells his readers that what he has related in the above lines is an allegory, and he appeals to the more intelligent among them to discern the hidden meaning, which he evidently thinks is far beyond the ken of the ignorant.

> O voi, che avete gl' intelletti sani, Mirate la dottrina che s' asconde † Sotto il velame degli versi strani.

<sup>\*</sup> Nulla sarebbe, etc.: This difficult construction is best explained by Trissino, who paraphrases the sentence as follows: "ogni opera sarebbe vana, con cui si tentasse di ritornare al mondo dei viventi." We find a similar construction in Inf. xxii, 143: "Ma però di levarsi era niente," explained by Trissino again as: "Ma però era vano ogni sforzo di levarsi, tanto aveano invischiate le loro ali."

tla dottrina che s' asconde, et seq.: Compare Purg. viii,

<sup>19-21:—

&</sup>quot;Aguzza qui, Lettor, ben gli occhi al vero,
Che il velo è ora ben tanto sottile,
Certo, che il trapassar dentro è leggiero."

O ye, who have sound intellects, discern the teaching which is concealed beneath the veil of these strange verses.

Benvenuto remarks that in truth these verses do come in very strangely: "And note here, Reader, that I often laugh at many who say that such a person understands Dante well, because he can understand the text, and so on of every other author; but this is false, for to understand is to be able to read the inner meaning, and Dante himself here testifies to the fact; for he knew very well that the text would be very differently expounded by many."

Scartazzini believes that the verses in the above passage are called strani, because they are adapted to mythological fictions, and are therefore foreign (estranei) to the Poema sacro, as Dante styles the Commedia in Par. xxv, I. As no other Commentator deals so fully and comprehensively with this difficult passage, I cannot refrain from laying his remarks before my readers: "What is the teaching which is hidden beneath these verses? Among many conflicting opinions we will state our own. In the City of Dis are punished the Heretics, that is, those who sinned against the true Faith. The sinner (Dante) wishes to enter in, that he may 'know their end ' (Ps. lxxiii), in order that in the contemplation of their punishment he may arrive at contrition, and from contrition to conversion. Virgil seeks to persuade the guardian demons by fair words, that is, by philosophical arguments, to open the gates, but he is repulsed with contumely. The unbeliever

has always arguments ready to oppose to arguments. and his favourite weapon is mockery. To the conversion of the unbeliever, which the contemplation of the punishment of unbelievers would bring about. there is opposed Evil Conscience, figured by the Furies, and Doubt, which has the power of rendering Man as insensible as stone, figured by Medusa. Evil Conscience will ever summon Doubt to its assistance (Venga Medusa). The imperial authority exhorts Man to turn his eyes towards the Evil Conscience (Guarda le feroci Erine), but at the same time to turn them away from petrifying doubt (Volgiti indietro e tien lo viso chiuso); moreover, in order that Man should not allow himself to become entangled in the meshes of Doubt and Unbelief. the said imperial authority comes to his assistance actively (egli stesso mi volse), that is, with laws against heresy. Imperial authority, however, is not sufficient of itself to conduct Man to contrition for sins against the true Faith. But here comes in the authority of the Church, which stretches out the helping hand. (Tal ne s' offerse), affording Divine Light (il messo del cielo) which overcomes the objections of Unbelief, the promptings of Evil Conscience, and the perils of Doubt, thus opening a way through all these difficulties. In the obstacles which Dante encounters here, we can see symbolized the difficulties that he himself encountered when he first resolved to be converted from his aberrations from the true Faith.\* On the threshold of the City of Dis he is

<sup>\*</sup> Dr. Moore writes to me about these words: "The only thing I should take exception to would be the assumption of

obliged to pause awhile, before being allowed to enter further in. And in fact his conversion was not the matter of an instant, but extended over several years."

Division III.—The approach of the Messenger of Heaven is now described.

E già venía su per le torbid' onde
Un fracasso \* d' un suon pien di spavento,
Per cui tremavano ambo e due le sponde;
Non altrimenti fatto che d' un vento
Impetuoso † per gli avversi ardori,
Che fier la selva, e senza alcun rattento
Li rami schianta, abbatte, e porta fuori. † 70
Dinanzi polveroso va superbo.
E fa fuggir le fiere e i pastori.

Dante's aberrations from the true Faith. I do not think there is really evidence for this. I believe that religion lost its practical hold upon him, and that he became worldly, frivolous, and possibly even to some extent dissipated, for a time after Beatrice's death. I doubt very much if there is any evidence that this practical indifference ever passed into formulated scepticism, or erroneous belief. A man may live without God in the world, and yet never 'say in his heart, There is no God;' and so of other fundamental dogmas."

\*fracasso: Compare Acts ii, 2: "And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing mighty wind," etc. I do not think Mr. Butler is very happy in his version "A clatter of a sound full of affright." The word "clatter" is neither a graceful nor felicitous expression, when, as in this passage, it is applied to the coming of an Angel.

† Impetuoso: The wind is rendered impetuous, from having opposed to it a great current of air rarefied by heat. One of the causes of wind is the disequilibrium of caloric in the atmosphere.

† porta fuori: I have here followed the reading of the Oxford text, for which Dr. Moore is fortified by the authority of 224 MSS., against only 13 for porta fiori, the reading adopted by Witte. The four first editions of Foligno, Jesi, Mantua, and Naples all read fuori, as also does Benvenuto. Dr. Moore

And now there came across the troubled waters the crash of a sound full of terror, at which both the shores quaked; not otherwise produced than a wind impetuous from the opposing heats, which smites the forest, and without any restraint, rends off the boughs, beats them down, and carries them away. In a cloud of dust it proudly sweeps onward, and puts the wild beasts and the shepherds to flight.

Virgil had closed Dante's eyes to guard them against petrifying Doubt, symbolised by Medusa's head; but when Divine Intelligence, represented by the Angel of God, draws near, we are told that he at once uncovers them.

Gli occhi mi sciolse, e disse:—"Or drizza il nerbo Del viso su per quella schiuma antica, Per indi ove quel fummo è più acerbo."—

(Textual Criticism, pp. 296-298) says that the following are some points against fiori or in favour of fuori. "The poet is describing the effect of a hurricane upon forest trees. We have with the reading fuori a graphic picture of the successive steps of destruction upon the branches: (1) it breaks them off (schianta); (2) it dashes them down (abbatte); (3) it carries them away (porta fuori). With the reading fiori we have an inappropriate subject introduced, and the miserable bathos withal, of the blowing away of the flowers after the crashing of the forest trees. . . . Besides, on the ground of what has been called 'transcriptional probability,' the changes from fuori or fori, first to fiori and then to i fiori, are far more likely and intelligible than those changes in a reverse order would be, since either fiori or fori might be thought to be a mistake for fiori rather than vice versā. Finally the imitation of Virgil, 2 Georg. 441:—

'Quas animosi Euri assidue franguntque feruntque,' is unmistakable, and abbatte e porta fuori almost exactly reproduces the expression franguntque feruntque."

Compare also Tasso, Ger. Lib. Canto xiii, st. 46:—

"Il suo caduto ferro intanto fuore Portò del bosco impetuoso vento. Sì che vinto partissi; e in su la strada Ritrovò poscia e ripigliò la spada," He loosed my eyes, and said: "Now turn thy visual nerve over that ancient foam, yonder where that smoke is most pungent (i.e. densest)."

In the quarter to which Virgil pointed the smoke was evidently much more considerable in volume, and consequently more pungent to the senses and more impenetrable to the eye.

Dante now relates the terror caused among the guilty souls at the sight of the Angel.

Come le rane\* innanzi alla nimica Biscia per l' acqua si dileguan tutte, Fin che alla terra ciascuna s' abbica; †

\* Come le rane, et seq.: See Venturi, Simil. Dant. p. 255, Sim. 422: "La similitudine risponde esattamente non solo all' atto del gittarsi d' un salto e dell' involarsi ad altrui, ma eziandio alla cagione di quell' atto che è il timore."

Compare Ovid's description of frogs, Metam. vi, 370-381:—

"... juvat isse sub undas;
Et modo tota cava summergere membra palude;
Nunc proferre caput: summo modo gurgite nare:
Saepe super ripam stagni considere: saepe
In gelidos resilire lacus ...
Vox quoque jam rauca est, inflataque colla tumescunt;
Ipsaque dilatant patulos convicia rictus.
Terga caput tangunt: colla intercepta videntur:
Spina viret: venter, pars maxima corporis, albet:
Limosoque novae saliunt in gurgite ranae."

t s' abbica: Benvenuto explains this: "idest applicatur terrae et absconditur ibi." Boccaccio (Comento) believes the word to be derived from Bica, a rick of corn, or a heap of grain, and that the frogs huddle themselves together one on the top of the other. Borghini (Studi sulla Divina Commedia, p. 231) confirms this, saying that any one who knows the country around Mantua, will have seen the frogs pile themselves up in heaps, and will readily recognise the appropriateness of Dante's metaphor. The late Marchese Fransoni (Studi vari sulla Divina Commedia, Firenze, 1887), speaking of Boccaccio's explanation, remarks: "Notwithstanding such great authority, I cannot believe that Abbica is formed from Bica, nor that it here signifies 'to gather themselves up into heaps' as all have followed Boccaccio in

Vid' io più di mille \* anime distrutte
Fuggir così dinanzi ad un che al passo † 86
Passava Stige colle piante asciutte.
Dal volto † rimovea quell' aer grasso,
Menando la sinistra innanzi spesso;
E sol di quell' angoscia parea lasso.

explaining it." He goes on to say that it is not the case, when frogs are sitting on the bank beside water, and from fright throw themselves in, that they do heap themselves together. He adds: "If a man or a serpent approaches, we see them, one after the other, one here, and another there, take a header into the water, which gets turbid from the mud being stirred up. But as soon as the water has got clear again, we see the frogs lying immoveable, one at a distance from the other, at the exact place where each cast itself in. Besides, the word ciascuna distinctly manifests the individual action of each frog, and excludes the idea of collectiveness." The Marchese Fransoni adds that out of 100 Codices that he has examined, no less than eighty one spell the word "abica" with one b; and only nineteen have "abbica" with two b's. He contends, therefore, that in this word we may easily discover a Dantesque Latinism derived from the Abjicere, and the idea would represent the frogs as casting themselves upon the bottom of the water (abjiciunt se humi). In Plinius Secundus, Naturalis Historiae Libri xxxvii, pars secunda, lib. xxi, cap. 13, the following passage occurs: "Qui edere abjiciunt se humi"; but in an edition of the same work by Silling, faithfully reproduced from the very ancient MS. in the Riccardiana Library at Florence, abjiciunt is spelt abiciunt. In the Codex Amiatinus in the Laurentian Library at Florence abjicit is throughout spelt abicit. [I am however bound to remark, that I have not found philologists inclined to accept the theory of the Marchese Fransoni as to the derivation of abbicare from abjicere.]

\* più di mille: So again in Inf. x, 118, where Farinata says:—
"'Qui con più di mille giaccio,'" etc.

† al passo: Some translate this "on his feet"; but I prefer to take it, as do Boccaccio, Buti, Bargigi, Di Siena, and Brunone Bianchi, as meaning that the Angel was walking over the water just where the ferry boat had passed: "al passo, di Stige, dove era passato nella nave di Flegias." (Boccaccio).

† Dal volto rimovea quell aer grasso: Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, First Series, p. 246) observes that in the episode of the mysterious messenger from heaven some of the old Com-

As frogs, before their enemy the serpent, disperse through the water every one of them, until each is huddled up under the bank; thus saw I more than a thousand (i.e. a countless multitude of) lost souls flee before one who was passing over the Styx at the ferry with unwet feet. He waved that unctuous air from off his face, continually moving his left hand before him; and only by that trouble did he seem to be wearied.

The Angel uses his left hand to remove the vapours from his face; his right hand, as we infer from 1. 89, being occupied in holding the light wand with which he strikes the gates. The opinion accepted by most of the ancient and modern Commentators is that which sees in the mysterious personage before us an Angel of God. Pietro di Dante, however, and Benvenuto contend that it is Mercury, the messenger of

mentators have suggested that there is an imitation of the description of the descent of Mercury by Statius, *Thebaid*. ii, 2-6:—

"Undique pigrae
Ire vetant nubes et turbidus implicat aer:
Nec Zephyri rapuere gradum: sed foeda silentis
Aura poli; Styx inde novem circumflua campis,
Hinc objecta vias torrentum incendia claudunt."

Dr. Moore admits the general similarity of the two passages; the Styx being mentioned in the context in both cases, though in a different connection. Also in Theb. (l.c.), l. 10, we have "medica . . . virga" introduced, which may possibly find an echo in the verghetta (l. 89) of Dante. The line seems to a quoted with this idea by Pietro di Dante, though the reference by Statius is variously explained as referring to a staff used by Laius, or to the caduceus of Mercury. Cerberus is also mentioned in both cases within a few lines. "My chief reason (says Dr. Moore) for noticing this passage is that the probable imitation of Statius seems to have suggested to Pietro his identification of the messo del (al. dal) ciel with Mercury, in which he is followed by Benvenuto. Daniello also quotes the passage from Statius,

the heathen gods, who traverses the waters with his winged shoes, and opens the gate with his caduceus.

The late Duke of Sermoneta (in one of his three essays\* on certain passages in the Divina Commedia), tries to prove that the Messo del Cielo is not sent from Heaven, but by Heaven out of Limbo: that he cannot be any celestial personage, as he does not shine with radiant light as do the Angels in Purgatory; that Virgil only enjoins on Dante a respectful demeanour in his presence, and does not make him kneel down; that Angels could not become ministers of Hell; and lastly, that being one of the spirits sent out of Limbo, it must be Æneas. The Duke, in a letter (of which I possess a copy) written to the historian and Dantist Count Carlo Troya, denies that either in the case of Dante being transported in his sleep across the Acheron, or in the present instance of the gates of Dis being opened, would the services of Angels have been allowed, because gli angeli non sono ministri dell' Inferno. The late Dean Church. after reading these papers, wrote to me (19th Feb., 1890): "I am afraid I quite disagree with the Duke of Sermoneta about Book ix, and with his a priori view that angels cannot appear in the Inferno. He puts it, 'Che angeli non sono ministri d' Inferno'; which is true enough if it mean 'ministers of the punishment of Hell.' But the heavenly messenger (del ciel messo) in Book ix, comes not to punish, but to rescue, and prevent evil; which even in Hell, is

<sup>\*</sup> Tre Chiose di Michelangelo Caetani, Duca di Sermoneta nella Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri, Seconda Edizione, Roma, 1876.

not unworthy of an angel. The whole description is surely of a holy being (parole sante, v, 105), sent on an errand of help, against hateful adversaries with everything loathsome about them; and why should not an angel appear on such an errand? This seems to me the plain and obvious meaning of the whole passage. To bring in Æneas, a pagan, seems very forced."

Another strong argument against the theory that the Messo del Ciel can be Æneas or any one of the inmates of Limbo has occurred to me. In Canto viii, 125-130, Virgil is speaking about the principal gateway of Hell (men segreta porta), over which Dante had seen written up the characters of death (la scritta morta), and he particularly tells Dante that at that very instant there has entered within that gate, and is without escort descending through the Circles down the steep path, One by whom the City shall be laid open to them (e già di qua da lei discende l' erta, passando per li cerchi senza scorta, tal che per lui ne fia la terra aperta). If the being thus described had been Æneas, he would have had, from Limbo, to cross the Acheron to return to the Gate of Hell, and then to recross it before descending the steep path. Gelli remarks that whoever was the Messenger, whether Mercury according to Pietro di Dante and Benvenuto, or an Angel according to the majority of the Commentators, matters not in the least. Let it suffice that he was a Divine Messenger, which is shown by his passing over the Styx with dry feet, like Jesus Christ walking on the Sea of Galilee.

Dante now distinctly asserts that he is able to discern the Divine character of the new comer, which is further confirmed by Virgil. On the Angel's appearance, not only is Dante overcome with awe, but Virgil also seems unable to utter a word, as we shall afterwards see him (*Purg.* xxix, 55-57) on the approach of the Mystic Procession.

Ben m' accors' io ch' egli era del ciel messo,\*

E volsimi al Maestro: e quei fe' segno,†

Ch' io stessi cheto, ed inchinassi ‡ ad esso.

\* del ciel messo: The Gran Dizionario, s.v. Messo, quotes this passage, explaining that messo is a noun substantive meaning messaggiero di Dio. Compare also Purg. xv, 28-30, where Virgil explains to Dante that the sudden radiance which nearly blinds him, is caused by an Angel, a messenger of God, who has come to invite them to ascend to the Cornice above:—

"'Non ti maravigliar, se ancor t' abbaglia
La famiglia del cielo,' a me rispose:
'Messo è, che viene ad invitar ch' uom saglia.'"

'Messo è, che viene ad invitar ch' uom saglia.'"
Others read dal ciel messo, which would of course mean "sent from heaven," as in Purg. xxx, 10:—

"Ed un di loro, quasi da ciel messo."

+ fe' segno Ch' io stessi'cheto: The passage in Purg. xxix, 55-57, is very similar, though in it Virgil does not make the sign, only looks it:—

"Io mi rivolsi d' ammirazion pieno
Al buon Virgilio, ed esso mi rispose
Con vista carca di stupor non meno."

† inchinassi ad esso: Compare Purg. ii, 28-30, where Virgil did not at first recognise the approaching Angel, but as soon as he did so:—

"Gridò: 'Fa, fa, che le ginocchia cali; Ecco l' Angel di Dio: piega le mani: Omai vedrai di sì fatti offiziali.'"

It has been objected by those who deny that the Messo del Ciel was an Angel, that in the above passage in the Purgatorio Virgil tells Dante that thenceforward (Omai) he would see such glorious ministers of God's Will as that one; thus implying that Dante had never seen one before; but it seems to me that the sense in that line will equally well bear the meaning that thenceforward Dante is to see nothing but such ministers as these. After that Dante had seen the Angel open the gates of Dis, he was brought into continual contact with demons, with monsters, and finally with Lucifer himself; but from the

Ahi quanto mi parea pien di disdegno!

Venne alla porta, e con una verghetta \*

L' aperse, che non ebbe alcun ritegno.

90

Full well perceived I that he was a Messenger from Heaven, and I turned me to the Master: and he made me a sign that I should remain quiet and bow down before him (the Messenger). O how full of disdain he appeared to me! He came to the gate which offered no resistance, and with a light wand opened it.

In accents of lofty scorn the Angel reprimands the demons for their presumptuous opposition, knowing, as they certainly did, that this exceptional journey of the Poets was undertaken in obedience to the Will of God. In addressing them, he avoids using the name of God.

"O cacciati del ciel, gente dispetta"—†
Cominciò egli in su l' orribil soglia,

"Ond' esta oltracotanza † in voi s' alletta ? §

moment he saw the Angel on the shore of Purgatory, there was no recurrence to the hideous personages of Hell. It is also possible that in descending into Hell, the Angel was able to veil his radiance, which would have been out of place in that region of gloom; for in ll. 101-103, Dante is able to detect the expression of his countenance.

\*verghetta: Fraticelli remarks that the early painters frequently represented Angels with golden wands in their hands.

† dispetta = contemptible, from the Latin despectus. ‡ oltracotanza: In Inf. viii, 124, Virgil said of the fiends:—
"Ouesta lor tracotanza non è nuova."

The Angel uses a more forcible word.

Compare also what Cacciaguida says of the Adimari, Filippo Argenti's kinsfolk, in Par. xvi, 115-117:—

"L' oltracotata schiatta, che s' indraca

Retro a chi fugge, ed a chi mostra il dente O ver la borsa, com' agnel si placa," etc.

In Donkin's Etymological Dictionary we find: "Coitare O. It., Sp. Pg. Pr. cuidar, O. Fr. cuidier, Fr. cuider to care; from cogitare. O. It. coto, O. Sp. cuida, Sp. Pg. cuidado care. Hence It. tracotanza, Fr. outrecuidance presumption = ultracogitantia." § s' alletta: The word occurs only in this one passage, and

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Perchè ricalcitrate a quella voglia,

A cui \* non puote il fin mai esser mozzo,

E che più volte v' ha cresciuta doglia?

Che giova nelle fata dar di cozzo?

Cerbero † vostro, se ben vi ricorda,

Ne porta ancor pelato il mento e il gozzo."—

"O outcasts from Heaven, abject race," began he (standing) upon the horrible threshold, "whence is this excess of insolence called forth in you? Wherefore kick ye against that Will whose end can never be defeated, and which (Will) has many a time increased your pain? What boots it to butt against the Fates? Your Cerberus, if you well remember, still bears from doing so his chin and throat flayed."

Although the term le fata is used, it has the double meaning here of, the Fates of Heathen Mythology, and also the Decrees of God.;

in Inf. ii, 122. Blanc (Voc. Dant.) feels very positive that it is derived from the Latin allectare, freq. of allicere, to entice, allure, and that by a somewhat bold figure Dante puts it: "Whence is this insolence called up in you?" Some derive the word from letto, in the sense of "to find a bed, or habitation, have a lodgement." Boccaccio explains it:—

"Si chiama e si ritiene."

\*A cui, et seq.: Compare Rom. ix, 19: "For who hath resisted his will?"

† Cerbero: Hercules is said to have seized Cerberus, who wanted to oppose his entrance into Hell, and dragged him to the Upper Regions with a chain about his neck. Compare Virg. Æn. vi, 395, 396:—

"Tartareum ille manu custodem in vincla petivit, Ipsius a solio regis, traxitque trementem."

‡ St. Augustine (De Civitate Dei, lib. v, cap. 8) considers Fate is equivalent to Providence: "Ipsam itaque praecipue Dei summi voluntatem, cujus potestas insuperabiliter per cuncta porrigitur, eos appellare fatum sic probatur."

After quoting the following line from Seneca, Lib. Epist. viii:—
"Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt,"

he remarks: "evitentissime hoc ultimo versu ea fata appellavit,

His uncongenial mission accomplished, the Angel tarries no longer on the loathsome spot. The Poets move on to the gates.

Poi si rivolse per la strada lorda,

E non fe' motto a noi : ma fe' sembiante
D' uomo cui altra cura stringa e morda,
Che quella di colui che gli è davante.
E noi movemmo i piedi in vêr la terra,
Sicuri appresso le parole sante.

Then returned he along the miry way, and to us he uttered not a word: but hore the semblance of a man whom concerns other than those of the person who is before him constrain and harass. And we moved our feet towards the city, feeling confidence after the holy words (of the Angel).

Division IV.—This Division marks one of the great periods in the whole Poem—as in the Purgatorio we find the first nine Cantos have dealt with the Anti-Purgatorio, the dominions of Cato, in which are chastised with lighter punishment those who delayed their repentance till death, so here in the Inferno the first nine Cantos have dealt with the lesser sins of Incontinence, when it is not complicated by Malice. As in Purgatorio ix, Dante describes his entrance within the Gate of Purgatory, so in Inferno ix, does he describe his entrance within the Gates of

quam supra dixerat summi patris voluntatem: cui se paratum obedire dicit, ut volens ducatur, ne nolens trahatur; quoniam scilicet, Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt . . . sed de istorum philosophorum opinione tractatur, cum per istos versus, quos disputationi adhibent, quam de fato habent, quid sentiant esse fatum, apertissime declaratur, quoniam Jovem appellant, quem summum deum putant, a quo connexionem dicunt pendere fatorum."

Dis, or Inner Hell. In general terms this Inner Hell may be said to be divided into the regions for the punishment of Violence, and those for the punishment of Fraud; but the regions of Fraud are in their turn, apart from all their minor subdivisions, divided into two great portions, wherein are punished:—

- (a) Ordinary Fraud, where no trust has been given, and
  - (b) Aggravated Fraud, where trust has been given, and which therefore is Treachery.

The part in which Dante now finds himself does not really belong to any of these divisions and subdivisions. It would seem more to correspond to the region set apart for the punishment of those who lived without infamy and without praise, whom Dante saw just inside the Vestibule of Outer Hell. So here in the Vestibule of Inner Hell he finds the Arch-Heretics lying in fiery tombs. It is after he has left them, that he will really descend into Nether Hell.

Dentro v' entrammo senza alcuna guerra:
Ed io, ch' avea di riguardar disio
La condizion che tal fortezza serra,
Com' io fui dentro, l' occhio intorno invio;
E veggio ad ogni man grande campagna
Piena di duolo e di tormento rio.

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Into it (the city) we entered without any opposition: and I, who had the wish to examine the condition (of those) whom so terrible a fortress encloses, as soon as I was inside, cast my eye around; and on every side I see a wide plain full of anguish and evil torment. On entering into the Gate of Purgatory, Dante's ears will be entranced by hearing a Te Deum reminding him of the soft cadences of an organ,\* and further on, his eyes will be charmed by the sight of beautiful sculptures. Here the first things he sees are grim tombs of all kinds and shapes, which in their grotesque variety recall to him those he has seen in the cemeteries of Arles and Pola, but with this difference, that in the latter the inmates were in their sleep of death, while from these repulsive sepulchres in Hell there issue cries of woe.

Sì come ad Arli,† ove Rodano stagna,

\* Compare Purg. ix, 139-145:—

"Io mi rivolsi attento al primo tuono,

E Te Deum laudamus mi parea

Udir in voce mista al dolce suono.

Tale imagine appunto mi rendea

Ciò ch' io udiva, qual prender si suole

Quando a cantar con organi si stea:

Che or sì or no s' intendon le parole."

+ Arli: The ancient cemetery of Arles, now partly demolished to make way for the goods station of the Lyons and Marseilles Railway, goes by the popular name of Aliscamps or Eliscamps (Campi Elysii). In it stands the Church of St. Trophinus. Benvenuto relates a legend, that after a battle between Charlemagne and the Saracens, the King, unable among the masses of the fallen to distinguish the Christians -whom he wished to bury with sacred rites-from their foes, prayed to God that the power of distinguishing might be given to him, and immediately an inscription appeared on the forehead of every Christian soldier among the slain. Buti adds to this story that a vast number of sarcophagi, corresponding to the number of the dead Christians, appeared on the morning following the battle, of sizes suitable to the importance and degrees among the dead. But Benvenuto says he disbelieves the whole story (Sed quidquid dicatur credo quod hoc sit vanum et fabulosum; et credo quod erat ex consuetudine patriae sepelire mortuos, sicut vidi apud alias multas terras in partibus illis, licet non in tanta multitudine). But that may have happened,

Sì com' a Pola \* presso del Quarnaro,
Che Italia chiude e suoi termini bagna,
Fanno i sepolcri tutto il loco varo: † 115
Così facevan quivi d' ogni parte,
Salvo che il modo v' era più amaro;
Chè tra ‡ gli avelli fiamme erano sparte,
Per le quali eran sì del tutto accesi,
Che ferro più non chiede verun' arte.

Even as at Arles, where the Rhone is stagnant, even as at Pola near to the (Gulf of) Quarnaro, which shuts in Italy and bathes its confines, the tombs make the whole place uneven: so did they here on every side, save that (here) the conditions were more grievous; for within the tombs were scattered flames, whereby they were so heated throughout, that iron does not require more handicraft (i.e. heating).

he adds, because Arles is a very ancient city, and was at one time a capital, as Benvenuto saw for himself in the time of Urban V, when the Emperor Charles IV came there, and had himself crowned King of Arles. Compare Ariosto, Orl. Fur. Canto xxxix, st. 72:—

" Della gran moltitudine ch' uccisa

Fu da ogni parte in quest' ultima guerra, (Benchè la cosa non fu ugual divisa, Ch' assai più andar dei Saracini sotterra Per man di Bradamante e di Marfisa), Se ne vede ancor segno in quella terra: Che presso ad Arli, ove il Rodano stagna, Piena di sepolture è la campagna."

\* Pola presso del Quarnaro: Pola is a city situated on the Gulf of Quarnaro on the Adriatic on the confines of Italy. Benvenuto says that this Gulf is about forty miles in circumference, and is an exceedingly dangerous spot. He adds that near there are to be seen about 700 tombs of many and various forms. It is said that they formerly contained bodies brought from Sclavonia into Istria, to be buried on the sea-shore.

† varo for vario, like avversaro (Purg. viii, 95) for avversario. ‡ Chè tra gli avelli: Gelli and others read ch' entro, but the meaning is the same, as the Gran Dizionario and Blanc both agree that tra can have the sense of dentro. Buti however interprets: "between one tomb and another." Benvenuto remarks that this applies to any human craftsmen who make use of fire, whether to work glass, or iron, or gold.

Dante is unable to see any of the sinners who are wailing inside the tombs. Virgil tells him who they are.

Tutti gli lor coperchi \* eran sospesi,

E fuor n' uscivan si duri lamenti,

Che ben parean di miseri e d' offesi.

Ed io:—" Maestro, quai son quelle genti

Che seppellite dentro da quell' arche

Si fan sentir con gli sospir dolenti?"—

Ed egli a me:—" Qui son gli eresiarche †

Co' lor seguaci d' ogni setta, e molto

Più che non credi, ‡ son le tombe carche.

Simile qui con simile è sepolto,

E i monimenti son più, e men caldi."—

All their lids were lifted up, and thereout issued lamentations so piteous, that they seemed indeed

<sup>\*</sup> Tutti gli lor coperchi, etc.: In Canto x, 10-12, Virgil tells Dante that after the Day of Judgment the lids of the tombs will be closed down.

teresiarche: This is the archaic plural of Eresiarca. The modern plural would be eresiarchi—See Nannucci, Teorica dei Nomi pp. 284 et seq.

<sup>†</sup> Più che non credi son le tombe carche: In Inf. x, 118-120, where Farinata degli Uberti tells Dante the names of the principal heretics among those that are suffering in the same tomb with him. He says:—

". . 'Qui con più di mille giaccio:

<sup>&</sup>quot;. . . 'Qui con più di mille giaccio:
Qua entro è lo secondo Federico,
È il Cardinale, è degli altri mi taccio.'"

G. Villani, iv, cap. 30 describes the great prevalence of heresy in his time: "La città [di Firenze] era malamente corrotta di resia, intra l'altra della detta degli Epicurei per vizio di lussuria e di gola, e era si grande parte, che intra' cittadini si combatteva per la fede con armata mano in più parti di Firenze, e durò questa maledizione in Firenze molto tempo."

to come from people suffering and tormented. And I: "Master, what people are these, who, interred within these coffers, make themselves heard with their sighs of agony." And he to me: "Here are the Arch-Heretics with their followers of every sect, and much more than thou thinkest are these graves crowded. Here is like entombed with like, and the monuments are more and less heated."

Virgil means that the heat of the tombs is regulated in proportion to the offences of their inmates.

Benvenuto remarks that the Poets now enter a narrow way such as is commonly to be found in cities between the walls and the houses, to reach which path they take the very unusual course of turning to their right hand.

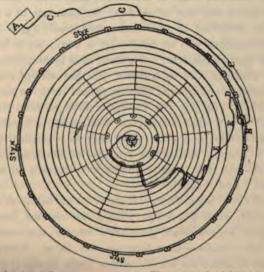
> E poi ch' alla man destra si fu vôlto, Passammo tra i martíri e gli alti spaldi.

And after that he (Virgil) had turned to the right hand, we passed between the torments (i.e. the fiery tombs) and the lofty walls.

Prof. Poletto (Dizionario Dantesco, Siena, 1885-1887, vol. ii, s.v. Destro) observes that in ascending the Mountain of Purgatory, the Poets invariably turn to the right, while in Hell they as regularly turn to the left, when they enter each Cornice of the former, and each Circle of the latter. This he thinks certainly arises from the fundamental idea that on the Day of Judgment, the Elect will stand on the right, and the Doomed on the left. When however the Poets enter the City of Dis they turn to the right hand. Why is this? Prof. Poletto thinks with Andreoli that as they had to fetch a wide compass round the walls (grande aggirata)

before disembarking at the Gate of the City, when they did pass into it, they found that in their circuit they had traversed a much greater space than they had been doing in the other Circles, and had considerably overshot the mark; so that to get to the spot marked for their descent into the next Circle, instead of turning as usual to the left, they were obliged to take ground to their right. See the subjoined diagram of the Poets' Itinerary, which is adapted from one in the beautiful work of the late Duke of Sermoneta (La Materia della Divina Commedia di Dante Allighieri dichiarata in vi tavole, Roma, 1872).

END OF CANTO IX.
ITINERARY OF DANTE WITHIN THE CITY OF DIS.



A. Lofty tower (vii, 130).
 B. Gateway of the City of Dis.
 Ccc. Deviation made by the Poets in Phlegyas's skiff.

DD. They turn to the right (ix, 132).

EE. They turn back to the left before descending into the next circle (x, 133).

In centre—Luctier.

## APPENDIX TO INF. IX ON THE WORD CONCA (Inf. ix, 16).

THE Gran Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca (which has as yet only reached as far as the word "Leone") contains no less than fifteen exemplifications of the word conca, the primary meaning of which is "a vessel of terra cotta, of great concavity, and of which the proper use is to wash clothes in." It is derived from the Latin concha. It may also mean: (1) any large vessel, of any material, wider at the mouth than below, that may be turned to any sort of use; (2) the contents of a conca may be described by the word conca itself; (3) a bath; (4) a sepulchral urn or tomb; (5) a boat; (6) a certain vessel used by glaziers; (7) a stove used by metallurgists; (8) a sluice or lock in a river; (9) that sort of cup-like formation of low ground that we should term "a basin in the hills"; (10) fig. the Cavity of Hell as used in Inf. ix, 16; (11) a shell, but almost exclusively a bivalve, or a pearl-oyster, and even then only as a poetical term; (12) a Triton's conch, the trumpet of Mythology.

N.B.-All the other significations precede those of "shell," and "conch,"

CONCA. Sost. femm. Vaso di terra cotta, di gran concavità, assai più largo alla bocca che nel fondo, e che serve propriamente per fare il bucato [the washing]. Dal lat. concha.-Bartolommeo del Bene, Rime, 16: "Avea la conca da bucato ognora Della tavola a' piedi." Alessandro Adimari, Sonnetto 270: "Vorrebbon che dell'olio la stagnata Diventasse una conca da bucato." Lippi, Il Malmantile, ix, 17: "Le donne anch' esse corron co' figliuoli, E ciò che trovan, gettan dalle mura: Chi con la conca o vaso da viuolo [flower pot for violet plants] Piglia a qualcum del capo la misura." Redi, Lettere, ii, 227: "Sono esposti in vendita... catini, catinuzzi, e conche da bucato." Note al Malmantile, ii, 696: Conca. Vaso grande, fatto di terra cotta, entro al quale si fanno i bucati."

§ I. Ed anche Ogni vaso grande, di qualsivoglia materia, ma più spesso di terra cotta, di larga bocca ed apertura, e che serve a varj usi. Crescenzi, Agricultura volgare, 281 : "E de' grossi [legnami del salcio] si fanno assai catini e conche." Ottimo Commento, Dant. D. C. 2, 380: "La conca seguiti la fonte (qui in locuz. figur.)" Leggende di Santi, 3, 191: "La Nostra Donna si fece venire l' acqua e la conca, e lavallo e fasciollo questo benedetto Figliuolo." Cennini, Trattato della Pittura, 71: "Poi la metti [la colla] ben colata in certi vasi piani, come conche di gialatina [gelatina] o bacini." Soderini, Trattato della Cultura degli Orti e Giardina, 100: "Dipoi pongasi [il grano] in una conca piena d' acqua chiara, sì che vi stia ricoperto dentro dall'acqua per quattro dita." Padre Daniello Bartoli, Del Ghiaccio e della Coagulazione, 151: "Poi ribollita questa medesima decozione e purificata, porla a raffreddare, divisa in più catini o conche, e senza più il salnitro vi si lapilla [crystallizes] dentro e le incrosta." Giuseppe del Papa, Della Natura dell' Umido e del Secco, 44: " Può l' acqua nelle conche e nei coppi di terra cotta trapassare la loro notabile grossezza trapelando fino per di fuori,"

§§ II, III, IV, V, VI, VII and VIII are omitted. § IX. Conca, per similitud. dicesi Un tratto di paese, molto basso, e chiuso all' intorno da monti: più comunemente Catino [basin]. Botta, Storia d' Italia continuata, ecc. 10, 168: "Aspra veramente e cruda e piena di funesti casi fu la conca, cui la Serra, la Musa e la Modia bagnano, ed Aspromonte accerchia."

§ X. E per Cavità assai profonda; onde Trista conca, fu detto poeticamente La cavità dell' Inferno, secondo la sua forma immaginata da Dante. Dante, Inf. ix: "In questo fondo della trista conca Discese mai alcun del primo grado?" Buti, Commento Dant. l. 252: "Della trista conca, cioè, dell' Inferno, il quale chiama conca, però che ogni cosa che tiene è conca." Pulci, Il Morgante Maggiore, xxiii, st. 52: "Uscir gli spirti delle infernal conche."

§ XI. Conca, secondo il senso proprio latino, vale anche nicchio di mare [conch-shell], Conchiglia \*; ma oggi non si adoprerebbe che in poesia. Fra Dom. Cavalca, Volgarizzamento della Pistola di S. Girolamo alla vergine Eustochio, 390: "Colgo e prendo dalle spine la rosa, dalla terra l' oro, e dalla conca la margarita." Boccaccio, Decamerone, 5, 124: "Di scoglio in scoglio andando, marine conche con un coltello dalle pietre spiccando." Bembo, Gli Asolani, 25: "Certo non hanno tante conche i nostri liti . . . quanti possono in ogni sollazzo amoroso esser dolori." G. A. dell' Anguillara, Ovidio, le Metamorfosi, 15, 82: "D' ostreche e conche un numero infinito," Varchi, Boezio, 168: "A gli animali che non si muovono, come sono le conche del mare, ed altri . . . toccò il senso solo, spogliato di tutte l' altre cognizioni." Dati, Selva epitalamitica nelle nozze

<sup>\*</sup> Observe, it is not until we get to the eleventh section out of fifteen that we find the possibility of conca meaning a shell, and then only as a use in poetry.

Canto IX.

di Lui i xiv, Firenze, 14: "Il collo eburno Dalle conche Eritree per suo monile Non vuol dell' alba i preziosi pianti, Della propria beltà pur troppo ornato."—Baldinucci, Vocabolario toscano dell' Arte del Disegno, 102, 1: "Scrivono che Nerone fosse il primo che facesse segare le conche delle perle, per accomodarle in lavoro di sì fatto mosaico." Redi, Lettere, 1. 87: "Ci vorrebbe delle porpore, de' buccini [lat. buccinum], de' nautili, de' turbini [screw-shells], delle conche," etc. Lodovico Adimari, Satire, 5: "Han la porpora in sen le conche in Tiro."

## CANTO X.

THE SIXTH CIRCLE—THE CITY OF DIS—THE EPICUREAN HERETICS—FARINATA DEGLI UBERTI CAVALCANTE DEI CAVALCANTI—THE EMPEROR FREDERICK II.—CARDINAL OTTAVIANO DEGLI UBALDINI.

At the conclusion of the last Canto, we saw the two Poets, having gained admission into the City of Dis, passing between the city walls and the fiery tombs wherein the Arch-Heretics were tormented. The present Canto deals more especially with the Epicureans, who maintained that the soul dies with the body.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In Division I, from ver. I to ver 51, Dante converses with the shade of the great Ghibelline leader, Farinata degli Uberti, who has recognised him as a Florentine by his Tuscan idiom.

In Division II, from ver. 52 to ver. 72, we are told how the shade of Cavalcante dei Cavalcanti interrupts the conversation, to ask Dante if his son, Guido, Dante's friend, is still alive.

In Division III, from ver. 73 to ver. 114, Farinata resumes his conversation with Dante, and predicts his exile from Florence.

In Division IV, from ver. 115 to ver. 136, Farinata disappears, after naming two shades of great distinction who are fellow-sufferers in the same tomb

with himself, and the Poets prepare to descend into the next Circle.

Division I.—As though to give emphasis to what has been said before, the Canto opens by repeating almost in the same words as those which concluded the last Canto, that the Poets took their way between the city walls and the sepulchres of the tormented.

Ora sen va per un secreto \* calle †

Tra il muro della terra ‡ e li martíri

Lo mio Maestro, ed io dopo le spalle.

\* secreto calle: This is the reading adopted by nearly all the old Commentators, e.g. Pietro and Jacopo di Dante, Boccaccio Benvenuto, Buti, the Falso Boccaccio, the Codice Cassinese, the Anonimo Fiorentino, and others. Serravalle was the first to read stretto calle, which has a resemblance in Virg. Æn. iv, 405: "Convectant calle angusto." Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, First Series, p. 193) writes: "The reading stretto calle in Inf. x, 1, which is found in several editions, though not (as far as I know) in many MSS., is probably a copyist's correction from a reminiscence of Inf. xviii, 100, and it is also perhaps rather more obvious in meaning than secreto. But in any case the latter is very strongly confirmed by the probable recollection by Dante of Virgil, Æn. vi, 443: 'Secreti celant calles.'" Boccaccio says that Dante "chiamalo segreto, a dimostrare che pochi per quello andassero, avendo per avventura altra via coloro i quali là giù ruinavano."

tcalle: Gelli, after stating his belief that calle is equivalent to viottolo, a retired, half-hidden lane, remarks: "Calle in our [Tuscan] language signifies a road, large or small, and half hidden, which crosses the fields or woods, and which is more used by wild beasts than by men, and that people have certain nets which are set in these calli for the purpose of ensnaring wild beasts, which are called callaivole. And from the path that the Poets took, winding among the tombs, Dante calls it

un secreto calle, a retired track."

† muro della terra: I cannot agree here with Mr. Butler's version "the wall of the land." Terra, as remarked elsewhere, was a common mediæval expression for "city." To translate the word as "land" is misleading.

Along a retired track between the city-wall and the torments (i.e. the fiery tombs) my Master now wends his way, and I at his back (lit. after his shoulders).

Gelli draws attention to the art with which Dante now sounds Virgil as to whether he may be allowed to see some of these shades, who, to Dante's knowledge, had in many cases been very learned men, and he probably felt an intense longing to converse with them. He thinks that what Dante says is in substance as follows: "You, Virgil, have brought me here to see all these things, to show them to me just as you like. Now these tombs are all open, as the demons are all scattered to hide from the Angel, can we not look therein?" Benvenuto, also struck with the persuasiveness of Dante's question to Virgil, writes: Mirabiliter captat benivolentiam ejus [sic].

—"O virtù somma,\* che per gli empi giri
Mi volvi," †—cominciai,—"com' a te piace
Parlami, e satisfammi a' miei desiri.

La gente che per li sepolcri giace
Potrebbesi veder ? già son levati
Tutti i coperchi, e nessun guardia face."—

"O (thou filled with the) most exalted virtue, who art making me to go round through these Circles of wickedness," began I, "speak to me as it pleases thee, and satisfy my desires. The people

<sup>\*</sup> O virtù somma is equivalent to O tu sommamente virtuoso.

<sup>†</sup> Mi volvi: Volvere exactly describes the circular course Virgil was making Dante take in his descent through the Circles of Hell. We are to remember that they did not strike straight down the slopes, but, bearing in mind the conca form of Hell, their path wound gradually round and round getting lower and lower.

that lie in these tombs, might one see them? The covers are just now all raised, and no one is keeping guard."

Others read che mi volvi [without the comma] come a te piace, and understand the passage to mean that Dante feels he is being turned to the right or left, just as is pleasing to Virgil. I much prefer to take che mi volvi as signifying the curved course by which Virgil is conducting Dante along the circular edge leading to Lower Hell; for they are still, be it remembered, on the outer edge, and it is only in the concluding lines of the Canto that we read Lasciammo il muro, e gimmo in vêr lo mezzo.

In replying to Dante, Virgil first remarks that although the tombstones are now upraised, they will cease to be so after the Day of Judgment, in which statement some think that he is pointing the moral that heretics, when once they have come to a decision as to their heretical opinions, are so sealed up in their obstinacy, that they go on through life with the fire of vain-glory burning within them. The Poets walk forward towards the right, and Virgil tells Dante that in this particular part of the cemetery are confined Epicurus and his followers.\* He

<sup>\*</sup>Benvenuto thinks that the chief heretic of each sect had one great tomb allotted to him and all his adherents, and that when Farinata shows himself, he emerges from the sepulchre of Epicurus (ideo fingit istum Farinatam nunc surgere de arca magna Epicuri, etc.), but I do not feel that Dante could have intended to convey that idea. At the end of this Canto he asks the haughty Ghibelline to tell him what other spirits are actually being tormented in the same tomb with himself. Out of more than a thousand, i.e. countless numbers, whom Farinata tells him are therein (ll. 119, 120), he only mentions two



Readings on the Inferno.

Canto x.

further hints that the wish of Dante to see some of them will soon be gratified.

> Ed egli a me :- "Tutti saran serrati,\* 10 Quando di Josaffat † qui torneranno Coi corpi che lassù hanno lasciati. Suo cimitero da questa parte hanno Con Epicuro I tutti i suoi seguaci, Che l' anima col corpo morta fanno.

15

by name, namely, the Emperor Frederick II, and Cardinal degli Ubaldini, and passes over all the rest in silence as unworthy of his notice. Had Epicurus himself been in that tomb, Farinata could hardly have failed to speak of him.

\*saran serrati: I have here taken tutti as applying to la gente, as a noun of multitude, rather than to i sepoleri, as it seems to make better sense, and avoids having to understand two nominative cases different from each other. For the use of serrati with the sense of "locked in," I have the authority of the Gran Dizionario, s.v. serrare, § ix: "Di persone o d'animali. Inchiuso o Escluso," and the following passage is quoted without the reference: "Serrato in carcere, si trova tra quattro mura."

+ Josaffat: It was believed that the place of the Last Judgment would be the Valley of Jehosaphat, and Mr. Tozer says the Mahometans still believe it. The meaning of Jehosaphat is "the Lord judgeth." See Joel, iii, 2: "I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Jehosaphat." And ibid. 12: "Let the heathen be wakened, and come up to the valley of Jehosaphat: for there will I sit to judge all the heathen round about." Tasso (Ger. Lib. Canto xi, st. x)

thus describes the place:-

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"Così cantando, il popolo devoto Con larghi giri si dispiega e stende, E drizza all' Oliveto il lento moto, Monte che dall' olive il nome prende; Monte per sacra fama al mondo noto, Ch' oriental contra le mura ascende: E sol da quelle il parte e nel discosta La cupa Giosafà, che in mezzo è posta."

† Epicuro: Dante speaks of Epicurus in Conv. iv, 6, 11. 97-114: "Altri filosofi furono, che videro e credettono altro che costoro; e di questi fu primo e principe un filosofo, che fu chiamato Epicuro, che veggendo che ciascuno animale, tosto Però alla dimanda che mi faci Ouinc' entro satisfatto sarai tosto, Ed al disio ancor che tu mi taci."-\*

And he to me: "They (the people in the tombs) will all be locked in, when they return here from (the Valley of) Jehosaphat with the bodies they have left there above. In this part have their sepulture with Epicurus all his followers, who make the soul perish with the body. To the question however which thou puttest to me thou shalt soon have a satisfactory answer, here within (these precincts), and also to the desire which thou art hiding from me."

The unexpressed desire of Dante was in all probability that of seeing and conversing with Farinata,

ch' è nato è quasi da natura dirizzato nel debito fine, che fugge dolore e domanda allegrezza, disse questo nostro fine essere Voluptade . . . cioè diletto senza dolore. E però tra 'l diletto e 'I dolore non ponea mezzo alcuno, dicendo che Voluptade non era altro che non dolore; siccome pare Tullio recitare nel primo di Fine de' Beni. E di questi, che da Epicuro sono, Epicurei nominati, fu Torquato, nobile Romano, disceso dal sangue del glorioso Torquato, del quale feci menzione di sopra."

\*disio . . . che tu mi taci : We again find Virgil reading Dante's thoughts in Inf. xvi, 121-123:-

"Ei disse a me: 'Tosto verrà di sopra Ciò ch' io attendo, e che il tuo pensier sogna Tosto convien ch' al tuo viso si scopra.'

and xxiii, 25-30:-

'E quei: 'S' io fossi d' impiombato vetro, L' imagine di fuor tua non trarrei Più tosto a me, che quella d' entro impetro. Pur mo venian li tuoi pensier tra i miei Con simile atto e con simile faccia, Sì che d' entrambi un sol consiglio fei.'"

So also Beatrice in Par. xvii, 7-12:-

"Per che mia donna: 'Manda fuor la vampa Del tuo disio,' mi disse, 'si ch' ella esca Segnata bene della interna stampa; Non perchè nostra conoscenza cresca Per tuo parlare, ma perchè t' ausi A dir la sete, sì che l' uom ti mesca.'"

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or some of the other renowned Florentines about whom he questioned Ciacco (Inf. vi, 79 et seq.), and learned from that shade that he might see them lower down in Hell.

Virgil promptly reads what is in his mind. Dante however assures Virgil that he would have no desire to conceal his thoughts from him were it not that he had been reproved by Virgil, before they reached the Acheron, for being too importunate.\*

> Ed io:- "Buon Duca, non tegno riposto A te mio cor, se non per dicer poco; E tu m' hai non pur mo + a ciò disposto."-

And I: "Good Leader, I only keep my heart secret from thee so as to speak few words; and not now only hast thou disposed me thereto.'

And now Virgil's promises to Dante find a speedy fulfilment. Not only does Dante see, and have an opportunity of conversing with, one of the spirits among the Epicurean heretics, but he finds also that this spirit is one of the great Florentines whom he is so desirous of meeting. It may be assumed that the shade of Farinata degli Uberti, hearing Dante make use of the Florentine forms tegno, dicer, pur

\*Virgil's reproof is in Inf. iii, 76-81:-'Ed egli a me: 'Le cose ti fien conte, Quando noi fermerem li nostri passi Sulla trista riviera d' Acheronte.' Allor con gli occhi vergognosi e bassi, Temendo no 'l mio dir gli fusse grave, Infino al fiume di parlar mi trassi."

t non pur mo: Benvenuto remarks that Virgil was at all times an inculcator of brevity both in speaking and writing, and a teacher of the value of time.

mo, recognises that a fellow-countryman is passing by, and rises up to address him.

—"O Tosco,\* che per la città del foco Vivo ten vai così parlando onesto,† Piacciati di restare in questo loco. La tua loquela ‡ ti fa manifesto Di quella nobil patria natio,§

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\*O Tosco: In Inf. xxiii, 76, 77, the Hypocrites recognise Dante as a Tuscan either by his pronunciation or his phrase-ology:—

"Ed un, che intese la parola Tosca, Diretro a noi gridò," etc.

and ibid. 91, 92, one of the Frati Godenti says to Dante:—
"'O Tosco, ch' al collegio

Degl' ipocriti tristi sei venuto,'" etc.

to which (ll. 94, 95) Dante replies:-

"'Io fui nato e cresciuto

Sopra il bel fiume d' Arno alla gran villa.'"
In Inf. xxxiii, 10-12, Count Ugolino della Gherardesca, a Pisan, at once recognises Dante as a Florentine:—

"I' non so chi tu sei, nè per che modo Venuto se' quaggiù; ma Fiorentino Mi sembri veramente quando io t' odo."

tonesto: There is a preponderance of authority for taking the word to mean modestly or reverently in this passage. Lombardi says: "avverbio per onestamente, ma qui per modestamente." Bianchi and Fraticelli: "per reverentemente, come pur dianzi Dante faceva parlando a Virgilio." Gelli: "parlando così onesto, e con tanta modestia." Scartazzini: "avverbio = onestamente, val qui modestamente." Boccaccio interprets it: "reverentemente."

† loquela: Compare Matt. xxvi, 73: "And after a while came unto him they that stood by, and said to Peter, Surely thou also art one of them; for thy speech bewrayeth thee." Gelli thinks that loquela means the pronunciation.

§ Di quella nobil patria natio: In Convito, i, 3, 1l. 20-28
Dante thus speaks in regretful bitterness of his exile from
Florence: "Fu piacere de' cittadini della bellissima e famosissima figlia di Roma, Fiorenza, di gettarmi fuori del suo
dolcissimo seno, nel quale nato e nudrito fui fino al colmo
della mia vita, e nel quale, con buona pace di quelli, desidero
con tutto il cuore di riposare l' animo stanco, e terminare il

Alla qual forse \* io fui troppo molesto."-

"O Tuscan, who alive art going through the city of fire speaking with so much modesty, may it please thee to tarry at this spot. Thy speech clearly reveals thee a native of that noble fatherland (Florence) against which it may be that I wrought too much harm."

These words are spoken by the shade of Farinata degli Uberti, the most renowned of the Ghibelline leaders of Florence. He was a knight, and a member of the noble family of the Uberti. was held in the greatest favour by the Emperor Frederick II (who at that time was living in Tuscany, and was the great support of the Ghibelline party), and after the Emperor's death, through the continued good graces of his natural son Manfred. Farinata was able to keep the Guelphs in great subjection. In Inf. vi, 79-81, Dante speaks of him as one of those noble Florentines che a ben far poser gli ingegni. In the year 1250, with the greater number of the leading Ghibellines, he was banished from Florence; but they betook themselves to Siena, where Farinata's great influence was the means of bringing the Sienese to join his forces. Having also obtained considerable reinforcements from Manfred, he deluded the Florentine Guelphs into the belief that if they marched against Siena, one of its

tempo che mi è dato," etc. And G. Villani, Lib. i, cap. i: "Considerando la nobiltà e grandezza della nostra città a' nostri presenti tempi."

<sup>\*</sup>forse: Observe that Farinata only says forse as to his having been hurtful to Florence, which is equivalent to saying that he does not himself admit that he was so, but is only quoting the fact that his adversaries make that accusation.

gates should be given up to them. The Florentines fell into the snare, and commenced their march, but on the 4th September, 1260, on the river Arbia, they were attacked by the Ghibelline army, which was in ambush among the hills. The Guelphs were defeated, and with such terrible slaughter, that they abandoned Florence, and among those that fled were the ancestors of Dante. The celebrated Carroccio or war chariot, on which was carried the Bell called the Martinella, was captured by the victors. In the magnificent cathedral of Siena may still be seen the Crucifix which served as a standard to the Sienese. as well as the mast that was fixed to the Carroccio. and from which the banner of the city of Florence was suspended. The leading part that Farinata had taken in the war against Florence was never forgotten nor forgiven. When the Guelphs recovered the ascendancy, the palaces of the Uberti were razed to the ground; and when Arnolfo di Cambio was employed as the architect to build the Palazzo Vecchio della Signoria, tradition declares that he was required so to build it, that no part of it should stand on ground that had been desecrated by having been the site of the Uberti palaces; and hence the irregular shape of the edifice as it now stands. The tradition is probably not historically true, but it serves to show the vindictive hate that was felt by the Guelphs against him who had been their chiefest and most victorious adversary.

Giambattista Gelli, who was a hosier of Florence, relates of himself that it was his great love for Dante that stimulated him into learning all that he afterwards knew, and which rendered him worthy of receiving from Cosimo de' Medici the appointment of permanent lecturer on Dante at Florence. Gelli writes at great length upon the purity and beauty of the Tuscan language and pronunciation, and more especially as it is to be heard at Florence. After speaking of other languages, and how they can never be so learnt by foreigners as for their speech to deceive the native ear, he adds that he will only adduce the example "della nostra fiorentina." He says that the Florentines have always tried to avoid the vulgar o of Pistoja, the sharp e of Arezzo, the blunt z of Pisa, and some displeasing accents of Siena; and that they have an ear of such refined sensitiveness, that it is offended by the smallest accent or expression that grates against it. The Florentines have moreover such a beautiful choice of words, and so soft a pronunciation, that all who hear it resolve to learn and adopt it, but unless they are either born or bred at Florence they totally fail in attaining it. "And they who, moved by envy, have attempted to find fault with our way of speaking, have never been able really to find anything to censure except certain words, accents or peculiarities of speech, which in our language are only used by plebeians and ignorant people; forgetting that when one wishes to learn a language, one must do so from those who know it and talk it best, as for instance from the nobles and principal persons of the country; for they, being brought up to talk of affairs of State, Government, or the Sciences, naturally learn to speak well; whereas the plebeians, who having no other idea than that of earning their bread, if even they are clever enough to do that, have a speech so debased and vile that it must not be taken into account." Gelli concludes by saying that when one considers the extreme minuteness of sounds, accents, pronunciation, and idiom, cherished by Florentines, it is not to be wondered at that Messer Farinata degli Uberti, a most distinguished knight and citizen of Florence, on hearing Dante speak, knew by his words that he was a Tuscan, and by his pronunciation a Florentine.

Dante is startled at hearing Farinata's voice, but Virgil sharply calls upon him to collect himself.

Subitamente questo suono uscío
D' una dell' arche \*; però m' accostai,
Temendo, un poco più al duca mio.
Ed ei mi disse:—"Volgiti: che fai?
Vedi là Farinata che s' è dritto †:
Dalla cintola ‡ in suo tutto il vedrai."—

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<sup>\*</sup>arche: The reader should be warned not to confuse arca (plural arche), a coffer, a sarcophagus, a sepulchre, with arco (plural archi) a vault, an arch. Some translators have fallen into this error. Mr. Butler translates arche "arks."

ts' è dritto: The Vocabolario della Crusca explains this to be the same as rizzato in piedi, standing up on his feet. Cavalcanti (l. 52) only surse, i.e. rose up, but the indomitable Farinata si drizzò. I was struck one winter day in London, nearly opposite the Grosvenor Hotel, on observing two workmen who were shovelling gravel out of a receptacle with trapdoors let into the pavement. One was standing on the gravel upright, with just half his body visible above the level of the pavement; the other standing probably at the bottom, or kneeling on the gravel, was just showing his head above the edge. I thought of Farinata and Cavalcanti.

<sup>†</sup> Dalla cintola in su: Compare Tasso, Ger. Liber. Canto xi, st. 27:-

<sup>&</sup>quot;Dalla cintola in su sorge il Soldano."

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This sound issued suddenly from one of the tombs; whereupon in fear I drew a little closer to my Leader. And he said to me: "Turn round: what art thou about? See there Farinata who has risen up on his feet; from the waist upwards thou wilt see the whole of him."

Virgil wished to remind Dante that he is in the presence of the identical person whom he was so desirous of seeing, and that he must dismiss his fears. Dante thus admonished, faces the shade of the great Ghibelline, whose haughty demeanour is proof against the torments he is suffering. Virgil urges Dante forward.

> I' avea già il mio viso nel suo fitto; Ed ei s' ergea col petto e colla fronte, Come avesse lo inferno in gran dispitto \*: E l' animose man del duca e pronte Mi pinser tra le sepolture a lui, Dicendo:-" Le parole tue sien conte."-+

\* dispitto: Altered from despitto. Benvenuto, commenting on the word, says that Farinata was haughty, as were also his descendants, and he quotes from Par. xvi, 109, 110, to show that pride will have a fall:—

"O quali io vidi quei che son disfatti Per lor superbia!"

t conte: Some derive the word from cognitus, "such as can be known at once, intelligible, clear, precise," and that is the signification I adopt. Many Commentators take it from complus, "well-ordered, ornate, courteous." Some have tried to derive it from contate, with the meaning: "Let thy words be counted, i.e. be brief." Scartazzini very aptly remarks that Dante's words to Farinata are clear, out-spoken, and precise, but not particularly brief, nor particularly ornate, or courteous. Dante could hit out vigorously when provoked! Daniello thinks Virgil wished Dante to show no ambiguity as to his meaning when conversing with a heretic. As regards the words Le parole tue sien conte, compare Horace, Ars Poetica, 335 :--

I had already (on Virgil's command) fixed my eyes on his; and he was uprearing himself with breast and with brow, as though he regarded Hell with lofty scorn. And the fearless and ready hands of my Leader thrust me forward between the sepulchres towards him, while he said: "Let thy words be precise."

Farinata prefaces his conversation with Dante by haughtily interrogating him as to his lineage, so as to find out if Dante is of noble descent, and as such, worthy of his notice.

> Com' io al piè della sua tomba fui, Guardommi un poco, e poi quasi sdegnoso, Mi dimandò:—"Chi fur li maggior tui?"—

As soon as I was at the foot of his tomb, he eyed me for a while, and then almost contemptuously demanded of me: "Who were thine ancestors?"

Farinata's manner of addressing Dante is quite of a piece with the way in which, later on in this Canto, he utterly ignores the presence of Cavalcante dei Cavalcanti, the father of his own daughter's husband; and the scornful silence in which he passes over the names of the other occupants of his place of torment, after naming an Emperor and a Cardinal.

Dante had obeyed Virgil in giving precise answers

<sup>&</sup>quot;Quicquid praecipies, esto brevis."

The Gran Dizionario gives three distinct words: (1) conto, adj. from cognitus, with the significations: Noto, conosciuto; chiaro, manifesto; noto, famoso; pronto, ammaestrato, etc. (2) conto, adj. from comptus, ornato, acconciato; grazioso, gentile, nobile, leggiadro; aggiustato, ben composto, composto, bene ordinato. (3) Past participle of contare, used adjectivally: raccontato, contato, annoverato; imputato, ascritto.

to any questions that might be put to him, but Farinata is by no means gratified at the intelligence.

> Io ch' era d' ubbidir desideroso, Non gliel celai, ma tutto gliel' apersi : Ond' ei levò le ciglia un poco in soso ; \*

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\* levò le ciglia un poco in soso : A recognized Italian sign of displeasure too contemptuous to be strongly marked. Benvenuto thinks Farinata expressed an increase of displeasure on finding Dante's ancestors were Guelphs, and that Dante, in telling Farinata that the Alighieri descended from the Elisei, did so for the express purpose of provoking him into a retort. So much has been written about Dante's political opinions, some maintaining him to have been a Guelph throughout his life, though discontented with his own party, others contending that he was always a Ghibelline at heart, that Benvenuto's clear account of what was thought on the subject in 1375 deserves attention: "And hereby note that Dante was a Guelph, and of Guelph parents, though many strive to assert, and do affirm the contrary, either from ignorance, or from enmity. And without going into other arguments, I will confine myself to saying that Dante never could have occupied the high position he did at Florence, and have been in the year 1300 one among the chiefs and rulers, if he had been a Ghibelline noble, seeing that for so long a period before that time, the Ghibellines had been driven forth and banished from Florence. Yet our author, though originally a Guelph, became after his banishment a Ghibelline, and a very strong Ghibelline (imo Ghibelinissimus), as Boccaccio de Certaldo distinctly asserts in his little book concerning Dante's life and habits; and I must relate an amusing story about a certain Ghibelline partisan, who hearing this, said: 'In truth, this man could never have written so great a work, if he had not become a Ghibelline.'"

The Guelphs, among whom were Dante's ancestors, were expelled from Florence the first time in 1248 (17 years before Dante's birth), when the Ghibellines, reinforced by 1600 knights sent to their assistance by Frederick II, drove the Guelphs out of the city. The second occasion was after the battle of Montaperti in 1260, when Dante's grandfather Bellincione (1260-1277) was one of the fugitive Guelphs. Benvenuto here mentions having seen a letter written by Frederick II, in which the Emperor exults at the expulsion of the Guelphs from Florence by his friends the Ghibellines;

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Poi disse:—" Fieramente furo avversi A me ed a' miei primi ed a mia parte, Sì che per due fiate gli dispersi."—

I who was desirous to obey, did not conceal it (my lineage) from him, but laid it all open before him: whereupon he raised his eyebrows a little; then he said: "They were fiercely hostile to me, and to my forefathers, and to my party, for which reason I twice scattered them (i.e. drove them into exile)."

Dante is much irritated at the taunt of Farinata about his ancestors, and retorts with some asperity.

—" S' ei fur cacciati, ei tornâr \* d' ogni parte,"—
Rispos' io lui :—" l' una e l' altra fiata ;
Ma i vostri non appreser ben quell' arte."—

and he adds that Frederick took certain captured Guelph nobles with him into Apulia, where, after he had had their eyes put out, he caused them to be drowned in the sea. In consequence of this, when Frederick, on a subsequent occasion, came to hold a Court at Florence, he avoided entering into the city, having heard from his astrologers that he should die at Florence. He did eventually die at another Florence, which is in Apulia (quod moriturus erat Florentiae; sed mortuus est tandem in alia Florentia, quae est in Apulia). Benvenuto is here referring to Castel Fiorentino or Firenzuola, a small hunting castle of Frederick's, where he died in 1250, when on his way to his great castle at Lucera, nine miles north of Foggia, now the great junction station of the Adriatic railway.

\*tornâr... l' una e l' altra fiata: The Guelphs returned to Florence the first time in January 1251, after having defeated the Ghibellines in October 1250. Their second return was after the defeat and death of Manfred at the battle of Benevento in 1266, which battle was said to have been the death-blow to the Ghibelline cause in Italy; and in fact, from that day (says Boccaccio) by no strength or artifice did the party ever again get a footing in Florence. Gino Capponi (Storia della Repubblica di Firenze, vol. i, pp. 46, 47) relates how after the battle of Montaperti the exultation of Cardinal Ottaviano degli Ubaldini (see l. 120 of this Canto) was checked by a speech of the Cardinal Bianco, a Guelph and an astro-

"If they were driven forth," I answered him, "they returned from every side both on the first and on the second occasion, but your people have not learnt that art aright."

Dante means, "My party managed to get back to Florence, but yours have by no means found out the way to return from banishment."

Division II.—Another spirit in the same tomb with Farinata now interposes in the conversation. This is Messer Cavalcante dei Cavalcanti, a Guelph knight, and father of the poet Guido Cavalcanti, Dante's most intimate friend. Guido was moreover married to Farinata's daughter. Benvenuto relates of Cavalcante dei Cavalcanti that he was an ardent follower of Epicurus, himself believing and persuading others that the soul dies simultaneously with the body, and that he always had in his mouth the saying of Solomon: "Unus interitus est hominis et jumentorum, et aequa utriusque conditio. Sicut moritur homo, sic et illa moriuntur. Similiter spirant omnia, et nihil habet homo jumento amplius." Ben-

loger, who prophesied the ultimate return and supremacy of the Guelphs in Florence. The old chronicler Ricordano Malespini (Istoria Fiorentina, cap. clxix) relates the story as follows: "Il cardinale Attaviano degli Ubaldini ne fece gran festa; onde ciò veggendo il Cardinale Bianco, il quale era grande istrolago, e negromante, disse: 'Se'l Cardinale Attaviano sapesse il frutto di questa guerra de' Fiorentini, egli non farebbe questa allegrezza.' Il Collegio de' Cardinali il pregarono che dovesse dichiarare più aperto, ed egli non lo volea dire, perchè 'l parlare del futuro non gli parea lecito alla sua dignità; ma gli Cardinali feciono col Papa, che gli comandò sotto pena d' ubbidienza, che egli il dicesse, per lo quale comandamento disse in brieve sermone: 'I vinti vittoriosamente vinceranno, e in eterno non perderanno.'"

venuto calls attention to the way Dante has put two Epicureans, the one a Ghibelline, the other a Guelph, together in the same place of punishment. One of them is deserving of fame for his own deeds, the other for the merits of his son.

We are to suppose that Cavalcante, ignorant of passing events, as we shall read in 1. 100 et seq., has been listening in rapt attention to Dante's relation of the state of parties in Florence, and has heard with delight that the Guelphs have recovered the supremacy, and have returned to Florence. He has probably also heard with gratified malice Dante's retort upon Farinata that the Ghibellines have not been successful in their attempts to return. He raises himself in the most unobtrusive way, barely showing his face.

Allor surse alla vista \* scoperchiata
Un' ombra lungo questa infino al mento : †
Credo che s' era in ginocchie levata.

"D' incontra effigiata ad una vista
D' un gran palazzo Micol ammirava,
Sì come donna dispettosa e trista."

The Gran Dizionario, s.v. vista, § 11, has: "Finestra, Ringhiera, Luogo onde vedere," and quotes the above passage from the Purgatorio. It then gives a similar interpretation to the present passage, saying: "Vista è l'apertura, la bocca della tomba, nella quale era Farinata con altri." Mr. Butler translates: "Then arose to sight a shade, uncovered."

tinfino al mento: Landino remarks that Dante describes Cavalcanti as showing less of himself than Farinata, be-

<sup>\*</sup> vista: Some translate this "discovered to the view," but I prefer to take the interpretation given by the Gran Dizionario and followed by Scartazzini and Casini in making scoperchiata agree with vista, and giving to vista the same meaning that Dante gives to it in Purg. x, 67-69, where it is made to express a window, a balcony, or a loggia:—

Readings on the Inferno.

D' intorno mi guardò, come talento \*
Avesse di veder s' altri era meco;

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Canto x.

cause in life he was much the less prominent as an Epicurean of the two and kept his opinions much more in the background. Lombardi holds the same opinion, but Biagioli contends that the difference in their attitudes is merely due to the difference of character between the two men; the one of a high-souled almost heroic nature, the other timorous, unobtrusive, and of a poor spirit, as we shall presently see by his tears. Farinata answers to the Greek μεγαλόψυχος Cavalcanti to μικρόψυχος.

\*talento: In the Gran Dizionario, s.v. § 1, I find that the primary meaning of the word is: "Voglia, Desiderio, Volonta." The English meaning of the word is in Italian quite a subsidiary one. See § 5: "Fig. per Attitudine, Disposizione naturale a far questa o quella cosa." In Inf. v, 38, 39 we find it with the signification of appetite:—

"I peccator carnali Che la ragion sommettono al talento."

See Littré, Dictionnaire de la Langue Française, s.v. talent, for the etymology of the word, and how it came to signify desire. He compares it to the Walloon word dalant = "désir, besoin." τάλαντον (the weight) in a scale causes a ροπή (inclination). which word is exactly equivalent to the Italian talento. "τάλαντον is akin (says Littré) to τλάω, tollere, Sanscr. root tul, to lift up or to weigh." "Le sens étymologique est un poids; il n' a pas passé dans les langues romanes; mais de l'idée de poids qui emporte la balance, elles lui ont donné, par une figure remarquable, la signification de désir.... Au XVIIme siècle, talent perdit le sens de désir, de volonté, et il prit celui de don de la nature, d'aptitude." After stating that this is a metaphor derived from the parable in the Gospels, Littré says that this metaphor was taught in the Schools even from early times, as the following passage from Abelard shows: "Quasi [Deus] indignaretur illa litteralis scientiae talenta, quae utrique nostrum commiserat, ad sui nominis honorem non dispensari." (Abael. Oper. p. 101, ed. Cousin). In Jamieson's Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language, vol. iv, I find: "Talent. Desire, inclination, purpose. See Barbour's Bruce, iii, 694, MS.:-

'Quhen thai war boune, to saile thai went, The wynd was welo to thair talent: Thai raysyt saile, and furth thai far.'

O. Fr. talent, Hisp. Ital. talento, Barbarous Latin, talentum, animi decretum, voluntas . . . hence French entalente, qui

Ma poi che il suspicar \* fu tutto spento, Piangendo disse :- "Se per questo cieco † Carcere vai per altezza d' ingegno, Mio figlio ov' è, İ e perchè non è teco?"-

Then there rose up to the uncovered mouth (of the tomb) a shade by the side of this one (Farinata) (visible) down to the chin: I think he must have raised himself up upon his knees. He peered all round me, as though he had a wish to see if some one else (his son Guido) were with me, but after this hope was quite extinguished, weeping he said: " If by loftiness of genius thou art going through this dark prison, where is my son, and why is he not with thee?'

aliquid agere cupit. To this is opposed maltalent, mala voluntas." Compare Chaucer, The Romaunt of the Rose, Il. 274 and

331: "male talent."

The word occurs in Walter Scott, Fair Maid of Perlh, ch. vii: "The Baillie also interposed, 'Neighbour Henry,' said he, 'we came here to consult, not to quarrel. As one of the fathers of the fair city, I command thee to forego all evil will and mal-talent you may have against Master Pottinger Dwining." Skeat (Etymological Dictionary) observes that we derive the sense of ability from the Parable in Matt. xxv, our talents being gifts of God.

\*suspicar: Derived from the Latin suspicari, which has three significations, namely, (1) to suspect; (2) to think; and

(3) to hope. The third meaning is the one I adopt.

† cieco carcere: Compare Purg. xxii, 103:"Nel primo cinghio del carcere cieco," etc.

1 Mio figlio ov' è?: Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, First Series, p. 178) writes as follows: "In Inf. x, 58 et seq., the scene between Cavalcanti and Dante, though not directly copied from that between Andromache and Eneas in En. iii, 310 et seq., is surely suggested by it :-

Verane te facies, verus mihi nuntius affers, Nate dea? vivisne? aut, si lux alma recessit, Hector ubi est?'

The expression, 'lux alma recessit,' to express death seems to be echoed in the paraphrastic description of life in l. 69:-Non fiere gli occhi suoi dolce lome?"

Benvenuto remarks that it would seem extremely probable to Cavalcante that his son should be in Dante's company, for they were the two shining lights of Florence, friends, philosophers, both of them poets, and (when Guido's father had last seen them) both Guelphs.

Poletto (Dizionario Dant. s.v. Guido Cavalcanti) writes that Guido was the first and best loved of all Dante's friends, called in the Vita Nuova, § 3: "quegli cui io chiamo primo de' miei amici." And in \$ 24, where he speaks of Vanna, a lady beloved by Guido: "una gentil donna, la quale era di famosa beltade, e fu già molto donna di questo mio primo amico." In the De Vulg. Elog. i, 13, Dante speaks in praise both of Guido's intimate knowledge of the vulgar tongue, and also of his Canzoni. He is said to have died at the end of the year 1300. G. Villani (Cronica, viii, 42) describes him as being "filosofo, virtudioso uomo in più cose, se non ch' era troppo tenero e stizzoso."

The next three lines are of somewhat doubtful import, and have been variously interpreted.

Ed io lui :- " Da me stesso non vegno : Colui, che attende là, per qui mi mena, Forse cui Guido vostro ebbe a disdegno."-\*

And I to him: "Of mine own self I come not: He who awaits me yonder is leading me through here, whom perchance your Guido held in light esteem."

<sup>\*</sup>disdegno: In the Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca, s.v. § 1, I find: "Vale anche dispregio, o semplicemente non curanza." Compare Inf. xvi, 29: "Rende in dispetto noi e nostri preghi." In a note on this passage, Di Siena interprets dispetto as dispregio.

Benvenuto, forgetting Homer, thinks Dante to mean that not he, but Virgil, was the inventor of a descent into Hell. He also thinks that Guido was more of a philosopher than a poet, and speaks of him as having written only one love sonnet, which Bianchi says is not the case, as Guido was a lyric poet of great distinction. Both Benvenuto and Landino understand this last line to signify that Guido had so given himself up to philosophy that he took no pleasure in reading the poets.

Poletto (s.v. Guido Cavalcanti) points out that in the Vita Nuova, § xxxi, Dante states that it was entirely through the persuasions of Guido that he abandoned the idea of writing the Vita Nuova in Latin, and adopted the vulgar tongue. He notices that some persons explain Dante's remark about Guido despising Virgil by Guido's indifference or antipathy to Latin. Poletto further quotes the opinion of Professor Francesco D' Ovidio (in a note on the present passage, in the November and December numbers of the Propugnatore di Bologna, 1870, pp. 167-177), who holds that the feeling of religious piety that so largely inspired the Virgilian poems was far less appreciated by Guido than by Dante. He says that the forse is not the expression of a doubt, but it is said from motives of delicacy towards the father by Dante, himself a believer, to draw a veil as far as possible over the son's scepticism, which in Dante's eyes was a sin.

Professor Poletto, alluding to another quotation from Professor D' Ovidio (of which he omits to give the reference), observes: "The illustrious writer says with much wisdom that the circumstance of Virgil having been looked upon merely as a poet more than anything else turned the commentary of the Divina Commedia out of the right path for several centuries. The reason of that is that the Commentators had so imperfect a knowledge of Dante's Minor Works: for, from the De Monarchia alone, they could have ascertained the large amount of faith that Dante reposes in Virgil as a philosopher, as a politician, and as a historian; as one, in short, whose authority was to be received with the greatest respect, even in the most minute and intricate points of law. Let those come forward who do not confine their attention to the Divina Commedia alone, but look upon it as being what it is, a ray of light reflected from the other works of Dante; and a full and true commentary will be the result."

We may therefore consider that Dante is endeavouring in his answer to spare, as far as possible, the father's feelings, while he hints, as delicately as he can, that Guido as a sceptic had not much respect for Virgil, whose writings were full of religious belief. In his answer, however, he uses the past tense ebbe. The father at once fastens on the expression.

> Le sue parole e il modo della pena M' avevan di costui già letto \* il nome : Però fu la risposta così piena.

Quando partiamci, il nome di colei," etc.

And Par. xxvi, 16-18:-

<sup>\*</sup> letto il nome: We are to understand letto here as equivalent to manifestato. Compare Purg. xxvi, 85, 86:—
"In obbrobrio di noi, per noi si legge,

Di subito drizzato gridò:—" Come Dicesti: 'egli ebbe?"\* non viv' egli ancora? Non fiere gli occhi suoi lo dolce lome?"—†

His words and the manner of his punishment had already revealed to me his name: therefore was my answer so full. He, suddenly springing to his feet, cried out: "How saidst thou? 'He had?' Is he not still alive? Does not the sweet light strike upon his eyes?"

Dante is much puzzled at these questions. He was under the impression that the spirits in Hell were not deprived of knowledge of what was passing in the world, and it is only later on, when Farinata in his turn questions him about contemporary events, that any doubt enters into his mind, and then he obtains an explanation from Farinata. But when Cavalcante first asks whether his son is still alive.

"Lo ben che fa contenta questa corte, Alfa ed O è di quanta scrittura

Mi legge amore, o lievemente o forte."

Cavalcante's words about his son Guido, and the fact of seeing him undergoing the punishment of an Epicurean, had sufficiently disclosed his identity to Dante. Some read detto, about which Dr. Moore (Text. Crit. p. 298) remarks that letto is pretty certainly the true reading, being a little out of the common, at any rate as compared with detto, which is an obvious facilior lectio, and quite commonplace.

\*ebbe: Compare Shakespeare, All's Well that Ends Well, Act i, sc. 1: "This young gentlewoman had a father,—O that had! how sad a passage 'tis!—whose skill was almost as great as his honesty." This is probably imitated from Terence, Heautontimorumenos, Act i, Sc. 1, where Menedemus says: "Filium unicum adolescentulum Habeo: ah! quid dixi habere me? immo habui, Chreme: nunc habeam, necne, incertum est."

<sup>+</sup> dolce lome: Compare Eccles. xi, 7: "Truly the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun."

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astonishment makes him hesitate, and the poor father misinterpreting Dante's silence, sinks back in despair, fearing that his son also is dead.

> Quando s' accorse d' alcuna dimora \* Ch' io faceva dinanzi alla risposta, Supin ricadde, e più non parve fuora.+

When he noticed that I made some delay before giving the answer, he fell back supine and forth appeared no more.

Division III.—Farinata has taken no more notice of Cavalcante's interruption than if such a person had never existed. One reads of people suddenly losing consciousness in the middle of a sentence which they are speaking, and on recovering their senses, perhaps long afterwards, they will complete the sentence as though no interval of time had elapsed between. So it is with Farinata, who just before Cavalcante interposed in the conversation. had received from Dante a smart retort to the effect that the Ghibellines had never known the way to return from banishment. No consideration of the intervening episode has checked his train of thought, and in retaliation for Dante's taunt, he predicts to him that within the short space of four years, he will have a similar experience.

\* alcuna dimora ch' io faceva, et seq.: Dimora here must be taken as having the sense of Indugio, tardanza. See Gran Dizionario, s.v. dimora, and dimoro.

<sup>+</sup> non parve fuora: Cavalcante's feelings about his son were probably like those which Dives in Hell expressed to Abraham. See Luke xvi, 27, 28: "Then he said, I pray thee therefore, father, that thou wouldest send him [Lazarus] to my father's house: For I have five brethren; that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment.

Ma quell' alto magnanimo, a cui posta \* Restato m' era, non mutò aspetto, Nè mosse collo, nè piegò sua costa. 75 -" E se,"-continuando al primo detto, -"S' egli han quell' arte,"-disse,-"male appresa, Ciò mi tormenta più che questo letto. Ma non cinquanta volte fia raccesa La faccia della donna che qui regge, † 80 Che tu saprai quanto quell' arte pesa.

\*a cui posta: Stare a posta di alcuno means "to be under the command of any one," "to be at his disposal," "at his goodwill and pleasure." Compare Giov. Villani, Lib. viii, cap. 96: "Le masnade de' Catalani col maliscalco del re, ch' era a posta [under the orders] di coloro che guidavano la terra." And Boccaccio, Decam. Giorn. ix, Nov. 5: "a sua posta tenendola in una casa a Camaldoli," etc. In the cafés at Florence coffee made specially to order is "Caffe a posta," though perhaps more a pious metaphor than a reality; and if one orders a café au lait at Doney's, the Café which is the central point of all Florence, the waiter will immediately shout out "Un post" a latte!" i.e. "One coffee with milk expressly made." Compare Inf. xvi, 81:- "Felice te, se sì parli a tua posta."

+ La faccia della donna che qui regge: Macaulay (Criticisms on the Principal Italian Writers in Misc. Works, i, 68-70) remarks: "There is another peculiarity in the poem of Dante, which, I think, deserves notice. Ancient Mythology has hardly ever been successfully interwoven with modern poetry. . . . Dante alone, among the poets of later times, has been . . . neither an allegorist nor an imitator; and, consequently, he alone has introduced the ancient fictions with effect. His Minos, his Charon, his Pluto [or Plutus] are absolutely terrific. Nothing can be more beautiful or original than the use which he has made of the river of Lethe. He has never assigned to his mythological characters any functions inconsistent with the creed of the Catholic Church. He has related nothing concerning them which a good Christian of that age might not believe possible. On this account, there is nothing in these passages that appears puerile or pedantic. On the contrary, this singular use of classical names suggests to the mind a vague and awful idea of some mysterious revelation, anterior to all recorded history, of which the dispersed fragments might have been retained amidst the impostures and superstiBut that other high-souled one, at whose command I had remained, changed not his countenance, nor moved his head (lit. neck), nor bent his side (towards Cavalcante). "And if," he said, continuing his first discourse, "if they have learnt that art amiss, that fact alone torments me more than this (fiery) couch. But not fifty times shall the face of the Lady who reigns here be rekindled, ere thou shalt know how heavy that art is (i.e. how difficult it is to return from exile when one is banished).

The Lady is Proserpine, Diana, Hecate, or the Moon, and the rekindling of her face refers to fifty lunar months from the time of the vision (April 1300), which would bring the date to April 1304. When the Bianchi, among whom was Dante, were attempting to get things smoothed over to enable them to return from exile to Florence, Dante disagreed with their plans, and is thought then to have separated from them. They made their attempt in July, but it failed.

E se tu mai nel dolce mondo regge,\*

tions of later religions. Indeed the mythology of the Divine Comedy is of the elder and more colossal mould. It breathes the spirit of Homer and Æschylus, not of Ovid and Claudian."

<sup>\*</sup>regge: Of this word Blanc (Voc. Dant. s.v. reddire) says:
"As regards the passage in Inf. x, 82, where several interpreters wish to give to the verb reggere the sense of durare to endure,' we think that regge is only an archaic form of the conjunctive mood of redire, as a poet might put vegge from vedere; the sense would then be: 'if ever thou returnest.'"
Nannucci (Manuale, vol. ii, p. 315, note 7) quotes the following passage from Brunetto Latini: "E quella disse: E se tu non riedi? E que' rispuose: E s' io non reggio, e' ti sodisfarà il successore mio." Nannucci observes that some Commentators object that the derivation of reggere from redire is too farfetched, but he does not think so; for if from cado can be

Dimmi perchè quel popolo è si empio \* Incontro a' miei in ciascuna sua legge?"—

And (I adjure thee) by all thy hopes of returning to the beautiful world, tell me why that people (of Florence) is so relentless against my kindred in all its decrees?"

Farinata's reason (according to Buti and Giov. Villani) for asking this question is, that at that time the Uberti were always specially excluded from any amnesty to the exiles which the State might pronounce, and always specially included in any decree wherein more rigorous measures were resolved upon. Buti suggests that the Florentines probably inserted

formed caggio; from vedo, veggio; from fiedo, feggio; from siedo, seggio; he does not see why from riedo should not be formed reggio. He quotes the following as an example: "reggendo (ritornando) in prima recò in Occidente le reliquie di San Stefano martire," etc. (Popular Translation into Italian of the Stories of P. Orosius, by Bono Giamboni, Lib. i, cap. i).

\*& si empio: The words in this passage may have more than one meaning: (1) "is so relentless, exhibits such savage hatred"; and (2) is impious, because all the ferocious edicts against the Uberti were pronounced in the (then) Cathedral of San Giovanni. That is the view of the Gran Dizionario, s.v.

empio, § 9.

In the great Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca, I find in § v: "Empio, vale anche Crudele, Spietato," though the seventeen different sections show that the word has the significations of almost every kind of cruelty, hatred, impiety, profanity, wickedness, failure in duty to parents, and even the rejection of the love of a suitor. To illustrate empio in the sense of "cruel, pitiless," compare Ariosto, Orl. Fur. xi, st. 19:—

"lei vede esser quella A cui dar morte vuol l' empio gigante."

And ibid. st. 22:-

"Ma poco ci giovò: chè 'l nimico empio Dell' umana natura, il qual del telo Fu l' inventor," etc.

as the preamble to any new law: "To the honour of the State, and for the destruction of the Uberti and their followers." This conjecture is endorsed by Villani.

Dante tells Farinata, in reply, that the vindictive Florentines have never forgiven him, the Ghibelline general, who at the battle of Montaperti humiliated their army. The Martinella (the war-bell) and the standard of Florence were dragged along the ground, and 4,000 Florentines slain.

> Ond' io a lui :- "Lo strazio e il grande scempio \* 85 Che fece l' Arbia + colorata in rosso, 1 Tale orazion fa far nel nostro tempio."-

\*scempio: I follow the Vernon Dante, which gives the interpretation strage. My father, when in difficulty about the meaning of words, always consulted the great philologist Nannucci, who had been his private secretary. The word no doubt is derived from the Latin exemplum, and is interpreted by the Gran Dizionario as pena, not "example" as Mr. Butler puts it.

+l' Arbia: This is a small stream which rises between Castellina in the Chianti district and Colle Petroso, and after passing through the Sienese territory, and notably through the field of battle of Montaperti, runs into the Ombrone at Buonconvento (near Siena) which town we may remember as the scene of the death of the Emperor Henry VII, in 1313.

t colorata in rosso: Compare Guido Guinicelli, in the Sonnet beginning Vedut' ho la lucente stella diana :-"Viso di neve colorato in grana [i.e. in rosso],

Occhi lucenti, gai, e pien d' amore."

Nannucci (Manuale, vol. i, p. 43) in a note on the above passage, says that Fra Guittone d' Arezzo in one of his Sonnets made allusion to Guido's lines:-

". . . quando vuol la sua donna laudare. Le dice ched è bella come fiore, E che di gemma ovver di stella pare, E che in viso di grana [di rosso] ave colore.' Whereupon I to him: "The rout and the great carnage, which (at Montaperti) dyed the Arbia with crimson, cause orisons of that kind to be made in our place of worship."

There is here a touch of irony. Farinata recognised Dante as belonging to a Guelph family, but did not know that the Guelphs were themselves split up into two factions, though, as a future event, he has just predicted Dante's exile. Dante bitterly alludes to the Church of San Giovanni (now the Baptistery) being used for political meetings. Orazion! tempio! The Churches consecrated to God were being debased by the vindictive enactments made in them by the ruling powers of Florence against their adversaries. Brunone Bianchi says that the hatred against the Uberti was so unmeasured, that before the Altar of God the Florentine people dared to offer the following prayer: "That it may please thee to root out and disperse the family of the Uberti! (ut domum Ubertam eradicare et disperdere digneris)."

Farinata by a gesture shows emotion and disappointment at this revelation. He has much to say in his own defence.

Poi ch' ebbe sospirando il capo scosso,

—"A ciò non fui io sol,"—disse,—"nè certo
Senza cagion con gli altri sarei mosso:

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Ma fu' io sol colà,\* dove sofferto
Fu per ciascun di torre via Fiorenza,
Colui che la difesi a viso aperto."—

<sup>\*</sup>Ma fu' io sol colà, etc.: After the battle of Montaperti there was a Diet held by the chiefs of the Ghibellines at Empoli, a small to ut twenty miles from Florence, and at

When with a sigh he had shaken his head, "I was not the only one in that," said he, "and certainly should never have stirred with the others without cause (namely, of wishing to return to my home from exile): but I was the only one at that place (Empoli), when it had been agreed by every one to sweep away Florence, who openly defended her in the face of every one."

Dante now puts a question in his turn to Farinata. He has noticed that while Ciacco was able to predict the issue of factions at Florence, and that Farinata also could foretell Dante's own exile, yet Cavalcante

the instigation of Provenzano Salvani and the Pisan leaders, it was resolved by a nearly unanimous vote to utterly destroy Florence as the principal stronghold of the Guelphs. Thereupon Farinata degli Überti started to his feet, and drawing his sword, exclaimed that he would with it defend Florence, and would lay down a thousand lives, if he had them, against those who should attempt to carry out so unrighteous a decision, and thereupon in great anger quitted the Diet. On which so great a fear entered into the minds of all present, lest the indignation of a man so publicly esteemed might greatly damage the cause of the Ghibellines, that there was no further thought of their impious resolution, and they all gave their minds to allay Farinata's displeasure. Ricordano Malespini (Istoria Fiorentina, cap. clxx) gives some further details of what had taken place at the said meeting, namely, that "si levò il savio Cavaliere messer Farinata degli Uberti. e alla sua diceria propose due grossi proverbi, che dicono: Come asino sape, così minuzza [munches up] rape; e vassi capra zoppa, tanto che in lupo si rintoppa. E questi due proverbi investi in uno dicendo: Come asino sape, si va capra zoppa: così minuzza rape, se'l lupo non l' intoppa: recando poi con savie parole l' assempro [the moral to be deduced] sopra il grosso proverbio, com' era follia di ciò parlare, e come gran pericolo, e danno ne potea venire." On this Giovanni Villani (Lib. vi, cap. 81) remarks: "Ma poi il popolo di Firenze ne fu ingrato e sconoscente contro al detto messere Farinata, e sua progenie, e lignaggio . . . Ma . . . per la sconoscenza dello ingrato popolo, nondimeno è da commendare, e fare notabile memoria del virtudioso e buono cittadino, che fece a guisa del buono antico Cammillo Romano, come racconta Valerio e Tito Livio." was ignorant that his son Guido was still alive, and Farinata had just questioned him about present matters at Florence. He is puzzled, and asks Farinata the reason, adjuring him by his hopes of a cessation of the inveterate hatred and persecution of his family by the Florentines.

-" Deh, se \* riposi mai vostra semenza,"-Prega' io lui,-"solvetemi quel nodo, Che qui ha inviluppata mia sentenza.

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\* se riposi mai vostra semenza: Se is a deprecative particle like the sic in Latin. Compare Horace, I Carm. iii, 1-7:-

"Sic te diva potens Cypri, Sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera,

Navis, quae tibi creditum Debes Virgilium, finibus Atticis Reddas incolumem, precor,"

which is explained in a note in Macleane's Horace thus :-

"Horace seems to mean this: 'I pray thee, O ship, deliver up thy trust in safety, and to that end may the stars and winds prosper thee.' In Virgil (Ecl. ix, 30) Lycidas urges Maeris to recite him some verses, and he says :-

'Sic tua Cyrneas fugiant examina taxos; Sic cytiso pastae distendant ubera vaccae.'

Here sic expresses an earnest and affectionate prayer for the person addressed . . . but it cannot be called a condition so much as a strong expression of feeling . . . and amounts to no more than utinam in a strong form, as &s does in Greek." These remarks of Mr. Macleane on sic in Latin, seem to exactly interpret se in Italian. Among many instances in Dante (including 1. 82 of this Canto) one of the best as an illustration is the request of Conrad Malaspina (see Purg. viii, 112-117) that Dante would give him the latest news of his former dominions in the Valdimagra and adjacent territories :-

"'Se la lucerna che ti mena in alto Trovi nel tuo arbitrio tanta cera,

Quant' è mestiero infino al sommo smalto,'

Cominciò ella: 'Se novella vera

Di Valdimacra, o di parte vicina Sai, dilla a me, che già grande là era."

Così is sometimes used in the same way, as we find in Pesome editions, 116) :trarch, Part i, 5

bel lauro in fresca riva."

Readings on the Inferno.

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Canto x.

E' par che voi veggiate, se ben odo, Dinanzi quel che il tempo seco adduce, E nel presente tenete altro modo."—

"Ah! by all your hopes of your seed hereafter finding repose (in being restored to Florence)," I entreated him, "loose for me that knot, which here has entangled my judgment. It seems that you (in Hell), if I rightly hear, see beforehand that which time brings with it, and as regards the present take a different course (i.e. are ignorant of it)."

The answer that Farinata makes to Dante is very remarkable. It is generally considered to imply that the first words of it (Noi veggiam) apply to all the lost spirits in Hell, but several passages may be noted that seem inconsistent with this view. In Inf. vi, Ciacco not only predicts the future in 11. 64-72, but in 11. 73-75 he adds: Giusti son due, ma non vi sono intesi: superbia, invidia ed avarizia sono, etc., which is a direct allusion to the present as well as to the future. Again in this Canto, the question that Farinata has put to Dante about the persecution of his kindred, dimmi perche quel popolo è si empio incontro a' miei in Il. 82-84, would almost seem to show some knowledge of what was passing at Florence, though possibly this might be explained by his inferring the present hostility of the Florentines from Dante having thrown in his teeth that his kindred had never been able to return from exile. Poletto (Dizionario Dantesco, s.v. Cavalcante Cavalcanti) expresses his conviction that by noi is not to be understood all the lost in Hell, but only the Epicureans in this Circle, che l' anima col corpo morta

fanno (1. 15), and he thinks that for the sin of denying the immortality of the soul, they have to undergo this special penalty. He says that Dante always shows a marvellous correspondence between the sin and its punishment, and as the soothsayers, from wishing to peer into futurity are condemned to look back behind them,\* why should not they who have denied the immortality of the soul, besides undergoing the torment of the eternal fire, have the additional humiliation, that so long as time lasts, they will have to admit this immortality by being permitted to see into the future? In the world these Epicureans lived all for the present, and ignorantly despised the future; in Hell they are condemned to behold the future only, and to remain ignorant of the present.

-"Noi veggiam, come quei ch' ha mala luce, 100 Le cose,"—disse,—"che ne son lontano; Cotanto † ancor ne splende il sommo Duce:

\* In Inf. xx, 37-39, the soothsayer Amphiaraus is represented with his head facing behind him, because he presumptuously dared to look too forward:—

"Mira che ha fatto petto delle spalle:
Perchè volle veder troppo davante,
Diretro guarda, e fa retroso calle."

All the other soothsayers undergo a like punishment. So also in *Inf.* xix, 71, 72, Pope Nicholas III tells Dante that whereas in the world he had been successful in empouching wealth, in Hell, by way of corresponding punishment, he has got himself into the pouch, by which he means the hot oven in which he is fixed head downwards:—

"Cupido si per avanzar gli orsatti, ... Che su l' avere, e qui me misi in borsa."

† Cotanto ancor, etc.: "Dicit beatus Thomas quod anima exuta corporalem sensibilitatem nihil intelligit aut sapit ultra suam propriom naturam, quae est intelligere intellectualiter, et velle, a scit et universalia." (Pietro di Dante).

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Quando s' appressano, o son,\* tutto è vano
Nostro intelletto; e s' altri† non ci apporta,
Nulla sapem di vostro stato umano.
Però comprender puoi che tutta morta
Fia nostra conoscenza da quel punto

Che del futuro fia chiusa la porta."-1

"We view, like one who has imperfect sight, the things," he said, "that are remote from us (i.e. the past and the future); thus much light does the Supreme Ruler still bestow upon us: When they draw near or are present, our intellect is wholly at fault; and if others bring it not to us,

\* Quando s' appressano: Dante's interview with Cavalcante Cavalcanti would take place presumably at the time of the supposed date of the vision, in April 1300. Guido Cavalcanti died in August that year, so that his end was near at hand when Dante talked with his father. Being so soon about to happen (s' appressano) the foresight of it was not granted to his father.

+s' altri non ci apporta: This means that "if other souls, freshly arrived from the world, do not bring us news of it, we know nothing whatever of what is befalling all of you up there."

† del futuro fia chiusa la porta: Buti observes that this conclusion follows naturally from those afore-mentioned, namely, that all knowledge on the part of the lost spirits will be extinct after the Day of Judgment; for seeing that their knowledge only extends to the future, and after the Day of Judgment there will be no more future, but only Eternity, it follows that they will cease to have any knowledge whatever. There will be no fresh spirits (altri) coming into Hell, to tell them of the events that were present when they died. Compare Petrarch, Trionfo della Divinità, 61-69:—

"O mente vaga, al fin sempre digiuna!

A che tanti pensieri? un' ora sgombra
Quel che 'n molti anni appena si raguna.
Quel che l' anima nostra preme e 'ngombra,
Dianzi, adesso, ier, diman, mattino e sera,
Tutti in punto passeran com' ombra.
Non avrè loco fu, sarà, nè era;
Ma è solo, in presente, e ora e oggi.

Ma è solo, in presente, e ora e oggi, E sola eternità raccolta e 'ntera." we have no knowledge of your human state. Therefore thou canst understand that our knowledge will become wholly dead from that point, when the portal of futurity shall be closed."

Dante, having received from Farinata the above courteous explanation, which has made clear to him what he had found it so hard to understand, suddenly becomes conscious of his own seeming discourtesy towards Cavalcante de' Cavalcanti in not at once satisfying his question about his son Guido. He entreats Farinata to convey a message from him to make amends. Let us hope that Farinata so far overcame his contempt for Cavalcante as to comply.

Allor, come di mia colpa compunto,

Dissi:—"Or \* direte dunque a quel caduto
Che il suo nato è co' vivi ancor congiunto.

E s' io fui innanzi alla risposta muto,
Fat 'ei saper che il fei, perchè pensava †
Già nell' error che m' avete ‡ soluto."—

<sup>\*</sup>Or: There are many passages in the Divina Commedia where the English "now" seems but an unsatisfactory rendering of the sense of ora. In the Gran Dizionario, s.v. Ora, adverb of present time, § 7, I find that when abbreviated to Or, "serve per proprietà di lingua alle esclamazioni . . . e dà al costrutto maggior enfasi." The Vocabolario della Crusca, speaking of Or, under the same head, says that it sometimes expresses desire, in the sense of the Latin utinam.

<sup>†</sup> perchè pensava gia nell' error, etc.: There is a certain pathos lying hid in these words. Guido was only supposed to be alive, but in reality he had been dead several years before the Inferno was written, somewhere about 1314.

<sup>†</sup> che m' avete soluto: Readers may have remarked in this Canto that for the first time Dante uses the second person voi in separately addressing both Farinata and Cavalcante. There is only one other individual in the whole of the Inferno to whom he does so, and that is his (so-called) old teacher

Then, as though conscious-smitten for my fault, I said: "I wish then that you would say to that fallen one that his son is still joined to the living. And if just now I was mute in (i.e. abstained from) answering, let him know that it was because I was still in the error which you have solved for me."

Brunetto Latini (Canto xv). Without counting those spirits whom he meets in pairs or in groups, we find that he addresses seventeen single shades. Of these, the three above-mentioned are addressed with voi, and the fourteen others with tu.

The fourteen are :-

	TOUI LOUIS MIC.				
I.	Francesca da Rimini			Inf.	v, 73-142.
2.	Ciacco		410	Inf.	vi, 38-93.
3.	Filippo Argenti .			Inf.	viii, 31-63.
	Venedico Caccianimico		*	Inf.	xviii, 40-66.
5.	Alessio Interminei.		-	Inf.	xviii, 115-126.
6.	Pope Nicholas III .		30	Inf.	xix, 31-120.
7.	Guido da Montefeltro			Inf.	xxvii.
8.	Pier da Medicina .		4	Inf.	xxviii, 64-90.
9.	Mosca de' Lamberti			Inf.	xxviii, 103-111.
10.	Griffolino	6		Inf.	xxix, 91-123.
II.	Maestro Adamo .			Inf.	xxx, 49-129.
12.	Bocca degli Abati .		4	Inf.	xxxii, 85-111.
13.	Count Ugolino .			Inf.	xxxii, 133-139.
74	Fra Alberigo			Torf	vyviii TIE-TAL

For one of these, Francesca, of the great family of Da Polenta at Ravenna, among whom Dante found the last resting-place during his life of weary exile, he evidently felt much affection, and uses tu as a term of endearment, notwithstanding her high rank; but he also uses the expression to Bocca degli Abati, the base betrayer of the Florentine arms at the battle of Montaperti, and for whom, of all the shades in Hell, he seems to have felt the most loathing contempt. That he intends to show great respect by this mode of address to Farinata, Cavalcante, and Ser Brunetto, is made evident by the episode of his conversation with the good Pope, Adrian V in Purg. xix, where we find that at first, not knowing to whom he was speaking, he began using tu, but on hearing from the spirit that had been a Pope, he changed his address to voi. See Purg. xix, 127-132:—

"Io m' era inginocchiato, e volea dire;
Ma com' io cominciai, ed ei s' accorse,
Solo ascoltando, del mio riverire:

115

Division IV.—By way of bringing this long conversation to an end, Dante pictures Virgil breaking in upon it, and giving him the signal for passing on further. First, however, Farinata, true to his haughty character, while answering Dante's enquiry as to who are his companions in that fiery tomb, mentions an Emperor and a Cardinal, and contemptuously passes in silence over all the others as unworthy of notice. He then disappears, and Dante proceeds on his way.

E già il Maestro mio mi richiamava:

Perch' io pregai lo spirto più avaccio \*

Che mi dicesse chi con lui si stava.

Dissemi:—" Qui con più di mille giaccio:

'Qual cagion,' disse, 'in giù così ti torse?'
Ed io a lui: 'Per vostra dignitate
Mia coscïenza dritto mi rimorse.'"

Dante also specially uses voi in speaking to his great-great-grandfather Cacciaguida in Par. xvi, 10-12:—

"Dal Voi, che prima Roma sofferie, In che la sua famiglia men persevra, Ricominciaron le parole mie."

And ibid. 16-18:-

"Io cominciai: 'Voi siete il padre mio,
Voi mi date a parlar tutta baldezza
Voi mi levate sì ch' io son più ch' io.'"

It is probable that he would also have so addressed Guido da Montefeltro, the great Ghibelline leader; but when he first spoke to him he did not know who he was, and the shade of Guido never gave him another opportunity afterwards, for at the conclusion of his narrative he darted away in grievous torment (dolorando si partio, Inf. xxvii, 131).

In Purgatory and in Paradise Dante always uses the term

voi in addressing Beatrice.

\*avaccio: Più avaccio means con maggior fretta. Compare Inf. xxxiii, 106, 107:—

". . . Avaccio sarai dove Di ciò ti farà l' occhio la risposta"

And now my Master was recalling me: wherefore more hurriedly I entreated the spirit to tell me who was with him. He said to me: "With more than a thousand I lie here: herein is the Second Frederick, and the Cardinal, and of the others I

<sup>\*</sup> lo secondo Federico: Frederick II, the famous grandson of Frederick Barbarossa, reigned as Emperor of Germany from 1220 to 1250. He was also King of Naples and Sicily, in which countries he held one of the most brilliant Courts of the Middle Ages. Giov. Villani, Lib. vi, cap. 1, thus mentions him: "This Frederick reigned thirty years as Emperor, and was a man of great mark and worth, learned in letters and of natural ability, universal in all things; he knew the Latin, the Italian, the German, the French, the Greek, and the Arabic languages; was copiously endowed with all virtues, liberal and courteous in giving, valiant and skilled in arms, and was much feared. And he was dissolute and voluptuous in many ways, and had many concubines and mamelukes, after the Saracenic fashion; and was addicted to all sensual delights, and led an Epicurean life, taking no account of any other; and this was one principal reason why he was an enemy to the clergy and to Holy Church." He was of the illustrious line of the Hohenstaufen. The account of him in The Land of Manfred, by Janet Ross, London, 1889, is well worth perusal, also an article upon that book in the Edinburgh Review, July 1889.

til Cardinale: This refers to Cardinal Ottaviano degli Ubaldini, who was illustrious at the time of Manfred and Charles I, a sagacious and bold man, hostile to the Papal Court, and a great protector of the Ghibellines. He was generally termed the Cardinal, Gelli explains, because he had the greatest power and influence at the Papal Court. Pietro di Dante assigns as the true reason for his being placed here, that in life he was often heard to say, he knew not if he had a soul or not, but he knew well, if he had, that he had lost it many times over on account of his excessive love for the Ghibelline party.

am silent." He then hid himself (i.e. sank down): and I turned my steps towards the ancient Poet, pondering over that saying which seemed adverse to me.

Virgil perceives Dante's depression on hearing the prophecy of his exile, and inquires the cause, as he leads Dante away from the scene of his emotional interview with the haughty Ghibelline and the diffident Guelph.

> Egli si mosse; e poi così andando, Mi disse:—" Perchè sei tu sì smarrito?"— 125 Ed io li satisfeci al suo dimando.

He moved on; and then as we were thus going, he said to me: "Why art thou so distraught?" And I satisfied his enquiry for him.

The words in which Virgil goes on to counsel Dante may be taken in two distinct senses. I will first discuss the one that I follow. Virgil tells Dante to store up in his memory what Farinata has predicted of his coming misfortunes, and that when he is in the presence of Beatrice, he will be told by her what they will be. But meanwhile as he has come down to Hell to learn salutary lessons from the penalties of the wicked, he must give his attention to the spectacle before his eyes (ora attendiqui), and not dwell too long on the other matter at present. It is here that Virgil points with his finger, to accompany the word with the gesture.

The other interpretation is the one more generally adopted, namely, that Virgil, after telling Dante to remember what had been said against him, says: "And now listen to this (ora attendi qui)," and he

points his finger up to Heaven, adding that when Dante should be on his journey through Paradise, he would learn from Divine Wisdom all that was in store for him.

—" La mente tua conservi quel ch' udito

Hai contra te,"—mi comandò quel Saggio,

—" Ed ora attendí qui:"—e drizzò il dito.

—" Quando sarai dinanzi al dolce raggio

Di quella il cui bell' occhio tutto vede,

Da lei \* saprai di tua vita il viaggio."—

"Let thy memory preserve what thou hast heard against thee," that Sage commanded me, "and meanwhile give thine attention here (to what is before thee):" and he pointed his finger. "When thou shalt be in the presence of the sweet radiance of her (i.e. Beatrice, symbolizing Sacred Theology), whose lovely eye seeth all things, from her shalt thou learn the journey of thy life."

And now the Canto is concluded by a description of the two Poets' departure from what might be called the Street of the Tombs, which they had entered when, as we read at the end of Canto ix, they turned to the right hand (an exceptional thing

<sup>\*</sup>Da lei saprai, etc.: Benvenuto observes that Dante hardly seems to be quite accurate here, seeing that it was not from Beatrice, but from his own forefather Cacciaguida, that he received the explanation of what was causing him so much doubt and anxiety. But if the whole of Canto xvii of the Paradiso be read, it will be seen that Cacciaguida utters his prediction in answer to a request Dante has made to him by the express command of Beatrice herself. See II. 7-12:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Per che mia donna: 'Manda fuor la vampa Del tuo disio,' mi disse, 'sì ch' ella esca Segnata bene della interna stampa; Non perchè nostra conoscenza cresca Per tuo parlare, ma perchè t' ausi A dir la sete, sì che l' uom ti mesca.'"

for them to do in Hell). They now strike across the Circle to their left, to reach the edge of the precipitous descent to the Circles below.

Appresso volse a man sinistra il piede:

Lasciammo il muro, e gimmo in vêr lo mezzo
Per un sentier ch' ad una valle fiede,
135
Che infin lassù facea spiacer suo lezzo.

Then he turned his foot to the left hand: we quitted the wall, and went towards the centre (of the city) by a path that strikes down into a valley which (valley) even up there made its stench unbearable.

Scartazzini remarks that most Commentators take lassi to mean the lofty precipice above Lower Hell, upon the edge of which the Poets are standing. But he is more inclined to take lassi as referring to the world above, as the same word does in l. 12 of this Canto (coi corpi che lassi hanno lasciati). He quotes as an apt comparison from Rev. xiv, 11: "And the smoke of this torment ascendeth up for ever and ever." I think it is probable that Dante meant this passage to have a double meaning, as he does in other places, where passages have two and sometimes three meanings.

END OF CANTO X.

## CANTO XI.

THE SIXTH CIRCLE—TOMB OF ANASTASIUS—DESCRIPTION
OF THE DIVISIONS OF THE INFERNAL CITY.

In this Canto Virgil gives Dante a detailed explanation of those parts of Hell inside the City of Dis, which have still to be visited.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into three parts.

In Division I, from ver. 1 to ver. 15, while taking shelter behind a tomb from the foul odour that rises from Nether Hell, Dante asks Virgil to give him some instruction, which the latter promises to do.

In Division II, from ver. 16 to ver. 66, Virgil makes Dante clearly to understand the principles on which the Circles below are disposed and arranged.

In Division III, from ver. 67 to ver. 115, Virgil further explains why the Impure, the Gluttonous, the Misers and Prodigals, as well as the Wrathful and Sullen, are not punished in the City of Dis; and also in what sense Usury is an offence against God.

Division I.—Although during their walk among the tombs, the Poets were inside the walls of the City of Dis, they cannot be said to have actually entered into the city proper until the time when they quitted the track that ran under the walls (see Canto x, 134, 135), and turning to their left, struck right across the Circle, which, be it remembered, was the Sixth. They now appear before us, having reached the edge of a small concentric ring which borders the circular abyss down which they are about to descend into the Seventh Circle. Here the odour is so revolting that they are obliged to stop.

In su l'estremità d' un' alta ripa,\*

Che facevan gran pietre rotte in cerchio,

Venimmo sopra più crudele stipa:†

E quivi, per l'orribile soperchio

Del puzzo,‡ che il profondo abisso gitta,

5

<sup>\*</sup>alta ripa: Boccaccio and Gelli both state that ripa only means a fall of rocks or of earth from one place down to another, so sheer and abrupt, that one cannot walk upon it, or only with the greatest difficulty. The Gran Dizionario, quoting this passage, interprets alta ripa as luogo scosceso, i.e. "precipitous spot." In the Purgatorio we frequently find ripa used to denote the steep sides of the mountain.

tstipa: Various meanings are given to this word. I take that given by Benvenuto and Buti, and followed by Scartazzini and Père Berthier in his Commentary. Benvenuto says: "Note that stipa is sometimes verbum literale, and is the same as claudit; sometimes it is a verb in the dialect of Bologna, and has the same signification as [the Latin] sit; sometimes it is a noun and has various meanings; for instance a coop or cage in which chickens are confined, and so it is metaphorically to be understood here. For as chickens are shut up in a cage for punishment or death, so the souls here are in a prison much more grievous than any of those above; therefore by stipa understand 'prison and punishment.'" Many Commentators take it in the sense of a mass of things packed or crowded together (ammucchiamento), from stivare, to pack the hold of a vessel (see Inf. vii, 19), as signifying the vast multi-tudes that were crowded together in the descending Circles of Lower Hell.

<sup>†</sup> puzzo: The Codice Cassinese cites St. Augustine on this: "Mala fama talium peccatorum mortuorum non potest excitari ut auctor hic excitare intendit moraliter sine foetore cum

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Canto XI.

Ci raccostammo \* dietro ad un coperchio †
D' un grande avello, ov' io vidi una scritta
Che diceva:— "Anastasio papa ‡ guardo,
Lo qual trasse Fotin della via dritta."—

Upon the extreme edge of a lofty precipice, which huge shattered rocks formed into a circle, we came above a still more cruel prison. And here, by reason of the horrible excess of stench which the

dicat augustinus quod bona fama [bonus] odor est mala vero foetor." Compare the stench in the Infernal Regions mentioned in Æn. vi, 239-241:—

"Quam super haud ullae poterant impune volantes Tendere iter pennis; talis sese halitus atris Faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat." And ibid. vii, 83, 84:—

"nemorum quae maxima sacro Fonte sonat, saevamque exhalat opaca mephitim."

\*ci raccostammo: The ordinary meaning of raccostarsi is to draw near, but Blanc (Voc. Dant.) says that in this particular passage it has the signification of taking shelter.

† dietro ad un coperchio d' un grande avello: We must remember that all the lids of the tombs were raised and standing upright, and the tomb was a large one, such as would contain a vast number of heretics. In the Dittamondo, Lib. iv, cap. xiv, Fazio degli Uberti writes:—

". . . Fui in Cologna, Dove son gli tre maghi in ricchi avelli."

† Anastasio papa: The personage here referred to is Pope Anastasius II, though some Commentators have tried to prove that Dante is confusing the Pope with the Emperor of that name. The Pope's heresy was that of having thrown doubts on the validity of the damnation of a bishop, Acacius, excommunicated in A.D. 484 by Pope Felix III, and having communicated with Photinus a deacon of Thessalonica, who was not only on terms of friendship with Acacius, but was also himself guilty of the heresy of believing that the Holy Ghost did not proceed from the Father, and that the Father was greater than the Son. Gelli thinks that while the names of ordinary heretics are unrecorded, heresy in a Pope is so heinous a crime as to necessitate his name being held up to perpetual notoriety. Heresy in a Pope can never remain unconcealed.

deep abyss throws up, we took refuge behind the lid of a great tomb, whereon I saw a writing which said: "I keep Pope Anastasius, whom Photinus diverted from the right way."

Benvenuto discusses the evil odours connected with the various torments in the Circles and subdivisions below with realistic minuteness; each, he says, would give forth its own especial stench, and that is why Virgil in the lines that follow, wishes to explain that their present delay and subsequent slow progress is for the purpose of habituating themselves to the general foetor of the abyss as a whole before encountering the individual stench of each Circle in its turn. Dante, desiring to give his readers a detailed plan of the regions below, represents himself as asking Virgil to tell him anything that he ought to know before entering them, and Virgil answers that he was just on the point of doing so.

—"Lo nostro scender conviene esser tardo,
Sì che s' ausi un poco prima il senso
Al tristo fiato, e poi non fia riguardo."—
Così il Maestro; ed io:—"Alcun compenso,"—\*
Dissi lui,—"trova, che il tempo non passi
Perduto;"—ed egli;—"Vedi che a ciò penso.

\*Alcun compenso . . . trova: Compare Purg. xvii, 84, where, when the Poets have reached the Cornice of Accidia, Dante represents all his powers of action to have become numb, and, as it were, paralysed. As progress had thus become impossible, he suggests to Virgil that the time should not be lost:

Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, ii, 155) quotes this passage in the Inferno as showing the curious parallelism with the passage in Purg. xvii, and notes that in each case there is an enforced delay, and in each case Dante asks Virgil to devise some means of 
"Our descent must needs be slow, so that sense may first get somewhat accustomed to the sickening blast, and then there will not be (any need for) caution." Thus the Master; and I said to him: "Find some set off (against this delay), that the time pass not idly by;" and he: "Look you! I am thinking of that very thing.

Benvenuto remarks that the explanation that follows is most useful and necessary, for without it the conception of the different parts of the City of Dis would have been very confused.

Division II. is very long, and contains full details of the different regions of Lower Hell. Virgil first defines the three main divisions, namely, the Seventh. Eighth, and the Ninth Circles, which being of much smaller diameter than those above he terms the smaller or lesser Circles.

> Figliuol mio, dentro da cotesti sassi,"-Cominciò poi a dir,-"son tre cerchietti\*

lows an elaborate discourse on the Classification of Sins, and in each a "table of contents," and each passage is made to enounce a connected plan or scheme.

\*cerchietti: I have translated this "lesser circles." I do not feel able to agree with any attempt to give the force in English of the Italian diminutive by such an English word as "circlet," which surely does not express what Dante meant by cerchietto. These cerchietti were vast spaces within the heart of the Earth extending, according to the computations of such eminent geometricians as Manetti, Landino, Giam-bullari and Galileo, to hundreds of miles, and only called by the diminutive form to show that they were of less circumference in each successive grade than the still more vast spaces above. The words "circlets" might deceive the reader into thinking that the subdivisions of the Circles (gironi and bolge) were being referred to. "They are here called cerchietti, because their diameter is, from the nature of the descending

Di grado in grado, come quei che lassi.\*
Tutti son pien di spirti maledetti;
Ma perchè poi ti basti pur la vista,†
Intendi come e perchè son costretti.

20

My Son, within (the circumference of) these rocks," he then began to say, "are three lesser Circles (descending) from grade to grade like those (the six above) which thou art leaving. They are all full of spirits accurst: but in order that from now sight (alone) may suffice thee, understand how and why they are in durance.

The "how" means the system or classification of the punishment of the spirits below: the "why" the special cause for the infliction of each punishment according to the special class of sin to which it is allotted.

Virgil then tells Dante that there is one broad two-fold classification to be applied to the sins punished in Lower Hell, namely (1) Sins of Violence, and (2) Sins of Fraud. But Fraud is the greater sin of the two, because it is a sin specially

conical pit, necessarily smaller." (Dr. Moore, Studies in Dante,

Second Series, p. 156).

+ti basti . . . la vista: Scartazzini remarks that Dante obeyed this injunction implicitly, and as long as he was in Hell, asked Virgil no more questions as he had done in Cantos

iii, iv, v, vii, and ix.

<sup>\*</sup>come quei che lassi: This refers to the six Circles above, through which Dante had already passed. Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, Second Series, p. 155) calls this speech of Virgil's "an elaborate discourse on the divisions and subdivisions of sins in the lower Circles of Hell, which they are about to enter, as well as (and this is important to note) on their relation to those that have been already treated of, so that the passage is thus made to enounce a connected plan or scheme of Classification of Sins, applicable to the whole Cantica of the Inferno." Lassi is for lasci.

† ti basti . . . la vista: Scartazzini remarks that Dante

human. Violence is common both to Man and to other animals, but Fraud necessitates reasoning powers.

D' ogni malizia,\* ch' odio in cielo acquista,
Ingiuria † è il fine, ed ogni fin cotale
O con forza o con frode altrui contrista.
Ma perchè frode è dell' uom proprio male,
Più spiace a Dio; e però stan di sutto ‡
Gli frodolenti, e più dolor gli assale.

25

\*malizia: The primary meaning of malizia is Vice, Evildoing, Wickedness, or, as Mr. Tozer puts it, "Wrong-dealing." Compare Conv. iv, 1, ll. 25, 29: "Ma perocchè ciascuna cosa per sè è da amare, e nulla è da odiare, se non per sopravvenimento di malizia, ragionevole e onesto è, non le cose, ma le malizie delle cose odiare." In Miss Hillard's translation of the Convito, sopravvenimento di malizia is happily rendered "superadded wickedness." Compare also Conv. iv, 15, ll. 168, 169: "E secondo malizia, ovvero difetto di corpo, può essere la mente non sana." Here malizia is rendered "evil disposition." In Inf. xv, 78, Brunetto Latini speaks of the wickedness that has sprung up in Florence, when it "Fu fatto nido di malizia tanta."

† Ingiuria: Nearly all the Commentators explain this as injustice, or intentional wrong done to any one. It is so interpreted by Blanc, Camerini, Poletto, and Scartazzini. In Barberi (Gran Dizionario Italiano Francese, Paris, 1839) the passage is thus translated: "L'injustice est le but de toute méchanceté que le ciel poursuit de sa haine." Gelli says of ingiuria: "cioè, qualche operazione e qualche effetto contrario alla giustizia; che così significa questa parola ingiuria." And Gelli adds that Aristotle in his Rhetoric describes ingiuria as being those wrong-doings and offences that are voluntarily committed against order and against justice.

‡ stan di sutto gli frodolenti: Sutto is from the Latin subtus. Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, ii, pp. 156-158) writes as follows: "In Il. 22-24 is enounced the central principle of this threefold division [i.e. the tre cerchietti]. It is founded in the first place on the broad distinction between crimes effected by violence and those effected by fraud: the latter being much worse, since it is due to a perversion of Man's peculiar gift of Reason, and is consequently more displeasing to God. . . But . . . let us inquire as to the source from which Dante derived the

Of every vice that incurs hatred in Heaven, the object aimed at is injustice (to some one), and every such object either by Violence or Fraud aggrieveth others. But since Fraud is an evildoing peculiar to Man, it more displeaseth God; and therefore the Fraudulent are placed in the lower grade, and greater affliction assaileth them.

Gelli points out that the reason of Fraud being a sin so peculiar to Man is that it is an operation which never shows itself as what it really is, but on the contrary, it always, while wishing to wreak evil, assumes the garb of wanting to do good, and there-

principle already enunciated. There can be no doubt that it comes direct from Cicero . . . De Officiis, a work very often quoted by Dante. . . . Book i of the De Officiis was especially familiar to him, and the chapters xi-xiv, most of all. Now in chapter xiii we find the following passage, some of the very words of which are almost reproduced here by Dante: 'Quum autem duobus modis, id est, aut vi aut fraude, fiat iniuria; fraus quasi vulpeculae, vis leonis videtur: utrumque homine alienissimum, sed fraus odio digna maiore.' Note the following especially (ll. 22-26):—

'D' ogni malizia ch' odio in cielo acquista, Ingiuria è il fine, ed ogni fin cotale O con forza o con frode altrui contrista. Ma perchè frode è dell' uom proprio male, Più spiace a Dio.'

And even the contrast of the lion and the fox, which is omitted here, is found in another passage of Dante, where he puts these words into the mouth of Guido da Montefeltro:—

'l' opere mie Non furon leonine, ma di volpe,'

We unhesitatingly maintain then that Dante derived this first fundamental principle of his Classification of Sins from Cicero, and that it is applied by him to mark out the divisions and relations of those sins only that are punished by the basso Inferno. If he does not acknowledge directly the source of this distinction, as he does when he borrows from Aristotle a little later, it is probably because the authority of Cicero would not carry any special weight on such a subject, whereas that of Aristotle was for Dante almost as final as a pronouncement of Scripture."

fore it can only be used by Man, who having the advantage of Reason, can by it craftily conceal his purposes, and however evil they may be, can veil them under a semblance of good. On the other hand, animals having no intelligence but that of the senses, are not able to conceal their intentions in the same manner. Gelli does not reckon as a fraud the ruse practised by the cuttle-fish of emitting a black liquid which by troubling the water makes the fish invisible to its natural foes, for that is only the power of defence which Nature has given it as an instinct. Nor is fraud the craft used by the crab, who introduces a small stone between the two valves of the half-opened oyster, so as to be able to get in his nippers, and pull the oyster out. It is only natural instinct. In the same way one cannot call Art the knowledge of the swallows in building their nests with such marvellous precision, and all exactly alike. Therefore, since Man is inferior to many animals in strength, whereas none of them can rival him in fraud, nor even have the knowledge nor the power to imitate him, it may be concluded that fraud is peculiar to Man, and is consequently more displeasing to God than violence. For God has given to Man his intellect and reasoning powers in order that he may surpass and excel all other animals in perfection, and if Man makes use of his speech and his reason for purposes of fraud, it is greatly displeasing to God that he should use, to the offence and detriment of himself and others, such noble powers given to him for the purpose of doing good.

Virgil having now briefly touched upon Fraud, to the varieties of which and their respective punishments, he will return later, goes on to explain in detail the different kinds of Violence punished in the respective subdivisions of the next Circle into which they are descending.

De' vïolenti il primo \* cerchio è tutto:

Ma perchè si fa forza a tre persone,
In tre gironi è distinto e costrutto.

A Dio, a sè, al prossimo si puone †
Far forza, dico in loro ed in lor cose,

Come udirai con aperta ragione. 1

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\*il primo cerchio: This means the first of the three lesser circles (cerchietti) just mentioned, which are but subdivisions of the Seventh Circle (of Violence) into which the Poets are about to descend. Rossetti in his Commentary says of it that it is a single Circle, divided into three portions, all of which are on the same level; and these are three circular concentric areas, one within the other; in such manner that the first begirds the second, and the second the third, which is the smallest of the three.

† puone: From the verb potere, a prolongation of può that is still in common use in Tuscany like ene for ee, hane for hae, fane for fae, vane for vae, forms more generally known as può, d, ha, fa, va. Puone (says Nannucci, Anal. Crit. p. 641) is really poe with the n interpolated. We find an instance of puone in the Rima of Fra Guittone (see Nannucci, Manuale, vol. i, p. 175):—

"Amore, or mira s' hone
Ragion che doler dia,
Ch' alla tua signoria
Caper quasi uom non puone, etc.

E me che di gran voglia Tuo servidor mi fone, Pur sdegni, onde morrone."

In a note on hone Nannucci says: "Ho, come appresso puone, fone, morrone. E stanno per hoe, puoe, foe, morroe, interposta la n per istrascico [drawling] di pronunzia."

† ragione for ragionamento, " argument, demonstration."

The first Circle (of the three below) is wholly given up to the Violent: but as Violence can be wrought against three persons, it (the Circle) is parcelled out and constructed in three Rounds. Against God, against oneself, and against one's neighbour can Violence be wrought, I mean against them and against their property, as thou shalt hear by clear demonstration.

Benvenuto desires his readers to understand and to mark well that the above-mentioned three-fold Violence can be done in two ways (praedicta triplex violentia potest fieri dupliciter), namely, against the person, and against property.

The First Round or Subdivision of the Circle of the Violent and its inmates is next described.

> Morte per forza e ferute \* dogliose Nel prossimo si danno, e nel suo avere Ruine, incendi e tollette † dannose :

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\* ferute: Compare Inf. i, 107, 108:-

"Per cui morì la vergine Cammilla, Eurialo, e Turno, e Niso di ferute."

Ferute is an obsolete form for ferite, from feruto past participle of the archaic verb ferere, equivalent to ferire.

+ tollette : Compare Par. v, 32, 33 :-

"Se credi bene usar quel ch' hai offerto, Di mal tolletto vuoi far buon lavoro."

The Anonimo Fiorentino explains tollette dannose: "ruberie con danno et vergogna del prossimo." Both Gelli and Scartazzini give the same interpretation, "ruberie e rapine," and the former says that the word was in constant use in the time of Dante, and is to be found in Villani. Both Blanc and Poletto agree than tollette dannose is the same as the mediæval expressions maltolettum, maletollettum, maletolta, and maletota, whence also comes the Old French mal-tôte, from tollere to rob, and signifying extraordinary imposts, extortionate taxation, unjust and ruinous burdens. Some read collette, "collections." Scartazzini remarks that both collette and tollette mean "tribute, impost," or even a public loan, and that if there be any difference between the two, it would be that tollette is derived

Onde omicide \* e ciascun che mal fiere, Guastatori e predon, tutti tormenta Lo giron primo † per diverse schiere.

from the Celtic Tolt = "imposition, public burden," and that collette would be a public loan or tax that had to be paid into the hands of collectors, especially in time of war. But Scartazzini thinks the context shows clearly that the right reading is tollette, and that it signifies robbery, or rapine, and not a public burden. If the omicide in 1. 37 are those who in 1. 34 morte per forza nel prossimo danno; if those who in 1. 37 mal fiedono are the same that in 1. 34 ferute dogliose nel prossimo danno; if the guastatori of 1. 38 are the same as those who do violence to their neighbour's goods with ruine and incendi in 1. 36; then those who do violence to their neighbour's goods with tollette dannose in 1. 36, must of necessity be the predon of 1. 38 who are punished in the first girone. Now these predoni, adds Scartazzini, are the very persons alluded to in Inf. xii, 138, che fecero guerra alle strade, in fact, freebooters. Gelli follows the same line of argument. Benvenuto says it is violent

extortion and rapine.

\* omicide: This is the plural of omicida like eresiarche (Inf. ix, 127) from eresiarca; idolatre (Inf. xix, 113) from idolatra; pirate (Inf. xxviii, 83) from pirata. Nannucci (Teorica de' Nomi, p. 284 et seq.) says that in the early times of the Italian language the singulars and plurals of masculine nouns of all the declensions were formed from the Latin ablative singular, and from the nominative plural; e.g. from the Latin propheta, hypocrita, were derived the Italian il profeta, l' ipocrita; and from the Latin prophetae, hypocritae, the Italian i profete, gl' ipocrite. Nannucci gives many pages of illustrations of these early forms, for which modern use substitutes i profeti, gl' ipocriti, etc. Replying to a critic, the Padre di Costanzo, who contended that in this passage omicide is the nominative singular, and that the sense would seem to require it, Nannucci replies very decisively: "Osserveremo che il senso di Dante esige al contrario il plurale di omicida, avendo nominati nel medesimo numero anche gli altri, guastatori e predoni, e che il ciascun che mal fiere è anch' esso plurale, comprendendo la voce ciascuno più persone, per cui si trova accompagnato sovente col verbo in plurale." Some read omicidi, but as Scartazzini points out, this is but a correction of some scribe who was ignorant of the early language.

† tutti tormenta lo giron primo: By tutti is meant the homicides, unjust smiters, spoilers and robbers, and sure enough

Death by Violence, and grievous wounds are perpetrated against (the person of) one's neighbour; and against his substance destructions, arsons, and rapacious exactions. Hence homicides, and every one who smites unjustly, spoilers and robbers, all of these does the First Round torment in separate bands.

The next point touched upon is the Second Round or Subdivision of the Seventh Circle, in which are the Violent against themselves and their own goods.

> Puote uomo avere in sè man violenta \* E ne' suoi beni : e però nel secondo Giron convien che senza pro si penta Qualunque priva sè del vostro mondo,

in the first Round Dante finds Alexander, Dionysius, Ezzelino

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da Romano, Obizzo II of Este, Guy de Montfort, who were all homicides and unjust smiters; Attila and Pyrrhus, destroyers of cities and devastators of countries (guastatori); Sextus Pompeius, a corsair on the seas, and Rinieri da Corneto and Rinieri de' Pazzi, robbers by land (predoni). These, it must be remembered, all committed robbery with violence, and were not held by Dante in such low esteem as mere thieves, whose despicable condition he portrays much lower down in Hell in Malebolge.

\* in sè man violenta e ne' suoi beni: The Suicides are referred to by in se, such as Pier delle Vigne, and Rocco de' Mozzi, in the Second Round (Inf. xiii); and the Squanderers of their wealth by ne' suoi beni, such as Lano da Siena and Giacomo da San-t' Andrea. Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante i, p. 95) writes: "There can be little doubt that there are some minor points in Dante's classification of sins, and especially some arrangements which seem to us surprising or anomalous, which are to be accounted for by the influence of Aristotle. Thus the strange combination in their punishment of Suicides and Spendthrifts [I call them Squanderers] in Inf. xi, 43, 44, and xiii, is surely suggested by a recollection of Nic. Eth. ίν, 1. 5: 'δοκεί δε ἀπώλειά τις αύτοῦ είναι καὶ ή της οὐσίας φθορά, ώς του ζην διὰ τούτων ὅντος."

Biscazza \* e fonde la sua facultade, † E piange là dove esser dee giocondo.

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Man can lay violent hands upon himself and upon his possessions: and therefore in the Second Round has to repent without avail (i.e. without hope of redemption) whosoever deprives himself of your world (namely, the Suicide), whosoever gambles and dissipates his property, and weeps there where he ought to be cheerful.

This means that possessions, which ought to be a source of joy, and, if rightly employed, a means of attaining everlasting happiness, when misused, are the cause of perpetual grief and trouble.

Scartazzini points out the difference between those

<sup>\*</sup> Biscazza is, literally, "gambles at the biscazza," also termed bisca, a place where hazard was publicly played. Gelli draws a marked distinction between baratterie, where he says any one who liked might go, whether ignorant of the game, or unknown to the players; but he says that biscazza in "our" (i.e. the Tuscan) language is a place where play goes on, but not so publicly as in the baratterie; and to the bische there go only those who are known, and who are experienced players; they moreover go there with a certain regard to decorum and respect, which is not the case in the baratterie. Gelli says some people find fault with Dante for writing biscazza e fonde instead of the simpler words consuma e sperde, but they are evidently ignorant of the beauties of the Tuscan diction, and do not understand the art and the force of the words which Dante so well understood himself. Gelli is very severe upon certain Commentators, especially Bembo, for attempting, "in a language which was not his native tongue," to criticize Dante, a born Tuscan. The Gran Dizionario quotes the following from the Italian Translation of Seneca, De Beneficiis, by Varchi, 7, 15: "Il quale quei danari, che aveva tolto in prestanza, s' avesse biscazzati, e mandati male."

t facultade: Riches, income, substance, not faculties, as we understand them. Compare Boccaccio, Decam. Giorn. iii, Nov. 10: "Avendo in cortesia tutte le sue facoltà spese."

dissipators of their wealth who gamble it away bodily, and the Prodigals in the Fourth Circle, whose sin is that of spending their money badly

(Inf. vii, 58).

The Third Round or Subdivision of the Seventh Circle comes next. In it is punished the third kind of Violence, but it must be distinctly understood that this third kind is in itself threefold, and is subdivided into:—

- (a) Violence against God;
- (b) Violence against Nature; and
- (c) Violence against Art.

Puossi far forza nella Deitade, Col cor negando\* e bestemmiando quella, E spregiando natura † e sua bontade: E però lo minor giron suggella ‡

<sup>\*</sup>Col cor negando [la Deitade]: Compare Psalm xiv, 1: "The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God." Psalm liii, 1, opens with the same words.

<sup>+</sup> spregiando Natura e sua bontade: It is evident from 1. 95 that the bounty here referred to is God's, not Nature's; see 11. 94-96:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;'Ancora un poco indietro ti rivolvi,'
Diss' io, 'là dove di' che usura offende
La divina bontade, e il groppo solvi.'"

<sup>‡</sup> suggella: Compare Rev. xiv, 9, 10: "If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive the mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb."

Del segno \* suo Sodoma † e Caorsa, ‡ E chi, spregiando Dio, col cor favella.

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Violence can be committed against the Deity, by denying and blaspheming Him in the heart, and by despising Nature (i.e. by committing unnatural crimes), and God's bounty (by practising Usury). And therefore the smallest (because the innermost) Round stamps with its seal both Sodom and

\*Del segno suo: By these words Dante means the rain of fire which falls on the sinners in the Third Girone, as will be seen in Cantos xiv, and xv.

† Sodoma: By Sodom every kind of offence against Nature is meant; and as Cahors in the time of Dante was ill-famed for usurers, we are to understand this terzina as meaning that in the innermost Round are punished Unnatural Crimes, Usury, and Blasphemy. Gelli observes that both Nature and Art proceed from God and that Art is said by Dante (l. 105) to be as it were God's grandchild. I cannot omit quoting what he goes on to say, but do so in the original: "Contro a le quali due cose dice il Poeta che si può usar violenza in questi modi: contro a la Natura, con impedire la generazione umana, sfogando quel prurito delle carne, ch' ella ha dato all' uomo perch' ei dia opera a essa generazione, in modi ch' ei non ne abbia a seguitar tal effetto; e contra a l' arte, cercando di acquistare avere, di accrescerlo con modi contrarii a essa natura, come voler far multiplicar per lor stesse quelle cose che non posson farlo, come fanno gli usurai i danari."

† Caorsa: Ducange (Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, Paris, 1842) quotes an edict of St. Louis in January, 1268, against the usurers of Cahors; another of Philippe le Hardi to the same effect; and a third (Statuta Ecclesiae Meldensis, ann. circ. 1346, inter Instrum. Hist. Meld. tom. ii, p. 492): "Inhibentes ne quis in domibus, vel in locis, aut in terris Ecclesiarum Lombardos, aut alios advenas, qui vulgariter Caorcini dicuntur, usurarios manifeste receptare praesumat." Ducange also gives the following quotation from Guignevil (Peregrinatio humanae gentis, MS.) ubi de Concupiscentia:—

"Li Sathanas m' i engenra, Et de illuèc il m' aporta A Chaourse, où on me nourri, Dont Chaoursière dite sui: Aucun me nomment convoitise." Cahors, and all such as speak disdainfully of God in their hearts.

Having now explained the first of the two classes of sins by which Man can do wrong to his neighbour, namely Violence, Virgil passes on to the second great class, which is Fraud. Now Fraud is again subdivided into (a) Ordinary Fraud, where no trust has been given; and (b) Aggravated Fraud, where trust has been given.

Benvenuto observes of the first of these, that it is of a general kind, which bursts the ordinary bond of Nature; that every man is naturally a friend to his fellow, and that we are bound to do unto others as we would have them to do unto us, and so keep faith with every one. But the second kind of Fraud is that which violates any special tie, as for instance, he who commits fraud against his master, his parents, his neighbour, his friend, or his comrade; in this way the second kind of Fraud is far worse, and therefore traitors are punished in the very bottom of Hell.

We shall find that Ordinary Fraud (a) is punished in Circle VIII, which is called *Malebolge*, and is subdivided into ten separate *Bolge*, or pits (*lit*. wallets). It is dealt with in Cantos xviii to xxx, inclusive.

Aggravated Fraud (b) is punished in Circle IX. wherein are four different classes of Traitors. This Circle is described in Cantos xxxi to xxxiv, inclusive.

La frode, ond' ogni coscienza è morsa,\*

<sup>\*</sup>morsa: Tommaséo thinks this either means that Fraud is so great a crime that even the most obdurate consciences

Può l' uomo usare in colui che 'n lui fida, Ed in quei che fidanza non imborsa.\*

Fraud, for which every conscience is gnawed (with remorse), Man can practise against him who confides in him, and against him who reposes (lit. imburses) no confidence.

Virgil now describes Ordinary Fraud (a), stating what classes of sinners come under this category, and where they are punished. This fraud was the last mentioned in the preceding lines, and it is therefore spoken of as the latter kind of the two (modo di retro).

Questo modo di retro† par che uccida
Pur lo vinco d' amor che fa natura;
Onde nel cerchio secondo s' annida
Ipocrisia, lusinghe e chi affattura,
Falsità, ladroneccio e simonia,
Ruffian, baratti e simile lordura.‡

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feel remorse for having used deceit; or, that Virgil is wishing to censure Dante's contemporaries as being more especially guilty of that particulars in. Compare Rom. iii, 12, 13: "They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no, not one. Their throat is an open sepulchre; with their tongues they have used deceit."

\*imborsa: This is put figuratively for "accoglie in sè."

† Questo modo di retro, et seq.: Compare Conv. i, 12, ll. 77-82: "Vedemo che... la ingiustizia massimamente è odiata; siccome tradimento, ingratitudine, falsità, furto, rapina, inganno e loro simili. Li quali sono tanto inumani peccati, che," etc.

‡ e simile lordura: Gelli calls attention to the fact that of the ten different species of Ordinary Fraud punished in the Eighth Circle (Malebolge), only eight are enumerated here, while two classes of sinners must be understood to come under the general category of e simile lordura, and these are, DisThis last mode (i.e. Fraud that has not violated trust) seems merely to destroy the link of affection that Nature forms; wherefore in the Second Circle (of the City of Dis—the Eighth of Hell) are nested Hypocrisy, Flattery, and who deals in Sorcery, Falsehood, Robbery and Simony, Panders, Barrators, and such-like filth.

The description of the chastisement of those guilty of Aggravated Fraud where trust has been betrayed (b), concludes Virgil's long explanation of the plan of Lower Hell, the distribution of its various parts, and the classification of the sins punished in them.

Per l' altro modo quell' amor \* s' obblia Che fa natura, e quel ch' è poi aggiunto, Di che la fede \* spezïal si cria: Onde nel cerchio minore, ov' è il punto ‡

seminators of Discord (Inf. xxviii) and Fraudulent Counsellors (Inf. xxvii). The other eight classes are :-

I. Ipocrisia .	Hypocrites		Inf. xxiii.	
II. Lusinghe .			Inf. xviii.	
III. Chi affattura	 Sorcerers		Inf. xx.	
IV. Falsità	Falsifiers		Inf. xxix, xx	X.
V. Ladroneccio.	 Thieves		Inf. xxiv, xx	V.
	 Simonists		Inf. xix.	
VII. Ruffian .	 Panders		Inf. xviii.	
VIII. Baratti	 Traffickers			
	Offices		Inf. xxi, xxii	1.

\*quell' amor . . . che fa natura: Mr. Carpenter Garnier in his graceful translation of the *Inferno* puts this sentence, I think, very lucidly: "one forgets that love which nature creates, and also that which is afterwards added thereto and created thereby, namely, special confidence."

† fede spezial: "cioè la singulare e intera confidenza che l' uno uomo prende dell' altro, per singulare amicizia congiuntogli." (Boccaccio).

† il punto dell' universo: According to the Ptolemaic system of cosmography, the Earth was in the centre of the Universe, and hence the centre of the Earth was the centre both of the

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Dell' universo, in su che Dite siede, Qualunque trade \* in eterno è consunto."—

By the other mode (i.e. Fraud which violates trust) that love is forgotten which Nature begets, as well as that which is afterwards added, from which special trust is created: wherefore in the smallest Circle, where is the central-point of the Universe, upon which is seated Dis (i.e. Lucifer), whosoever betrays is consumed to all eternity."

By the smallest Circle must be understood, not the Third Circle of the City of Dis, but the Ninth Circle of Hell.

Earth and of the whole of the spheres that were supposed to encircle it. In Par. xxxiii, 22-24, St. Bernard, in his beautiful prayer to the Virgin, speaks of Dante as having come from the nethermost depth of the Universe:—

"Or questi, che dall' infima lacuna Dell' universo infin qui ha vedute Le vite spiritali ad una ad una," etc.

In Inf. ii, 82-84 Hell is spoken of as the centre (of the Universe):—

". . . che non ti guardi Dello scender quaggiuso in questo centro Dall' ampio loco ove tornar tu ardi."

In Conv. iii, 5, ll. 62-67: "Basta alla gente, a cui parlo, per la sua grande autorità sapere, che questa terra è fissa e non si gira, e che essa col mare è centro del cielo. Questo cielo si gira intorno a questo centro continuamente." See also Quaestio de Aqua et Terra, § iii, ll. 6-8: "Quum centrum terrae sit centrum universi, ut ab omnibus confirmatur."

\* Qualunque trade: Compare Virg. Æn. vi, 608-614:-

"Hic, quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat,
Pulsatusve parens, et fraus innexa clienti;
Aut qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis,
Nec partem posuere suis: quae maxima turba est:
Quique ob adulterium caesi; quique arma secuti
Inclusi poenam exspectant."

Division III.—Dante has listened closely to Virgil's account of the order of the sins in Lower Hell, but there are two points which are not clear to him, and he frankly confesses his difficulty to Virgil about the first of them; namely, why are not all the sinners in Hell punished inside the City of Dis? What relation does this classification of sins which Virgil has just announced bear to the sins whose punishment Dante has witnessed in the Circles of Hell already traversed? Why are the sinners there dealt with differently? (The other doubt will be found later in II. 95 et seq.).

Ed io:—" Maestro, assai chiaro procede
La tua ragione, ed assai ben distingue
Questo baratro e il popol che il possiede.

Ma dimmi: Quei della palude pingue,
Che mena il vento, e che batte la pioggia,
E che s' incontran con sì aspre lingue,

Perchè non dentro dalla città roggia
Son ei puniti, se Dio gli ha in ira?
E se non gli ha, perchè sono a tal foggia?"— 75

And I: "Master, thy demonstration works out most lucidly, and very well distinguishes (the several parts of) this Abyss and the people that occupy it. But tell me: They of the slimy morass (i.e. the Wrathful and Sullen), and they whom the wind bears along (the Impure), and (they) on whom the rain beats (the Gluttonous), and (they) who encounter one another with such bitter tongues (the Misers and Prodigals), why are they not punished in the fiery-red city, if they are in the wrath of God, and if they are not, why are they in such a case."

Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, ii, pp. 155, 156).

observes that this pointed question, as well as the marked circumstances of resemblance under which the schemes in the *Purgatorio* (xvii) and *Inferno* (xi) are introduced, may be taken as an indication that they are meant to occupy a corresponding position, as a sort of "official" statement of the plan adopted in either *Cantica* respectively.

Virgil reproves Dante for not seeing for himself the true solution of the problem that he proposes, and he asks him in terms of disapproval, why, when he has been used hitherto to show great acumen in enquiring into matters of difficulty, he should now give importance to merely trivial questions. He reminds Dante that he has made the Ethics of Aristotle his own (tua Etica), by mastering its intricacies, and in them he will find his answer.

Ed egli a me:—" Perchè tanto delira,"—\*
Disse,—" lo ingegno tuo da quel che suole?
Ovver la mente dove altrove mira?
Non ti rimembra di quelle parole,

<sup>\*</sup> delira: Buti explains this: "Tanto delira, cioè esce del solco, cioè, si svia." The Vocabolario della Crusca says delirare is to be beside oneself, to have lost the thread of one's ideas, to be frantic, and derives the word from ληρεῦν, to be foolish. Others derive it from de lira, to go out of the furrow, to deviate from a straight line, to be deranged. The Vocabolario adds: "Delirare è dal solco della verità uscire, come esce lo bue del solco, quando impazza, e non è obbediente al giogo." Compare Tasso, Ger. Liber. xiv, st. 17:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;E bench' or lunge il giovane delira, E vaneggia nell' ozio e nell' amore, Non dubitar però," etc.

Colle quai la tua Etica \* pertratta †
Le tre disposizion che il ciel non vuole:
Incontinenza, malizia e la matta
Bestialitade ? † e come incontinenza

\* la tua Etica: The passage here referred to is Aristotle's Nic. Eth. vii, 1, (1145 a. 16): " Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λεκτέον, ἄλλην ποιησαμένους ἀρχήν, ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὰ ήθη φευκτῶν τρία ἐστίν εἴδη, κακία, ἀκρασία, θηριότης." (After what has already been said, we must make another beginning, and state, that there are three forms of things to be avoided in morals-vice, incontinence, brutishness.) Browne's Translation. Mr. Butler agrees with Philalethes in thinking that by orys is represented by the sins of the Seventh Circle, some of which are expressly mentioned by Aristotle (vii, 5) as illustrations of his use of the term. Mr. Tozer notices that in the Latin translation of Aristotle the three Aristotelian terms are rendered by incontinentia, malitia, and bestialitas, and deduces from this that malizia in the present passage is used in a different sense from what it is in l. 22, where it means "wrong-dealing" generally and includes violence. See an admirable article in Dr. Moore's Studies in Dante, i, pp. 305 et seq., On the Translations of Aristotle used by Dante, in which he demonstrates that Dante, in a certain passage in the Convito, alludes to his having compared two translations of Aristotle, one of which he calls the New Translation (which corresponds with what has now become the Antiqua Translatio) and the other the Old Translation, which corresponds with a still more ancient translation from the Arabic made by Michael Scott. The New Translation "corresponds (see p. 318) with what has now become the 'Antiqua Translatio,' as printed in the works of Aquinas," and was executed for him direct from the Greek, and probably employed by him. Dr. Moore says that although there may have been other translations to which Dante had access, these two certainly represent the two families of translations which are here distinguished.

† pertratta: From the Latin pertractat, i.e. "to busy or occupy one's self with anything, to handle, treat, investigate, or study anything in a well-considered manner, elaborately, systematically, at great length, very thoroughly." Gelli particularly notices that pertratta is much more than tratta: "cioè, tratta molto e a lungo."

† matta bestialitade: It has been much regretted that such an expression as "mad beastliness," as a translation of the above words, should be found in a work by a distinguished

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Men Dio offende e men biasimo accatta?\*

Se tu riguardi ben questa sentenza,

E rechiti alla mente chi son quelli

Che su di fuor sostengon penitenza,

Tu vedrai ben perchè da questi felli

Sien dipartiti, e perchè men crucciata

English Dantist known for his acquaintance with the works of il Maestro di color che sanno. I do not find "beastliness" as the rendering of θηριότης in Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon, but the meanings given are "the nature of a beast, savageness, brutality." But bestialitade is not even the best Italian rendering of "beastliness," since that unpleasant word would be equivalent to the Italian lordura, lordume, sudicio, sudiciume, bruttura, or porcheria, the last for choice. The leading idea in bestia and its compounds is stupidity, brutishness. A man impatiently blaming himself for doing a stupid thing, will exclaim: "Bestia!" meaning "What a stupid fool I am!" Compare the French adjective bête, "stupid." It is worth while to notice Boccaccio's use of the word in two passages in his Comento. The first is at p. 71 of vol. ii of Milanesi's Edition (Lez. 27), when he applies the term to the worship of Fortune as a Deity: "E se alcune genti furono che intorno a questa bestialità peccassero, i Romani più che gli altri vi peccarono." The second is even a more forcible instance, where Boccaccio, speaking of Prodigality (ibid. p. 108) says: "stoltizia, che è spezie di bestialità." This seems to be Dante's sense in Par. xvii, 67, 68:—

"Di sua bestialitate il suo processo

Farà la prova,"

though here again the same error occurs in the work mentioned above, the passage being rendered "Of their beastliness their procedure shall make proof!" I have ventured to say "error," for I have not a doubt that Dante meant "brutal stupidity." Compare Conv. ii, 9, 1. 56: "intra tutte le bestialitadi quella è stoltissima," etc., which Miss Hillard very properly translates: "of all idiocies, that is the most stupid." And Conv. iv, 14, 11. 105-107: "risponder si vorrebbe non colle parole ma col coltello a tanta bestialità;" which Miss Hillard renders: "one would like to answer, not with words but with the knife, to such stupidity."

\* men biasımo accatta : Compare Ethics, vii, cap. vi, 2:—
""Ετι ταις φυσικαις μαλλον συγγνώμη ακολουθείν δρέξεσιν,
. . . "Ετι αδικώτεροι οι ἐπιβουλότεροι."

And ibid. 7: "Ελαττον δε θηριότης κακίας."

## La divina vendetta \* gli martelli."-

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And he to me: "Why wanders thy mind," said he, "so far beyond its wont? or on what object elsewhere is thy memory looking? Dost thou not remember those words in which thy Ethics elaborately investigate the three dispositions (of the mind) which Heaven allows not? Incontinence, Vice and insensate Brutishness? and how Incontinence less offends God, and incurs less blame? If thou rightly regardest this conclusion, and callest to mind what those are who (in the Circles) up above are suffering chastisement outside (this city), thou wilt well discern why they are separated from these guilty wretches (in the Circles below), and why Divine Vengeance strikes them down with less wrath."

Dante, having had a full reply to his first question, now puts before Virgil his second doubt, as to why Usury has been mentioned by Virgil as one of the sins of Violence against God's goodness (spregiando . . . sua bontade, 1. 48), whereas it would rather seem

<sup>\*</sup> vendetta: Dr. Moore (Textual Criticism, pp. 299, 300) finds the reading vendetta in 178 MSS., and the alternative reading giustizia in 60. He writes as follows: "As between the readings vendetta and giustizia here, it is not easy to decide with any confidence. It may perhaps be urged that vendetta has a more natural and obvious association with the vindictive word martelli, but this is clearly a two-edged argument. So also would be the support accorded to either reading by similar passages elsewhere, since they may have suggested the alteration. . . . I have noticed four or five passages where variants occur, one of which contains a word or expression signifying vengeance, and the other embodies some milder idea, such as punishment, implying in short a substitution of κόλασις for τιμωρία."

Inf. v, 38. Enno dannati, and Eran puniti.

Inf. xxiv, 119. Vendetta, giustizia, and potenzia are all found. Par. vii, 21. Vengiata fosse, and punita fosse.

Par. xxvii, 57. Vendetta, difesa, and giudizio are found.

to Dante that it is a sin of offending one's neighbour, He asks for an explanation of this.

—"O Sol\* che sani ogni vista turbata,

Tu mi contenti sì, quando tu solvi,

Che, non men che saper, dubbiar m' aggrata.

Ancora un poco indietro ti rivolvi,"—

Diss' io,—"là dove di'† che usura offende

La divina bontade, e il groppo solvi."—

"O Sun (i.e. Virgil) Who healest every clouded

"O Sun (i.e. Virgil) Who healest every clouded sight, thou so contentest me when thou solvest (my doubts), that doubting is not less pleasing to me than knowing. Turn back yet again some-

\*O Sol: Compare Inf. i, 82:-

"O degli altri poeti onore e lume," etc.

The Anonimo Fiorentino says that as the natural Sun drives away the darkness of night, and dissipates the clouds and thick mists, so Virgil dissipates in Dante the blindness of ignorance, and therefore Dante addresses him as Sun. Compare Virgil's impassioned apostrophe to the Sun in Purg. xiii, 16-21.

+là dove di', etc.: Dante is referring to Virgil's words in ll. 46-48:-

"Puossi far forza nella Deitade,

Col cor negando e bestemmiando quella, E spregiando natura e sua bontade."

It is to these which he now begs Virgil to turn back (indictro

ti rivolvi).

Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, i, p. 95) remarks that the "strange collocation of Sodomites and Usurers in Inf. xi, 49-51; 94-111 (the present passage); and xvii, 43 et seq.; is explicitly based upon a dictum of Aristotle in the Physics that Art follows Nature, and so the inference is that those who offend against the principles of one offend against those of the other, and thus those who sin against God, or Nature (the child of God), or Art (the child of Nature), are associated in their punishment." There are two passages in the Physics which, it is generally thought, are alluded to here. These are (1) Phys. II, ii (194 a. 21): "εὶ δὲ ἡ τέχνη μμεῖται τὴν φύσιν, κ.τ.λ," or (2) Phys. II, vii (199 a. 15): "δλως δὲ ἡ τέχνη τὰ μὲν ἐπιτελεῖ ἃ ἡ φύσις άδυνατεῖ ἀπεργασασθαι, τὰ δὲ μμεῖται."

what," said I, "to where thou sayest that Usury offends Divine Goodness, and solve the knotty point."

Virgil's reply to Dante's wish for information is amplified and well explained by the Ottimo: "Virgil solves the proposed question, and proceeds in this way: Nature takes its course from God, therefore she is an art from God,\* that is, His natural order and procession; and that which proceeds from Nature, and follows it, we may say is a child of Nature: natural Art proceeds from Nature, and follows it as a pupil does a master; so that this Art is nearly a grandchild of God. And from these two, namely, from Nature and Art, man must take his life and progress in it. And whereas the Usurer does not follow Nature or natural Art, but holds another road separate from this one, therefore he despises Nature, the daughter of God, and natural Art, which is the grand-daughter of God; and places hope in other things, namely, in worldly possessions."

- "Filosofia," - mi disse, - "a chi la intende, Nota non pure in una sola parte Come natura lo suo corso prende Dal divino intelletto e da sua arte; † E se tu ben la tua Fisica ‡ note,

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<sup>\*&</sup>quot;Nature is the art of God" (Browne, Religio Medici, part i, § xvi). Compare Seneca, De Beneficiis, Lib. iv, cap. 7:—
"Quid enim aliud est natura quam Deus et divina ratio?"

<sup>†</sup> dal divino intelletto e da sua arte: Compare De Mon. i, 3, ll. 16, 19: "et denique ultimus [finis] ad quem universaliter genus humanum Deus aeternus arte sua, quae natura est, in esse producit."

<sup>†</sup> la tua Fisica: Virgil is here referring to Dante's acquaintance with Aristotle's treatise, the Physica. Buti quotes from

Tu troverai non dopo molte carte Che l' arte vostra quella, quanto puote, Segue, come il maestro fa il discente, Sì che vostr' arte a Dio quasi è nipote.

105

"Philosophy," said he to me, "points out, not in one place alone, to him who gives heed to it, how Nature takes her course from the Divine Intellect and from its art; and if thou notest well thy Physics, thou wilt find (after searching) not many pages, that your Art follows her (i.e. Nature) as much as it can, even as the pupil does his master, so that your Art is, as it were, the grand-child of God.

Up to this point Virgil has been clearing away the doubts in Dante's mind by Reason and by the authority of philosophy or natural science. He now passes on to prove his statement by the authority of Holy Scripture. Gelli remarks that Virgil having been sent by Beatrice, Sacred Theology, to lift Dante out of error, takes the same line that many theologians do who are versed in natural science, namely, of proving that philosophy is in all respects in perfect conformity with theology. Benvenuto observes that the words which Virgil next speaks mean briefly this, that Man owes his being to Nature, but his well-being to Art; and that God first said to him: "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth" (Gen. i, 28); and secondly: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread" (Gen. iii, 19). Mr. Tozer says that this implies that Man should get his livelihood by artificial means, and that the commands

a Latin translation of Aristotle (Phys. Lib. iii): "Ars imitatur naturam in quantum potest."

were given to Adam and Eve, in whom mankind potentially existed.

Da queste due, se tu rechi a mente
Lo Genesi dal principio, conviene
Prender sua vita ed avanzar la gente.\*
E perchè l' usuriere altra via tiene,
Per sè natura,† e per la sua seguace
Dispregia, poichè in altro † pon la spene.

IIO

\* avanzar la gente: Scartazzini, commenting on these words. says they mean that people must nourish themselves and increase their worldly goods by the help of Nature, and also by the help of Art, that is, by agriculture, manufactures, com-merce, etc. Buti observes: "E se tu rechi a mente, riduci a memoria, consideri lo Genesi dal nel principio suo, troverai che da queste due, cioè dalla natura e dall' arte conviene la gente umana prender cioè che ricavi la sua vita, ciò che gli è necessario alla vita, ed avanzar che si avvantaggi nei terreni acquisti." And in a note on Lo Genesi, Buti adds: "dove si pone questa sentenza: 'oportuit ab initio saeculi humanum genus sumere vitam et excedere unum alium per naturam et artes." Landino having also quoted the above words as being at the beginning of the book of Genesis, is censured by Gelli, who observes that while it is not possible for any words to express better the meaning of Dante in the passage we are discussing, as a matter of fact these words do not occur in Genesis at all, and Gelli thinks they are to be found in the works of Lac-tantius. There must be here then a slip, either of Landino's pen, or of his memory; of the pen, if he wrote "Genesis" by mistake instead of "Lactantius"; of his memory, if he thought that the words were to be found in the one, whereas they were in the other.

† Per sè natura: Tommaséo, commenting on this passage, remarks that the scathing contempt which Dante manifests for the Usurers proves what is recorded in the chronicles of the fourteenth century, of the immense mischief that Usury was doing at that time.

‡ in altro pon la spene: Understand by this, not in any process either of Nature or of Art, but in the unnatural process of making money breed money, as Aristotle puts it in Pol. 1, x, 5 (1258 b 7): "ό δὲ τόκος γίνεται νόμισμα νόμισματος: ὧστε μάλιστα παρὰ φύσιν οὖτος τῶν χρηματισμῶν ἐστιν." (See Moore, Studies in Dante, ii, p. 223).

From these two (i.e. Nature and Art)—if thou recallest to thy memory Genesis at the beginning—it behooves mankind to gain their livelihood and increase in their possessions. But whereas the Usurer takes another way, he despises Nature (both) for herself, and for her follower (Art), since he places his hope in something else.

Cary remarks on the above passage: "The Usurer, trusting in the produce of his wealth lent out on Usury, despises Nature directly, because he does not avail himself of her means for maintaining or enriching himself; and indirectly, because he does not avail himself of the means which Art, the follower and imitator of Nature, would afford him for the same purposes."

We must remember that during the above prolonged conversation, the Poets have been standing still behind the lid of the tomb of Pope Anastasius. in order to withdraw themselves a little from the noxious vapours that rise from the depths below. Virgil will not delay any longer, and he explains to Dante what the time of day is on Earth. In the first two Cantiche of the Divina Commedia the references to time are most definite and precise. We may remember that we considered Dante to have entered into Hell at nightfall on Good Friday, which in the year 1300 was on the 8th of April. The two Poets approached the Styx at midnight (Inf. vii, 98). It is now the early morning of Saturday, Easter Even, probably about 4 A.M., and Virgil defines the hour by a description of movements then going on in the skies above, which

during the Poets' subterranean journey, are of course hidden from their view.

Ma seguimi oramai, chè il gir mi piace
Chè i Pesci guizzan su per l' orrizzonta,
E il Carro tutto sopra il Coro \* giace,
E il balzo via là oltra si dismonta."—

IIS

But follow me now, as it pleases me to go on: for the Fishes are quivering just up on the horizon, and the Wain (of Boötes, i.e. the Great Bear) lies wholly over the Caurus (i.e. the North-West), and yonder far onwards we have to descend the steep."

Dr. Moore (Time References in the Divina Commedia, London, 1887, p. 43) writes of the Pisces: "The rising of this Constellation, covering of course several degrees of celestial space, commenced about 3 A.M., and ended about 5 A.M. We may suppose therefore that the time indicated is roughly about 4 to 5 A.M. The reference in the next line to Ursa Major lying right upon the north-west (tutto sopra il Coro) will be found, I believe, precisely accurate in conjunction with the other phenomenon. [Carlyle points out that the Constellation of the Fishes is that which

<sup>\*</sup>il Coro: Prof. G. Della Valle (Il Senso Geografico-Astronomico dei Luoghi della Divina Commedia, Faenza, 1869) says that il Coro, in Latin either Caurus or Corus, was a wind that blew from between the North and West, the popular name for which in Italy is Ponente-Maestro. When the sign of the Pisces falls upon the Eastern horizon, the Wain or Great Bear lies precisely in the direction of this wind. Della Valle points out that there is usually a definite meaning in every word Dante uses, and that when he says il Carro giace tutto sovra il Coro, he means that the centre of the Constellation is in the direction of the Caurus; for the Wain occupies a certain expanse of the heavens, and if the whole of it lies over the North-West, its centre must be the part that points chiefly in that direction

immediately precedes that of Aries, and as the Sun was in Aries, as we saw in *Inf.* i, the time indicated here would be some two hours before sunrise.] Antonelli (*Studi Speciali*, Firenze, 1871, p. 86) says that when the Constellation Pisces is rising in a north latitude of 32°, Ursa Major will be *tutto* in quel lato, 1' estrema del timone distante circa 40° del Polo."

The two Poets are now supposed to move forward, and at the opening of the next Canto we shall find them standing on the brink of the abyss \* leading down to the Seventh Circle.

END OF CANTO XI.

<sup>\*</sup> This abyss must not be confounded with the Great Abyss described in Cantos xvi, and xvii, which starting from the centre of the innermost Round of the Circle of Violence (Circle VII), plunges down into the lower depths of Hell, and is so impracticable, that the Poets have to be carried down by Geryon, who lands them in Malebolge.

## CANTO XII.

THE FIRST ROUND OF THE SEVENTH CIRCLE—THE MINOTAUR—THE VIOLENT AGAINST THEIR NEIGHBOURS—THE TYRANTS—THE CENTAURS—CHIRON AND NESSUS—EZZELINO—OPIZZO DA ESTE—GUY DE MONTFORT.

In the last Canto we saw in how precise and definite a manner the classification of sins was described in those Circles of Hell which are inside the City of Dis. In this Canto we shall find the Poets about to enter the first of the three Rounds (gironi) or rings of the Seventh Circle, in which are tormented the souls of the Violent against their neighbours, and among these the most noted tyrants in history.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In Division I, from ver. I to ver. 30 Dante describes how the Minotaur, a type of unnatural passions, attempts in vain to arrest the progress of the Poets.

In Division II, from ver. 31 to ver. 57, after a conversation respecting the extraordinary chaos of fallen rocks of which the precipice is formed, the Poets approach the river of boiling blood, in which the Violent against their neighbour are immersed.

In Division III, from ver. 58 to ver. 99, their reception by the Centaurs is related, and how

Chiron, the chief of these, appoints Nessus to guide them along the river, and to carry Dante over the ford.

In Division IV, from ver. 100 to ver. 139, Nessus, after pointing out the most notorious of the tormented sinners, transports Dante to the other shore, and then retires.

Division I.—We left Dante and Virgil directing their steps to the verge of the precipice, down which they are to descend into the Seventh Circle, and we now find them hesitating, not only at the difficulties of the rocky steep, but also at the unexpected sight of a monster lying on the top edge of the bank. "Imagine yourself," says Benvenuto, "crossing one of the Alps, and at a spot which is exceedingly rugged and dangerous, encountering a fierce wild beast such as a wild boar or a bear. Your danger would at once appear to you double as great. Picture to yourself then Dante's terrors at the sight of the Minotaur, in addition to the fear of the tremendous chasm below him."

Era lo loco ove a scender la riva Venimmo, alpestro,\* e per quel ch' ivi er' anco Tal ch' ogni vista ne sarebbe schiva.

<sup>\*</sup>loco . . . alpestro: Ruskin's observations (Modern Painters, iii, 243) on this passage would tend to show that Dante was notably a bad climber, and that his ideas of rocks and mountains were not very correct. This opinion is strongly combated by two eminent members of the English and Italian Alpine Clubs. In the Bollettino del Club Alpino di Torino, 1886, vol. xx, No. 53, p. 12, there is an elaborate article by Ottone Brentari (Sezione di Vicenza), entitled Dante Alpinista. In the Alpine Journal, vol. x, No. 75, p. 400, Mr. Douglas W. Freshfield supplies a most interesting contribution entitled The

The place to which we came to descend over the brink was Alpine, and by reason of what was also there (i.e. the Minotaur), of such a kind, that every eye would shun it.

Mountains of Dante. Referring to the above-mentioned remarks of John Ruskin, he says he rises from its re-perusal with a strong sense that injustice has been done to Dante's feeling for Alpine scenery-in the broad and proper sense of the word Alpine—which in a note he explains to be a generally accepted name for all the rounded hill-tops in the upper portions of the Tuscan Apennines, where the flocks and herds find pasturage. Without being tempted into one of those extravagances which employ and entertain bookworms, without endeavouring to prove-as some would endeavour to prove Shakespeare to have been an attorney's clerk or an apothecary's boy-that Dante was what his countrymen would call an Alpinista, Mr. Freshfield contends that it may be shown from his works that he knew and loved mountains better than Ruskin was at one time disposed to allow. It is to be noticed that when Dante wanted a beautiful background for stately figures, a place of sojourn for poets or princes (see Purg. vii), he chose, not with the bourgeois Boccaccio the likeness of a Florentine garden or a Val d'Arno olive-yard, but high ground, a mountain-valley or meadow; that his references to mountains are by no means of a depreciatory nature; and further, that while few poets have talked about climbing so much as Dante has, none has shown so thorough a practical knowledge of the right way to set about it.

The broad assertion that Dante "never alludes to the Alps except in bad weather or snow," may be contradicted without going beyond Ruskin's own quotations, put by him before his readers to prove the contrary. The point of comparison between the fogs of Purgatory and an Alpine mist is surely not only the ugliness of the mists, but also the glorious effect of the Sun bursting through them about sunset, when the plains below are already dead, and the light falls only upon the mountain sides.

Virgil's first question to Dante is (Inf. i, 77, 78):-"'Perchè non sali il dilettoso monte, Ch' è principio e cagion di tutta gioia?'"

In Inf. xiv, 97, 98, Dante speaks of Mount Ida in Crete as lieta d'acqua e di fronde.

In No. 69 of the same journal, p. 72, Mr. Freshfield also alludes to the beauties of the mountain meadows in the Val d' Incisa, and the gorgeous masses of variegated colour to be seen in

Dante compares the precipitous nature of the spot to the Slavini di Marco\* on the Adige between Trent and Verona.

them, and thinks it must have been from personal experience of them that Dante described in such glowing terms, the Valley of the Princes (Purg. vii), and the sweet glades where Matelda was found gathering flowers in the Divina Foresta (Purg. xxviii).

There are two passages in the Divina Commedia where Alpe is distinctly used to signify the Apennines. In Inf. xvi. 100,

101, we read that the river Montone

"Rimbomba là sopra san Benedetto

Dell' Alpe, per cadere in una scesa," etc.; and we know that San Benedetto is in the Apennines. Similarly in Purg. xiv, 32, L' alpestro monte is meant to signify the entire Apennine chain running through the entire length of Italy.

\* Slavini di Marco: Poletto (Dizionario Dantesco) informs his readers that among his own native mountains both Lavina and Slavina are terms used to express an avalanche, and every one can well see what a close analogy there is between such a phenomenon and the ruina to which Dante refers. Compare also the German Lawine = an avalanche. The wild spot referred to is described by the Rev. John Eustace (A Classical Tour in Italy in 1802, Fourth Edition, vol. i, chap. ii, pp. 108, 109, and note): The descent "becomes more rapid between Roveredo and Ala; the river which glided gently through the valley of the Trent, assumes the roughness of a torrent, the defiles become narrower; and the mountains break into rocks and precipices, which occasionally approach the road, sometimes rise perpendicular from it, and now and then hang over it in terrible majesty. . . . Amid these wilds the traveller cannot fail to notice a vast tract called the Slavini di Marco, covered with fragments of rock torn from the sides of the neighbouring mountains by an earthquake, or perhaps by their own unsupported weight, and hurled down into the plains below. They spread over the whole valley, and in some places contract the road to a very narrow space. A few firs and cypresses scattered in the intervals, or sometimes rising out of the crevices of the rocks, cast a partial and melancholy shade amid the surrounding desolation. This scene of ruin seems to have made a deep impression upon the wild imagination of Dante, as he has introduced it into the twelfth Canto of the

Benvenuto considers the comparison highly appropriate; for the cliff there, before the great landslip occurred, was as sheer and abrupt as the wall of a house, and no one could by any possibility have got down it. Later on, however, the occurrence of the great mountain-slip made it more easy of descent. And this is supposed to have been the case with the precipice above Lower Hell. We shall see that Virgil had visited the place on a former occasion when it was impracticable to human feet.

> Qual è quella ruina che nel fianco Di qua da Trento l' Adice percosse, O per tremuoto o per sostegno manco, Chè da cima del monte, onde si mosse, Al piano è sì la roccia discoscesa, Ch' alcuna \* via darebbe a chi su fosse; Cotal di quel burrato † era la scesa: IO

Inferno, in order to give the reader an adequate idea of one of

his infernal ramparts."

Poletto remarks that, besides the Slavini di Marco there is another great downfall of rocks (recorded by Ambrosi, in his Comento on this Canto, Roveredo, 1864), near Calliano, opposite the Castello della Pietra, on the old road between Trent and Roveredo, and he says that it is recorded by Petrarch. The passage is in Petrarch's Epistole Poetiche, lib. ii, in the Epistle to Gulielmo Veronensi Oratori:-

"Vidi et terrificam solido de monte ruinam; Atque indignantes praecluso tramite Nymphas Vertere iter, dextramque vadis impellere ripam." But Telani (Intorno alla dimora di Dante al castello di Lizzana, Roveredo, 1834) feels certain that these lines of Petrarch's refer to the Slavini di Marco.

\* alcuna via: Dr. Moore reminds me that both here and in Inf. iii, 42, many take alcuna as negative, Longfellow among others; but that he himself feels no doubt that alcuna is equivalent to "some," as I have rendered it in both instances.

+ burrato: The word means, "chasm, abyss, precipice." It is used again in Inf, xvi, 113, 114, where Virgil throws the E in su la punta della rotta lacca \* L' infamia di Creta † era distesa.

cord that had formed Dante's girdle down into the Great Abyss above Malebolge :-

"Ed alquanto di lungi dalla sponda La gittò giuso in quell' alto burrato."

\*rotta lacca: Lacca is derived from the Greek Λάκκος, any hollow, hence Latin lacus; Germ Lacke, or Lache, Romanc. Lacque. Buti says: "Della rotta lacca, cioè ripa." In Purg. vii, 70, 71, we read :-

"Tra erto e piano era un sentiero sghembo, Che ne condusse in fianco della lacca," etc., and on this Buti comments: "Della lacca, cioè della valle, dove lo monte incomincia a chinare nella valle." Poletto thinks that lacca would seem to be a part of the body used for a part of a mountain, in the same way that one says "the shoulder" or "the foot" of a mountain, and therefore here its literal meaning of "thigh" or "flank" must be taken to signify the side, or the slope of the mountain, all broken up into stones or rocks. Lachetta di castrone is a leg of lamb; but lachetta is also used to signify the racket or bat used at games of ball.

tl' infamia di Creta: Gelli thinks the Minotaur is placed here by Dante on the ridge preceding the descent to the Circle of the Violent, just in the same way that he has placed other monsters of ancient Mythology, to guard those punished for the sins of which they present the attributes; such as Cerberus of Gluttony; Plutus of Avarice; and so on. The circumstances relating to the Minotaur's infamous birth and his unnatural shape, are an emblem of Violence against the laws of Nature, and are meant to show that they who allow their bestial and unbridled passions to lead them to crimes of Violence against God, against themselves, against their neighbour, and against Art, become monsters that only retain the partial semblance of a man, and that their other parts become savage and bestial. The very fact of the Minotaur turning his teeth against his own flesh is an instance of this, for it is in direct contradiction to the laws of Nature for a man to injure himself. The story of the Minotaur, and of the infamous passion of his mother Pasiphaë is well known. See Virg. En. vi, 24-30:-

"Hic crudelis amor tauri, suppostaque furto Pasiphaë, mixtumque genus, prolesque biformis Minotaurus inest, Veneris monumenta nefandae; Hic labor ille domus, et inextricabilis error;

Che fu concetta nella falsa vacca:

E quando vide noi, sè stesso morse \* Sì come quei cui l' ira dentro fiacca.

15

Such as is that landslip, which on this (the Italian) side of Trent struck the Adige on its flank either by reason of an earthquake or from lack of support; for from the mountain top wherefrom it started, down to the plain, is the cliff so shattered, that (since then) it might afford some sort of path to one that were above; even such was the descent into that chasm: and on the summit of the rugged declivity, was lying outstretched the infamy of Crete (i.e. the Minotaur) who was conceived in the fictitious cow; and when he saw us, he bit himself like unto one whom anger consumes within.

Magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem Daedalus, ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit, Caeca tegens filo vestigia."

Compare also Ovid, Heroides, Epist. iv, 55-58:—
"Juppiter Europen (prima est ea gentis origo)

Dilexit, tauro dissimulante Deum.
Pasiphaë mater, decepto subdita tauro,
Enixa est utero crimen onusque suo."

In Purg. xxvi, this episode is twice alluded to, namely, in 11. 41, 42:—

"Nella vacca entra Pasife, Perchè il torello a sua l'ssuria corra."

And Il. 85-87:-

"In obbrobrio di noi, per noi si legge Quando partiamci, il nome di colei Che s' imbestiò nell' imbestiate schegge."

\*sè stesso morse, et seq.: It is not unlikely that Dante is here again alluding in derision to the state of degradation in which he has represented Filippo Argenti (Inf. viii, 62, 63):—

"E'l Fiorentino spirito bizzarro In sè medesmo si volgea co' denti."

The description of his insensate rage being compared to that of "The Infamy of Crete" would assuredly, as perhaps Dante wished, add greatly to the irritation which Filippo's arrogant kinsmen, the Adimari; must have felt on reading the ridiculous account of him in *Inf.* viii.

The Minotaur would seem to be gathering himself up for a violent assault upon Dante, against whom Benvenuto thinks his rage would be kindled from the knowledge that Dante would be able to relate in the World what is the punishment of the Violent, and so deter many from incurring the penalties of such sins.

Dante now relates the artifice by which Virgil gave another direction to the frenzy of the Minotaur, by irritating him with a pointed insult. In the quaint words of Benvenuto: Et subdit auctor qualiter Virgilius magnifice sedaverit iram Minotauri.

Lo savio mio invêr lui \* gridò :— "Forse
Tu credi che qui sia il duca d' Atene,\*
Che su nel mondo la morte ti porse?

\*Lo savio invêr lui: Dr. Moore (Textual Criticism, pp. 300-302) after showing an overwhelming preponderance of authority for this reading over a number of quite unimportant ones, speaks of Lo savio mio Virgilio, which he finds in 23 MSS. He says: "As a further indication of the improbability of the reading Virgilio here, it is interesting to note how seldom Virgil's name is mentioned in the Inferno; at most, I believe, five or six times, though it occurs... more than twenty times in the Purgatorio."

† duca d' Atene: It must be noted that duca is here used for dux, a leader, and is freely used both in old English and in old Italian to express a sovereign or ruler. Compare Shakespeare, Midsummer-Night's Dream, Act i, scene 1:—

"Happy be Theseus, our renowned Duke!"

And Chaucer, The Knightes Tale, opening lines:—
"Whilom, as olde stories tellen us,
Ther was a duk that highte Theseus.
Of Athenes he was lord and governour,
And in his time swiche a conquerour," etc.

There is probably a special reason for the familiarity of this title "Duke of Athens." See Gibbon, Roman Empire, vol. vii, pp. 384, 385, and notes: "In the partition of the empire the principality of Athens and Thebes was assigned to Otho de la

Partiti, bestia, chè questi non viene Ammaestrato dalla tua sorella,\* Ma vassi per veder le vostre pene."-

My Sage cried towards him: "Perchance thou thinkest that the Duke of Athens (i.e. Theseus) is here, who in the world above gave thee thy death. Begone, monster! for this one (Dante) comes not tutored by thy sister (Ariadne), but is passing by to look upon your punishments (i.e. both of the Violent and of thyself)."

Virgil means that Dante has not come to slay the Minotaur over again, assisted by the subtle arts of woman, but comes to witness the torments of the Violent, in order that he may warn his fellow men from incurring them.

The Minotaur is represented as giving way to the

Roche, a noble warrior of Burgundy, with the title of great duke. . . . From these Latin princes of the xivth century Boccace, Chaucer, and Shakespeare have borrowed their Theseus duke of Athens. Dante also speaks of the duca d' Atene Inferno, xii, st. 6." The grandson of this Otho, Walter of Brienne, the titular Duke of Athens, the tyrant of Florence, and the constable of France, lost his life on the field of Poitiers, and though his connexion with Florence was about twenty years after Dante's death, yet his succession to the title was in 1308, so that it would bear quite a familiar sound to Dante, and as used by him here, would be one of the sort of anachronisms we find occasionally in his writings, such as "Lombardi," "Campidoglio," "Arabi," etc.

\* Ammaestrato dalla tua sorella: Ariadne the daughter of Minos, whose wife Pasiphaë was her mother, would consequently be the half-sister of the Minotaur. She fell in love with Theseus, when he visited Crete in command of the Athenian expedition that was bringing the annual tribute of seven youths and seven maidens for the Minotaur to devour; and furnished him with a clue which enabled him to penetrate into the famous Labyrinth of Daedalus and slay the monster. In that way Theseus is said to have been "tutored by the sister" of the Minotaur.

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blind violence of an insane man, combined with all the movements of an infuriated bull; and Buti discerns in each of his actions one of the several kinds of violence that were enumerated in the last Canto. Thereupon Virgil, seeing that the moment is favourable for passing onward, while the monster's attention is withdrawn, promptly seizes the opportunity, and hurries Dante over the brink of the precipice.

> Qual è quel toro \* che si slaccia in quella Che ha ricevuto già 'l colpo mortale, Che gir non sa, ma qua e là saltella, Vid' io lo Minotauro far cotale.

E quegli accorto gridò:—" Corri al varco; Mentre ch' è in furia è buon che tu ti cale."—

As is that bull that breaks his halter at the moment he has just received the mortal blow, who cannot go forward but plunges from side to side, so saw I the Minotaur do the like. And he (Virgil) perceiving this, cried: "Run to the passage! whilst he is in his frenzy it is good that thou descend."

Dante and Virgil now begin to go down the steep that leads into the Seventh Circle below.

And in the Fiammetta, ii: "Quale il furioso toro ricevuto il mortal colpo, furibondo si leva saltellando." And ibid. v, ad finem: "E quale il forte toro, ricevuto il mortale colpo, furioso in qua e in là saltella." Andreoli's interpretation is the one I follow: "che rompe i suoi lacci in quel punto," etc.

<sup>\*</sup> quel toro che si slaccia: Boccaccio explains that slacciarsi signifies to break loose from one's bonds: "cioè sviluppa e scioglie da' legami postigli da coloro che uccidere il vogliono." Biagioli remarks that into three passages of his works has Boccaccio transplanted this simile. In the Filostrato:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Non altrimenti il toro saltando Qualora il mortal colpo ha ricevuto È dentro la foresta alto mugghiando Ricerca il cacciator che l' ha feruto."

Così prendemmo via giù per lo scarco \*
Di quelle pietre, che spesso moviensi †
Sotto i miei piedi per lo nuovo carco.

30

Thus we took our way down over those loose rocks (lit, unloading of stones), which often moved under my feet by reason of the unaccustomed weight.

Division II.—Again we find Virgil divining Dante's thoughts, and anticipating his possible inquiry, by giving him some account of the fall of rocks down which they are making their way to the valley of the River of Blood. He tells him that it occurred during the earthquake at the time of the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ. The first descent of Virgil into Lower Hell took place before the death of Our Lord. His remarks carry them on until they reach the valley, where they encounter the Centaurs.

Io gía ‡ pensando; e quei disse:—" Tu pensi Forse a questa rovina, ch' è guardata Da quell' ira § bestial ch' io ora spensi. Or vuo' che sappi, che l' altra fiata ||

"'Siete voi accorti, Che quel di retro move ciò ch' ei tocca?'"

<sup>\*</sup>scarco di quelle pietre: "Le quali erano dalla sommità di quello scoglio cadute, come caggiono le cose che talvolta si scaricano." (Boccaccio).

<sup>†</sup>moviensi sotto i miei piedi: We shall see in Il. 80, 81, that when the Poets approach the Centaurs, this unusual phenomenon at once attracts the attention of Chiron, who thereupon says to his comrades:—

<sup>‡</sup> gia, from the verb gire, to go. It is seldom used except in poetry.

<sup>§</sup> ira bestial: Abstract for concrete. Equivalent to bestia

<sup>||</sup> P altra fiata ch' io discesi: This refers to what Virgil told Dante in Canto ix, 22-30:—



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Ch' io discesi quaggiù nel basso i Questa roccia non era ancor caso	
Ma certo poco pria, se ben discerno,	ita.
Che venisse Colui che la gran pre	da
Levò a Dite del cerchio superno,	
Da tutte parti l' alta valle feda	40
Tremò sì, † ch' io pensai che l' un	iverso
Sentisse amor, per lo quale è chi	creda
Più volte il mondo in Caos converso:	‡
Ed in quel punto questa vecchia	occia
Qui ed altrove tal fece riverso,	45

I went on pondering; and he said: "Thou art perchance thinking of this ruined declivity, which is guarded by that raging beast that I have just quelled. Now I would have thee know that the other time I came down here into Nether Hell,

"Ver' è ch' altra fïata quaggiù fui,

Ben so il cammin: però ti fa sicuro."

\*non era ancora cascata: In the Chiose Anonime alla Prima Cantica della D. C. di un Contemporaneo del Poeta, ed. Francesco Selmi, Turin, 1865, p. 70, this passage is thus discussed: "Virgil died a short time before Christ; and after his death, by the incantations of a great master in the magic art, he was compelled to descend into the darkness of Hell, and at that time this cliff had not yet fallen. Subsequently, as the text says, when Christ died, the whole earth trembled, and many walls and rocks fell, because of his death. And shortly afterwards Christ descended into Limbo, and despoiled it of all the holy fathers, and good and holy men, and carried them off in spite of the Devil (a contradio del diavolo), and that is why Dante speaks of the great booty He (Christ) bore away from Dis out of the highest circle."

† Tremò sì: Compare Matt. xxvii, 51: "And, behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain, from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent."

til mondo in Caos converso: Compare Ovid, Metam. i, 5-7:—
"Ante, mare et tellus et, quod tegit omnia, coelum,
Unus erat toto Naturae vultus in orbe,
Quem dixere Chaos; rudis indigestaque moles."

this cliff had not yet fallen. But certainly, if I well discern, not long before came He, who carried away from Dis the mighty spoil of the Upper Circle (i.e. the souls rescued from Limbo), the deep and loathsome valley so trembled on every side, that I imagined the Universe was thrilling with love, whereby there are some who believe that the world hath many a time been converted into chaos: and at that moment (of our Lord's death), both here, and in another place (i.e. in the Sixth Bolgia of the Eighth Circle) this ancient rock was overturned in this manner.

Allusion is here made to the opinion of Empedocles, who, according to Benvenuto, laid down that the world was formed of six principles or natural forces, namely, the four elements, and two other principles which he added, namely, love and hatred. or in other words, concord and discord. This formation of the world he attributed to discord between the elements and the motions of the heavens, that is to say, by homogeneous matter separating itself from homogeneous, to unite itself with heterogeneous matter; and on the other hand, when, after a certain interval of time, the elements and the motions of the heavens were in agreement, love was generated. meaning, the tendency among substances for like to unite itself to like, and thus the world was dissolved into chaos, or a confused mass of matter. And as such a disjunction cannot take place without a tremendous convulsion to the world, therefore Virgil, feeling the whole cavity of Hell tremble, and not knowing the reason why, thought that the opinion of Empedocles must be correct, namely, that by force of that natural love, the linking forces had been

broken, the heterogeneous parts dispersed to reunite with the homogeneous ones, and that the Universe had again resolved itself into chaos.

We shall read in Inf. xxiii, 133-138, how, when the Poets reach the Bolgia of the Hypocrites, they find the causeways which bridge over the whole ten rings of the Malebolge, wherein Fraud is punished, are broken down in those parts where they cross the Bolgia of the Hypocrites. It is to the downfall of this set of causeways that Virgil is alluding in 1, 45, when he says : ed altrove tal fece riverso. Rossetti (Comento Analitico) points out that our Lord's death was due to violence, and still more to fraud, and therefore Dante has imagined that in the earthquake which took place at that time, part of this outside bulwark of the Circle of the Violent, and each of the bridges over the Bolgia of the Hypocrites, fell into ruins. Dante intended to show that as the awful crime had been perpetrated through the instrumentality of these two sins, Nature, in horror and in fear, threw down into ruin the two identical spots where those two classes of sinners are punished: as though to place before their eyes a perpetual reminder of an event so terrible.

During these weighty observations the Poets have been gradually descending the broken face of the cliff, and as they draw near to the foot of it, Virgil directs the attention of Dante to the river of blood in the valley below them, stretching as far as the eye can reach.\*

<sup>\*</sup>On this see the preliminary chapter, in which is discussed the supposed vast extent of the divisions and spaces in Hell.

Ma ficca gli occhi a valle; \* chè s' approccia †
La riviera del sangue, in la qual bolle ‡
Qual che per violenza in altrui noccia."—

But fix thine eyes below there; for the river of blood is nigh at hand, in which all those are boiling who by violence injure others."

The river of blood is the Phlegethon, the third of the four rivers in Hell. Dante does not know its name until he reaches the Third Round on the burning sand, when, in a conversation with Virgil about the rivers of Hell, he asks him where is the Phlegethon, and Virgil tells him that the boiling of the red river might have rendered his question needless. (See Inf. xiv, 130-135). Then only does Dante realise

\*ficca gli occhi a valle: The same as avvalla gli occhi, "lower your eyes." In Purg. xxviii, 55-57, Dante uses avvallare to describe a modest maiden casting down her eyes:—

"Volsesi in sui vermigli ed in sui gialli Fioretti verso me, non altrimenti Che vergine che gli occhi onesti avvalli,"

Compare the French aval, which in its primary meaning Littré says is: "Le bas du courant d'une rivière, par opposition à l'amont." See also ibid. s.v. the verb avaler, which in the present day means simply "to swallow" (faire descendre par le gosier). But this verb, in its earlier significations, had the meaning: abaisser, faire descendre, mettre en bas. . . "En termes de jardinage, avaler une branche, la couper près du tronc—Terme de Chapelier, Avaler la ficelle, la faire descendre du haut de la forme jusqu'en bas. Terme de chasse. Avaler la botte au limier, la lui ôter, pour le laisser chasser en liberté."

ts' approccia for s' appressa: Blanc thinks this is derived from the Latin ad-proximare, and is an ancient form nearly akin to the French s' approcher, like many other forms in old Italian.

† in la qual bolle: Compare Purg. xii, 55-57:—
"Mostrava la ruina e il crudo scempio
Che fe' Tamiri, quando disse a Ciro:
'Sangue sitisti, ed io di sangue t' empio.'"

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that he has already seen the Phlegethon. We may notice, moreover, in l. 114 of this Canto, that when Dante turns to Virgil for information about the tyrants immersed in the blood, Virgil tells him that the Centaur Nessus, who is guiding them, must be his principal informant; though as a matter of fact Nessus does not instruct him as to the name of the river.

Dante now, thinking over Virgil's concluding words regarding the punishment of those who have done violence either to the person of their neighbour or to his substance, makes an apostrophe to Cupidity, as the primary cause of all violence, since it is only by giving way to their unchecked passions that men lose their reason, and that is why he calls Cupidity blind.

O cieca cupidigia,\* e ria e folle,

Che sì ci sproni nella vita corta,†

E nell' eterna poi sì mal c' immolle!

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\*C cieca cupidigia: Compare several outbursts against Cupidity in Par. xxvii, 121-123:—

"O cupidigia, che i mortali affonde Si sotto te, che nessuno ha potere Di trarre gli occhi fuor delle tue onde!"

And Par. xxx, 139-141:—

"La cieca cupidigia che vi ammalia,
Simili fatti v' ha al fantolino,
Che muor di fame e caccia via la balia."

† vita corta: Compare Conv. iii, 15, ll. 189-195: "Non chiudete gli orecchi a Salomone che ciò vi dice, dicendo che 'la via de' giusti è quasi luce splendente, che procede e cresce infino al dì della beatitudine'; andando loro dietro, mirando le loro operazioni, ch' esser debbono a voi luce nel cammino di questa brevissima vita." Compare also Purg. xx, 37-39—

"Non fia senza mercè la tua parola,
S' io ritorno a compier lo cammin corto
Di quella vita che al termine vola."

O Cupidity, blind, guilty, and insane, who so goadest us in our short life, and in the eternal (life) dost so miserably steep us (in the boiling blood)!

I follow the Oxford text in the reading e ria e folle, which is that of Buti, Vellutello, Serravalle, Gelli and Witte. The reading almost universally adopted in printed editions is o ira folle, but it does not occur in any of the First Four Editions. Of these, Jesi reads & rea & folle; Foligno ria et folle; Mantua ria e folle; and Naples ria & folle. Serravalle reads ria e folle, but translates o ira fatua. Buti writes: "e ria e folle, cioè rea e stolta, perchè fa l' uomo reo e stolto."

Dante now describes the River of Blood, which was just coming into sight, but he is only able to do so partially. The Poets are still at a considerable elevation above the plain, and can see the River of Blood stretching away for miles below them, until it recedes from view. Most of the Commentators are careful to explain that in the lines which follow it must be understood that Dante could only see a small segment of that particular Round, since the remainder extended beyond his visual powers, by reason of its vastness. In the preliminary chapter we have discussed the supposed dimensions of Hell. It will be seen that Alessandro Vellutello, whose mensurations we have adopted, estimates the total width of the Seventh Circle as 171 miles, and that of the Rounds (gironi) at 5'83 miles. Between the Poets and the River of Blood below them, are now to be seen the Mythological Guardians of this region.

namely the Centaurs, half men and half-horses, whose mission Dante is soon to learn.

Io vidi un' ampia fossa in arco torta,

Come quella che \* tutto il piano abbraccia,
Secondo ch' avea detto † la mia scorta:

E tra il piè della ripa ed essa, in traccia
Correan Centauri ‡ armati di saette,
Come solean nel mondo andare a caccia.

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\* Come quella che: A regular idiom, signifying "Being such, that," etc. See Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca, s.v. Come, § lxii: "Come colui o colei che, Come quegli o quella che, e simili, è maniera denotante la ragione e cagione per la quale la persona in discorso fa checchessia o si comporta in un dato modo, ed equivale a Essendochè, Inquantochè, egli o ella, etc." The Vocabolario cites the following from Galileo, Opere Astronomiche, i, 350: "Posto in grazia d' Aristotile, che il mondo, . . . come quello che è di figura sferica e circolarmente si muove, abbia," etc. We find several notable instances of this use in Boccaccio. See Decam. Giorn. ii, Nov. 2: "Rinaldo queste parole udendo, e il lampeggiar degli occhi della donna veggendo, come colui che mentecatto non era," etc. And Giorn. iii, Nov. 6: "Aveva costei nella casa, ove il bagno era, una camera oscura molto, sì come quella nella quale niuna finestra che lume rendesse rispondea." And Giorn. ix, Nov. 5: "di che Bruno accortosi, perciocchè molto gli poneva mente alle mani, sì come quegli che gran diletto prendeva de' fatti suoi [because he always thought well out what he did, being the sort of man who took great pleasure in all his acts,"] etc. Compare also ibid. Giorn. i, Nov. 1: "Il buon uomo . . . secondo che i medici dicevano, andava di giorno in giorno di male in peggio, come colui ch' aveva il male di morte." And ibid. Giorn. v, Nov. 9: "Avvenne che il garzoncello infermò : di

lui amava quanto più si poteva."

+ Secondo ch' avea detto la mia scorta: Virgil had spoken to
Dante about the lesser Circles (cerchietti) in Inf. xi, 16-18.

che la madre dolorosa molto, come colei che più non n' avea e

† Centauri: The Centaurs are referred to in Purg. xxiv, 121-123:-

"'Ricordivi,' dicea 'dei maledetti
Nei nuvoli formati, che satolli
Teseo combatter coi doppi petti.'"

I saw a wide fosse curved like a bow, being such that it encircles all the flat country, in accordance with what my Guide had said. And between the foot of the precipice and it (the fosse), Centaurs were galloping in single file, armed with arrows, as in the world they were wont to go to the chase.

Benvenuto compares the Centaurs galloping about armed with arrows to the Hungarians in Italy (sicut recte faciunt hodie Hungari in Italia).

Division III.—The approach of the Poets is now observed by the Centaurs.

Vedendoci calar ciascun ristette,
E della schiera tre si dipartiro
Con archi ed asticciuole prima elette:
E l' un gridò da lungi:—" A qual martiro \*
Venite voi che scendete la costa?
Ditel costinci,† se non, l' arco tiro."—

60

Seeing us coming down they all stopped short, and from the band there detached themselves three (armed) with bows and long arrows picked

Fare age, quid venias; jam istinc et comprime gressum.'"

In both instances the interposed answers of Virgil are very similar.

<sup>\*</sup> Vedendoci calar, et seq.: The six lines of which this is the first, seem to be imitated from Virg. En. vi, 384-389:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Ergo iter inceptum peragunt, fluvioque propinquant. Navita quos jam inde ut Stygia prospexit ab unda Per tacitum nemus ire, pedemque advertere ripae; Sic prior aggreditur dictis, atque increpat ultro: 'Quisquis es, armatus, qui nostra ad flumina tendis,

<sup>+</sup> Ditel costinci: Compare the words and contrast the demeanour of this demon guardian of Hell with that of the Angel Warder at the Gate of Purgatory. See Purg. ix, 85-87:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;'Dite costinci, che volete voi?'
Cominciò egli a dire: 'ov' è la scorta?
Guardate che il venir su non vi noi!'"



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out beforehand. And from afar one (of them, Nessus) cried out: "To what torment come ye who are descending the cliff-side? Tell it from there, if not, I draw the bow."

The three Centaurs, as we shall see, are Chiron, the captain, with Nessus and Pholus his lieutenants. Buti thinks Dante intended these three to represent three specimens of violence, since Nessus, who died by the hand of Hercules for an attempted outrage on Deianira, personates violence against one's neighbour; Chiron, who injured himself nearly to death from dropping one of the arrows of Hercules on his foot, figures violence against oneself; Pholus, who is said to have been a blasphemer of the gods, symbolises violence against God; while all of them, as being supposed to be the progeny of man and beast, may be taken as symbols of unnatural crime.

Chiron, who passed for the wisest and most temperate of the Centaurs, is, Benvenuto thinks, rightly depicted as their chief in Hell.

Virgil replies to the summons, telling Dante that the speaker is Nessus.

Lo mio Maestro disse:—"La risposta
Farem noi a Chiron costà di presso:
Mal fu la voglia tua sempre sì tosta."—
Poi mi tentò, e disse:—"Quegli è Nesso,
Che morì per la bella Deianira,
E fe' di sè la vendetta egli stesso:

My Master said: "Our answer we will make to Chiron at close quarters: To thy sorrow was thy will ever so headstrong." Then he touched me, and said: "That is Nessus, who died for (assaulting) the beautiful Deianira, and wrought vengeance for himself by himself.

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Nessus, when dying from the poisoned arrows of Hercules, gave Deianira the shirt bathed in his blood, with which he told her she could bring back the love of Hercules if ever he grew cold to her. Some time afterwards Deianira, hearing that Hercules had deserted her for Iole, sent the shirt to him. Hercules put it on, and immediately found himself in the most excruciating torments, and, being unable to take the shirt off, he lit a funeral pyre on Mount Ida, and burnt himself upon it. It is thus that Nessus revenged his death by himself.

Having described Nessus, whom he evidently regards with some contempt, Virgil tells Dante the names of the other two Centaurs, drawing his attention to Chiron in terms of respect due to the tradition that he was a wise man, skilled in the use of herbs, a physician, an astronomer, a seer, and a musician.

Gelli, speaking of Chiron as being a most excellent physician, says that according to Paul of Ægina, he discovered the mode of curing certain abscesses, which have ever since been popularly called Chironic Abscesses (Apostemazioni Chironiche).\*

> E quel di mezzo, che al petto si mira, È il gran Chirone, † il qual nudrì Achille :

"Non altrimenti Achille si riscosse, Gli occhi svegliati rivolgendo in giro, E non sappiendo là dove si fosse, Quando la madre da Chiron a Schiro Trafugò lui dormendo in le sue braccia. Là onde poi li Greci il dipartiro."

<sup>\*</sup>Compare Chironius, "old term for a malignant ulcer." (Mayne's Expository Lexicon, 1860, p. 190). + Chirone, il qual nudri Achille: Compare Purg. ix, 34-39:

Quell' altro è Folo,\* che fu sì pien d' ira.
D' intorno al fosso vanno a mille a mille,†
Saettando quale anima si svelle
Del sangue più che sua colpa sortille."—

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And that one in the middle, who is looking down at his breast, is the great Chiron, who nursed Achilles; that other is Pholus, who was so full of rage. Around the fosse they go in thousands and thousands, shooting their arrows at any spirit that raises itself out of the blood further than its crime has allotted to it."

Gelli thinks it is a well-devised allegory for Dante to represent the three Centaurs advancing against him the instant he comes into view; by which he means to show that there are three principal passions which Man has to encounter, that urge him to use violence against his neighbour. The first of these is Lust, which led Nessus to his death for the beautiful Deianira; the second is Wrath, figured by Dante in Pholus; the third is Ambition, as seen in Chiron.

\*Folo: The death of Pholus by the hand of Hercules is mentioned twice by Virgil. See 2 Georg. 455-457:—

"ille furentes
Centauros letho domuit, Rhoetumque Pholumque
Et magno Hylaeum Lapithis cratere minantem."
In Æn. viii, 293-295, Hercules is thus addressed:—

". . . Tu nubigenas, invicte, bimembres
Hylaeumque Pholumque manu, tu Cressia mactas
Prodigia, et vastum Nemea sub rupe leonem."
Lana calls Pholus a soldier and a man of war, who more
than others was overcome by rage; the Poets have therefore

depicted him as a furious Centaur.

<sup>+</sup> vanno a mille a mille: Let this line alone stand as a proof of the vastness which Dante meant to represent in his Circles of Hell. The river ran in an arc farther than the eye could reach, and on its banks the Centaurs swarmed in thousands and thousands.

Of these three, Lust and Wrath are always reprehensible. But Ambition, or the love of dominion, can sometimes be meritorious when sought after with a wish to profit the world, and not for personal objects: hence St. Paul (I Tim. iii, I) writes: "This is a true saving, if a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work." Gelli thinks Chiron is intended here to represent honourable ambition (ch' ei nudri Achille); showing that the man who does good and teaches, is a worthy man, and moreover, in saying of Chiron that si mirava al petto, Dante evidently wished to describe a grave reflective personage, whose habit it was to go with downcast eves and measured steps. Rossetti also writes that he cannot be reconciled to think of Chiron as a demon in Hell, like the Minotaur, Nessus, and Pholus, seeing that from the remotest antiquity he has always been presented to our eyes as an eminently wise and good man, and the sage instructor of heroes. And although his pupil Achilles turned out covetous and headstrong, that was not on account of, but in spite of, Chiron's bringing up of him. Rossetti thinks Dante wished to depict a figure of the soul, and heeded not that by placing Chiron as a devil in Hell, he was giving an entirely false impression of his character. In making Chiron obey the exalted mandate announced to him by Virgil, Dante represented him as good for those few moments, and indicated him as turning to the right (l. 97) to give orders to Nessus in compliance with Virgil's request.

The Poets advance to meet the Centaurs, and

Virgil, hearing Chiron remark to the other two that Dante's footfalls show him to be alive, draws near, and tells him that that is the case. We get an idea of the gigantic stature of il gran Chirone, by hearing up to what point only of his twofold body Virgil reaches.

Noi ci appressammo a quelle fiere snelle: Chiron prese uno strale, e con la cocca\* Fece la barba indietro alle mascelle. Quando s' ebbe scoperta la gran bocca, Disse ai compagni:- "Siete voi accorti 80 Che quel di retro move ciò ch' ei tocca? † Così non soglion fare i piè de' morti."-E il mio buon Duca, che già gli era al petto Dove le due nature son consorti, t

<sup>\*</sup>cocca: The Gran Dizionario gives la tacca, "the notch" as the primary signification of the word, and says that it may have some affinity to co "the extreme end," as in Purg. iii,

<sup>&</sup>quot;In co del ponte [the bridge-head] presso a Benevento." But the Gran Dizionario thinks it may, from "the notch-end of the arrow" also come to mean, "the extreme end of anything." It is also used to signify the arrow itself. See Inf. xvii, 135, 136:-

<sup>&</sup>quot;E discarcate le nostre persone, Si dileguò, come da corda cocca."

And Par. viii, 104, 105:—
"Disposto cade a provveduto fine,

Sì come cosa [in some editions cocca] in suo segno diretta." In this passage from the Paradiso the reading cocca is adopted by Benvenuto and some others, but is rarely seen. The four First Editions, Lana, Witte, Scartazzini, Casini, and the Oxford Dante read cosa.

<sup>+</sup> move ciò ch' ei tocca : Compare Il. 29, 30 of this Canto :-"Di quelle pietre, che spesso moviensi

Sotto i miei piedi per lo nuovo carco."

† Dove le due nature son consorti : Compare the passage in Purg. xxxi, 80, 81, where the Gryphon, above whom Beatrice is standing is similarly described:—
"Vider Beatrice vôlta in sulla fiera,

Ch' è sola una persona in due nature."

Rispose :- "Ben è vivo, \* e sì soletto Mostrarli mi convien la valle buia : Necessità † 'I conduce, e non diletto.

We approached those fleet monsters: (whereupon) Chiron took an arrow, and with the notch-end combed his beard back behind his jaws. (in this way) he had uncovered his huge mouth, he said to his companions: "Have you noticed that the one behind (Dante) moves whatever he touches? So are not wont to do the feet of the dead." And my good Leader, who was now (with his head) on a level with Chiron's breast just where the two natures (equine and human) are conjoined, answered: "He is indeed alive, and thus have I without other company to show him the dark valley (Hell): Necessity brings him to it, and not choice.

Dante's necessity was that of finding the salvation of his soul, but Virgil goes on to tell Chiron by what authority he has brought Dante thus far, and invokes his co-operation by requesting that one of his troop may protect them, and carry Dante across the river.

Tal si partì da cantare alleluia I

<sup>\*</sup> Ben è vivo: "Quasi dicat: vere vivit et beate, quia nulli. quaerit nocere, immo omnibus prodesse; non est vir sanguinum sicut vos fuistis, et ecce quare venimus: non ad martirium, sicut Nessus petebat paulo ante, imo ut videat poenas aliorum." (Benvenuto). We are to understand vivo in the double sense of corporeally and spiritually.

<sup>+</sup> Necessità 'l conduce: Beatrice in Purg. xxx, 136-138, tells the handmaidens of the Sacred Car that the showing to Dante the Spirits of the Lost, was the only thing that could have saved his soul :-

<sup>&</sup>quot;Tanto giù cadde, che tutti argomenti Alla salute sua eran già corti Fuor che mostrargli le perdute genti."

<sup>†</sup> Tal si parti da cantare allelulia : Compare this answer of Virgil to Chiron with his answer to the Angel Warder at the Gate of Purgatory, Purg. ix, 88-90:-

## Canto XII. Readings on the Inferno.

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Che mi commise quest' officio nuovo;
Non è ladron,\* nè io anima fuia. † 90
Ma per quelle virtù per cui io movo
Li passi miei per sì selvaggia strada,
Danne un de' tuoi, a cui noi siamo a pruovo. ‡
Che ne dimostri là dove si guada,
E che porti costui in su la groppa; 95
Che non è spirto che per l' aer vada."—

"'Donna del ciel, di queste cose accorta,'
Rispose il mio Maestro a lui, 'pur dianzi
Ne disse: Andate là, quivi è la porta.'"

\*ladron: "Quasi dicat: nec ipse est violentus, nec ego fraudulentur. Latro enim est qui violenter et patenter spoliat, fur vero fraudulenter; ideo non sumus puniendi aliqua poena in civitate ista, in qua punitur violentia et fraudulentia. (Benvenuto)."

thuia: See Readings on the Paradiso, vol. i, p. 310, footnote on Par. ix, 75, nulla voglia di sè a te puote esser fuia. In that note I quote the explanation of Cesari, Bellezze, vol. iii, p. 159, wherein the author recants his former derivation of fuia from furva in Latin, and is certain that in all three passages, Inf. xii, 90; Purg. xxxiii, 44; and Par. ix, 75, it means ladra, rapace, and that Dante has used fuja for fura in the same way that one can write danajo for danaro (money), and pajo for paro (a pair). Dr. Moore thinks that in Purg. xxxiii, 44, fuia means "a plunderer, i.e. of God's heritage," and that the version "harlot" sometimes given is a pure guess ex contextu.

‡ a cui noi siamo a pruovo: Gelli remarks that in his time (1561) this passage was considered to be most puzzling to all the Commentators, but that possibly it was an expression in common use in the days of Dante. He gives the various interpretations, but adds that as he has never found in any writer, or in any dialect, anything approaching or resembling this form, he declines to furnish an opinion as to its meaning.

Benvenuto explains it as prope, i.e. near, and I have followed his interpretation, which is also that of the Gran Dizionario. Crescentino Giannini, the editor of the Commentary of Buti, told me in 1890 that the expression a pruovo, in the sense of appresso, "near," is still to be found among the people about Genoa. Beccaria also, Studi, p. 68, says the expression "a pruova è vivissimo nel dialetto Genovese = a presso."

There is one that withdrew herself from singing Hallelujah (namely, Beatrice who came down from Heaven), who entrusted to me this unwonted office; he (Dante) is no robber, nor am I a thievish spirit. But by that Power through which I move my steps along so wild a road, give us one of thy followers, close to whom we can keep, who may show us where the ford is, and who may carry on his croup this one (Dante), who is not a spirit that can go through the air.'

Chiron accedes to Virgil's request, and commands Nessus to accompany the Poets.

> Chiron si volse in sulla destra poppa,\* E disse a Nesso +: - "Torna, e sì li guida, E fa cansar, s' altra schiera v' intoppa."-

Chiron turned to his right side, and said to Nessus: "Return thou, and guide them as they desire, and should another band come upon you, keep it off."

Benvenuto here remarks that in fact, during Dante's life, similar cases must have occurred to him, for in his wanderings he may occasionally have enjoyed the hospitality of some noble Castellan from whom on his departure he would pray that one of his horsemen might accompany him and act as

<sup>\*</sup> in sulla destra poppa: Compare Inf. xvii, 31:-"Però scendemmo alla destra mammella."

<sup>+</sup> Nesso: Ovid (Metam. ix, 104-108) speaks of Nessus as experienced in the fords of the swift river Evenus, and accosting Hercules, when embarrassed as to how to convey Deianira across :-

<sup>&</sup>quot;Venerat Eveni rapidas Jove natus ad undas. Uberius solito nimbis hiemalibus auctus, Vorticibusque frequens erat, atque impervius amnis. Intrepidum pro se, curam de conjuge agentem Nessus adit, membrisque valens, scitusque vadorum."

his escort; for Dante was greatly honoured by these local magnates.

Division IV.—Nessus conducts the Poets to the bank of the River of Blood, in which they see immersed at various depths, proportioned to the magnitude of their crimes, many spirits who had sinned grievously by violence against their neighbour. Nessus first points out the more notorious tyrants, who have to undergo nearly total immersion, and first among them, Alexander, and the Sicilian Dionysius.

Or ci movemmo colla scorta fida \*

Lungo la proda del bollor vermiglio,
Ove i bolliti facean alte strida.

Io vidi gente sotto infino al ciglio;
E il gran Centauro disse:—"Ei son tiranni
Che dier nel sangue e nell' aver di piglio.†

Quivi è Alessandro, e Dionisio fero,
Che fe' Sicilia aver dolorosi anni.

\*scorta fida: Two old Commentators take very opposite views as to the meaning here of the word fida. The Anonimo Fiorentino says that Nessus was a faithful escort to the Poets, because he had been ordered to be so; while Buti thinks that the word is used ironically to signify that he was anything but the most faithful escort to Deianira.

† dier... di piglio: Dar di piglio is equivalent to pigliare. The Gran Dizionario renders Che dier nel sangue e nell' aver di piglio, "Torre la vita e la sostanze." Compare Inf. xxiv, 22-24:—

"Le braccia aperse, dopo alcun consiglio Eletto seco, riguardando prima Ben la ruina, e diedemi di piglio."

And Purg. i, 49-51:-

"Lo Duca mio allor mi diè di piglio, E con parole e con mano e con cenni, Riverenti mi fe' le gambe e il ciglio." Now moved we on with our trusty escort along the bank of the boiling blood (lit. crimson boiling), wherein the boiled ones were uttering piercing screams. I saw people immersed up to the eyebrows; and the great Centaur said: "They are tyrants, who imbrued their hands in bloodshed and plunder. Here they bewail the pitiless wrongs (they wrought). Here is Alexander, and the cruel Dionysius, who made Sicily undergo years of suffering.

The question of the identity of this Alexander has given rise to much controversy.

The Chiose Anonime (ed. Selmi), Pietro and Jacopo di Dante, Benvenuto,\* Lana, the Ottimo, and the Codice Cassinese, think Alexander the Great is referred to.

<sup>\*</sup>Benvenuto indignantly denies that any Alexander other than Alexander the Great was intended: "Nunc autor nominat aliquos tyrannos, et primo et principaliter unum principalissimum et famosissimum omnium, scilicet Alexandrum. Ad sciendum autem quis fuerit iste Alexander est notandum, quod aliqui sequentes opinionem vulgi dixerunt, quod autor non loquitur hic de Alexandro Macedone, sed de quodam alio, sed certe istud est omnino falsum, quod potest patere dupliciter primo, quia cum dicimus Alexander debet intelligi per excellentiam de Alexandro Magno; secundo quia iste fuit violentissimus hominum. . . . In toto Oriente exercuit violentiam et saevitiam suam; nam, ut verbis Orosii (Historia adversam Paganos) utar, Alexander miseriarum gurges, totius orientis turbo, humani sanguinis insatiabilis, recentem semper aut alienorum aut suorum sanguinem sitiebat . . . ut cum Lucano concludam, fuit felix praedo, et orbis victor ab ebrietate victus est, ut ait Augustinus. Justinus tamen facit hanc compara-tionem inter Philippum patrem et Alexandrum filium, quia dicit quod Philippus ebrius desaeviebat in hostes; Alexander vero ebrius desaeviebat in suos. . . . Ad propositum ergo autor ponit Alexandrum hic tamquam primum et principem violentorum, maxime contra proximum, ita quod punit eum a vitio praedominante, et describit eum simpliciter et nude, quasi dicat: cum nomino Alexandrum intellige, quod iste fuit maximus autor violentiarum in terris."

Buti is doubtful whether Alexander the Great or Alexander of Pherae is meant, but if the latter, then he thinks that Dante intended to refer to two tyrants in Sicily (for he erroneously takes Pherae to have been in Sicily instead of Thessaly), and that these two tyrants made Sicilia aver dolorosi anni. Vellutello and Daniello concur. Lana says Alexander was a tyrant who conquered all the world, and amongst other cruelties caused to be slain at one time at Ierusalem eighty thousand men and their families. Lana seems uncertain between Alexander the Great and Alexander Balas of Jerusalem, mentioned in the Maccabees and in Josephus. The Comento di Anonimo (ed. Lord Vernon), now known to be by Bambaglioli, says: "Questi è Alesandro re di Jerusalem e tirano crudelisimo del quale si dice che huomeni co le mogli e co li figliuoli insieme fece a una fiata uccidere."

Gelli is unable to say which of three persons is meant; Alexander the Great; Alexander of Pherae; or Alessandro Janneo, figliuolo di Aristobolo re degli Ebrei, uomo molto sanguinolento e crudele."

Scartazzini observes that Alexander of Pherae is mentioned in conjunction with Dionysius by Diodorus Siculus. Of this Alexander it is related that he used to clothe his victims in the skins of wild beasts, and then have them worried by his hounds; and Plutarch (Pelop. c. 29) records that he would have men buried alive, and feel shame at showing any compassion. It is also true that in his other works (e.g. De Mon. ii, 9, ll. 61-63; and Conv. iv, 11, ll. 123-125) Dante speaks in high praise of Alexander the

Great, but that is not of much importance. Scartazzini concludes: "Sembra pertanto fuor di dubbio che Dante abbia inteso del Macedone." Benvenuto is of the same opinion: "cum dicimus Alexander debet intelligi per excellentiam de Alexandro Magno."

Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, i, p. 263) says: "It seems to me a strong argument (inter alia) for Alexander of Pherae, that he and Dionysius are mentioned together by Cicero, de Officiis, c. vii, § 25, as typical instances of cruel tyrants whose life was made a burden to them through fear of those whom they had injured and oppressed.\* The reference to Cicero appears to me to be probable, apart from considerations as to the different language used by Dante elsewhere (especially in de Monarchia) respecting Alexander the Great." Dr. Moore then notices that Valerius Maximus also (ix, xiii, Extr. 3 and 4) unites the two names of Alexander of Pherae and Dionysius for precisely the same purpose as Cicero, l.c., and this leads him to think that Dante is adopting a sort of stock combination of typical tyrants. Both Valerius Maximus, I.c., and Cicero, Tusc. Disp. v, xx, § 57, mention the long duration of the tyranny of Dionysius (duodequadraginta annos), and possibly there may be an echo of this in Dante's words (l. 108), Che fe' Sicilia aver dolorosi anni

Rossetti remarks that there were two Dionysii in

<sup>\*</sup>Castelvetro asserts that Dante is referring to Lucan, Phars. x, 20, 21:-

<sup>&</sup>quot;Illic Pellaei prodes vesana Philippi Felix praedo, jacet."

Sicily, both abominable tyrants, and both equally deserving of immersion in the boiling blood. It is not unreasonable to conjecture that Dante did not especially intend to distinguish either between them or the two Alexanders, and, by leaving their identity vague, allowed all the four to be implied. Rossetti says Dante did so in the case of the two Pyrrhuses and two Sextuses, and that Petrarch\* likewise mentions Dionysius and Alexander together, without defining their individualities.

Dr. Paget Toynbee in his Dante Dictionary is inclined to think Alexander the Great is the personage alluded to, and considers that great weight should be attached to the statement of Orosius and Lucan about him; and also the fact of Alexander the Great not appearing among the great heroes of antiquity in Limbo is also in favour of the view that he is the Alexander referred to by Dante in this passage. He remarks, however, that Dante is not always consistent in his estimate of historical personages, his tendency being to regard them as types, rather than as individuals; as for instance Bertran de Born, who is eulogised equally with Alexander the Great in Conv. iv, 11, 11. 123-130, is placed in one of the lowest circles of Hell. Further it is unlikely that the comparatively obscure tyrant of Pherae should be mentioned simply as "Alessandro," when Dante is told by Cacciaguida (Par. xvii, 134-136) that he

<sup>\*</sup>See Petrarch, Trionfo d' Amore, Cap. i, terzina 35:—
"Que' duo pien di paura e di sospetto,
L' un è Dionisio, e l' altro è Alessandro:
Ma quel del suo temer ha degno effetto."

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Having pointed out two tyrants of ancient history. Nessus now indicates two of the worst in Italy, the former of whom died a few years before Dante's birth, while the latter, who had been his contemporary, died in 1293.

> E quella fronte ch' ha il pel così nero È Azzolino; \* e quell' altro ch' è biondo

"Ezellino, immanissimo tiranno, Che fia creduto figlio del Demonio, Farà, troncando i sudditi, tal danno, E distruggendo il bel paese ausonio,

<sup>\*</sup> Azzolino (better known as Ezzelino) III da Romano was of the family of the Counts of Onara, and was son-in-law of the Emperor Frederick II. He was born in 1194, and being Imperial Vicar in the Marca Trivigiana, he ruled it with great tyranny from 1230 to 1260. His cruelties caused him to be held in such detestation, that a crusade was proclaimed against him by Pope Alexander IV, and being taken prisoner, out of defiance of his enemies he rent the bandages from his wounds, and so caused his own death after reigning thirty-four years. Benvenuto thus describes him: "Many write that Ecerinus was of middle height, swarthy, and covered with hair. But I hear that he had one long hair above his nose, which stood out whenever he was inflamed with anger, and that at such times all fled from before his face... Some have written that he had 50,000 men put to death. But among a thousand other atrocious crimes, when he had destroyed Padua, he was so overcome by frenzied rage, that he had 12,000 Paduans put to death by sword, fire, and starvation." Landino adds to this story that he caused these 12,000 Paduans to be imprisoned in a wooden enclosure, and had their names registered in a ledger by his Chancellor, against whom he entertained suspicions. On the ledger being filled up, Ezzelino told the Chancellor that he wished him to go with these souls to Hell, and present them with the register of their names to the Devil, from whom he had received many kindnesses; and thereupon, having driven the ill-fated Chancellor inside the enclosure, he had all burned together. See also Giovanni Villani, vi, cap. 72; and Ariosto, Orl. Fur. iii, st. 33:-

È Opizzo \* da Esti, il qual per vero

Che pietosi appo lui stati saranno Mario, Silla, Neron, Caio ed Antonio." In the Dittamondo, lib. ii, cap. xxviii, Fazio degli Uberti thus mentions Ezzelino:—

"Tra Asolo e Bassan da quella proda
Un monte sta vedovo ed orfanino,
Che del peccato altrui poco si loda.
Di lassù scese in quel tempo Azzolino,
Che fe' dei Padovan tal sacrifizio,

Qual sallo in Campagnola ogni fantino."

Both Ezzelino, and the Castel di Romano, his birth-place are mentioned to Dante in Par. ix, 25-30, by Cunizza, sister of Azzolino:—

"'In quella parte della terra prava
Italica, che siede tra Rialto
E le fontane di Brenta e di Piava,
Si leva un colle, e non surge molt' alto,
Là onde scese già una facella,
Che fece alla contrada un grande assalto.'"

Never had Ezzelino loved, and in his horrid barbarities he treated both men and women alike.

\*Opizzo da Esti (better known as Obizzo II), Marquis of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, succeeded his grandfather Azzo VII in 1264. He was an ardent Guelph partisan, and assisted the army of Charles of Anjou, which was being marched against Manfred, to cross the river Po. He extended his rule into Venetia. Opinions seem to differ as to how far his reputation for cruelty and rapacity is justified; and it must be remembered that his assistance given to the French army mainly contributed to the death of Manfred at the battle of Benevento, and the defeat, capture, and subsequent execution of Manfred's nephew, young Conradin-son of the Emperor Conrad IV, and the last scion of the illustrious line of Hohenstaufen-at Tagliacozzo. The resentment of the Ghibellines probably showed itself by loading him with obloquy, and Dante goes on to cite a commonly received opinion at that time, that Opizzo II met his death by being smothered on a sick bed by his son, who afterwards succeeded him as Azzo VIII. Most historians, however, agree that this was an untrue and improbable report circulated by his enemies. Benvenuto gives a long account of him as a man of that rare personal beauty for which the whole race of the Este were renowned, but that when tilting in honour of a lady at some jousts he had lost an eye, on account of which denominatus est marchio

Fu spento dal figliastro \* su nel mondo."-

And that brow which has the hair so black is Azzolino; and that other one who is fair is Opizzo of Este, who, to speak the truth, was slain by his step-son up in the world."

Benvenuto at this point draws a vivid picture of what he imagines to have taken place. The nar-

Obizo ab oculo. Benvenuto adds: Obizo non contentus suum dominium intra aquas Padi contineri, Regium et Mutinam [Reggio and Modena] occupavit, et tenuit dominium Ferrariae XXVIII annis, ubi mortuus est anno Domini MCCXCIII, ita quod Obizo et Azo filius ejus regnaverunt tempore nostri autoris. In Inf. xviii, 55-57, he is spoken as an il marchese by Venedico Caccianimico, who confesses to Dante that for money he induced his sister Ghisolabella to do the Marquis's will:—

"Io fui colui, che la Ghisolabella

Condussi a far la voglia del Marchese, Come che suoni la sconcia novella."

Another crime ascribed to Azzo VIII, besides the murder of his father, Opizzo II, is the treacherous assassination of Jacopo del Cassero, who, in relating it (Purg. v, 77), tells Dante that Quel da Esti il fe' far. On the circumstances of Azzo's marriage with Beatrice of Naples, see Purg. xx, 79-81, where Hugh Capet speaks of it as a shameful bargain on the part of Beatrice's father:—

"L' altro, che già uscì preso di nave, Veggio vender sua figlia, e pattegiarne, Come fanno i corsar dell' altre schiave."

Charles the younger, after being for four years the prisoner of Pedro, King of Aragon, on being restored to his own Kingdom of Naples in 1288, gave his beautiful daughter Beatrice in marriage to Azzo, Marquis of Este, for a sum differently stated as either 30,000 or 100,000 florins. (See Readings on the Purgatorio, vol. ii, pp. 164-167).

\*figliastro: Benvenuto and Boccaccio take different views as to Azzo being a step-son to Obizzo; the former says that Dante calls him a step-son, because the idea of a son murdering his father is too horrible to entertain. Boccaccio thinks Dante is hinting that in consequence of Obizzo's wife's infidelity to him, Azzo was only his reputed, and not his real son. Neither Benvenuto nor Boccaccio therefore think that Azzo was really a step-son of Obizzo.

rative in the text appears somewhat obscure, but we may suppose that the Centaur, standing on the bank. after pointing out the most powerful and magnificent tyrants, who were being tormented in the stream of blood, began to show signs of wishing to pass into the blood itself. Dante in terror and uncertainty turns to Virgil for guidance; and Virgil must at once have ordered him to mount upon the equine back of the Centaur, taking the place immediately behind the human part of his body, while Virgil would do so behind Dante; so that the Centaur's human form would "be the first" (i.e. before Dante), and Virgil would "be the second" (i.e. behind him), to allay his fears, and to protect him from falling into the boiling flood (ut non timeret nec posset ruere in aquam). Lana takes the same view as Benvenuto.

Allor mi volsi al Poeta, e quei disse:

"Questi ti sia or primo,\* ed io secondo."—

Then I turned me to the Poet, and he said: "Let this one (the Centaur) be now the first to thee, and I the second."

<sup>\*</sup>Questi ti sia or primo, ed io secondo: The more generally accepted interpretation is that which is supported by Blanc, namely, that primo designates the person deserving of greater confidence from his experience and superior knowledge of the locality. Di Siena thinks Virgil used consummate tact in drawing back and yielding to Nessus the duty of pointing out the tyrants, so as to avoid placing his patron Cæsar Augustus in the same category of punishment as Alexander. Some think Virgil's words are addressed to Nessus, and mean, "let him, Dante, be the first to mount on thy back, and I will be the second, to mount behind him." For my own part I think Virgil's words are addressed to Dante, and may well be taken in the double sense, namely, that Dante was to mount immediately behind Nessus and Virgil immediately behind him, and also that Dante was to look wholly to Nessus for information and instruction during their transit.

We must now picture to ourselves this singular group preparing to pass by the ford through the River of Blood, Dante sitting on the back of Nessus, and Virgil supporting him behind. They would seem to have moved along the bank, looking down upon the tormented shades, till they came to the shallowest part, wherein only the feet are immersed. (See Il. 124-126). There they cross the ford.

> Poco più oltre il Centauro s' affisse \* Sopra una gente che infino alla gola Parea che di quel bulicame † uscisse.

A little further on the Centaur stopped just above a multitude, who as far as the throat seemed to issue forth from that boiling flood.

A shade is now pointed out, who from the singular enormity of his offence is set apart in solitary torment.

> Mostrocci un' ombra dall' un canto sola. Dicendo:-"Colui fesse in grembo a Dio Lo cor che in sul Tamigi ancor si cola."- 1 120

\* s' affisse : Compare Purg. xxx, 1-7:-"Quando il settentrion del primo cielo,

Fermo si affisse."

† quel bulicame: It will be noticed that Dante has altered the nomenclature of the river of blood, and styles it as above. As he is about to mention a ghastly story that had occurred at Viterbo in the year 1270, he probably finds it convenient to adopt the name of the peculiar waters of that place. Benvenuto says that the Bulicame is a lake of water which is red, hot and sulphurous, near Viterbo, but that he will describe it at greater length in Canto xiv. The Anonimo Fiorentino says that this Bulicame makes bolle or bubbles, and that its boiling waters take their name from that cause.

tancor si cola: There are two interpretations given of the word cola. The first would derive it from the verb colare, and would signify that the heart of the murdered Henry of CornHe showed us a shade apart on one side saying: "That one in the bosom of God (i.e. in God's sanctuary at Viterbo) pierced the heart that is still venerated on the Thames (i.e. at Westminster)."

The assassin was Count Guy \* (son of Simon) de Montfort, who, to avenge the death of his father, murdered, during the celebration of High Mass in the Cathedral at Viterbo, Prince Henry, son of Richard Duke of Cornwall, and consequently nephew of Henry III, King of England. Prince Henry had

wall still continued to drip blood, probably from the enormity of the crime of slaying him during the elevation of the Host. The second, and more usually adopted interpretation, is to derive cola from the Latin colere, which Blanc says is not without precedent among old writers, and it would then take the meaning "is held in reverence." Benvenuto has: "ancor si cola, idest colitur."

\*Guy de Montfort is mentioned by Fazio degli Uberti in the

Dittamondo, lib. ii, cap. xxix :-

"Un poco prima, dove più si stava Sicuro Arrigo, il conte di Monforte L' alma dal corpo col coltel gli cava."

In his very circumstantial account of the murder Villani (vii, 39), after recounting how Guy slew Prince Henry at the Mass, relates that the said Guy, on being reminded that his father's body had been dragged, ran back into the Cathedral and dragged the body of his dead victim outside the doors: "Essendo Arrigo fratello d' Adoardo figliuolo del re Ricciardo d' Inghilterra in una chiesa alla messa, celebrandosi a quell' ora il sacrificio del corpo di Cristo, Guido conte di Monforte, il quale era per lo re Carlo vicario in Toscana, non guardando reverenza di Dio nè del re Carlo suo signore, uccise di sua mano con uno stocco il detto Arrigo, per vendetta del conte Simone di Monforte suo padre, morto a sua colpa per lo re d' Inghilterra . . . e non solamente gli bastò di avere fatto il detto omicidio; perchè uno cavaliere il domandò, che egli avea fatto; e egli rispose: j' ai fait ma vangeance: e quello cavaliere disse: comment? votre père fut trainé; incontanente tornò nella chiesa e prese Arrigo per gli capelli, e così morto il tranò infino fuori della chiesa villanamente; e fatto il detto sacrilegio e omicidio, si partì da Viterbo, e andonne sano e salvo in Maremma nelle terre del conte Rosso suo suocero."

come there in the train of King Charles of Anjou, who was on his way to the Papal Court, and Pietro di Dante says that at that time (1270) a Court was being held at Viterbo in the Church, and while Henry, with bended knees, was devoutly looking upon the Body of Christ, the said Lord Guy ran him through with his sword.\* Benvenuto relates the story at great length, and says that Prince Henry's body was embalmed and carried to the City of London and interred in "a certain monastery of monks, called there Guamiscier [Westminster], in a chapel wherein are buried all the Kings of England, and round which the effigies of them all are to be seen." confirms the story of the hand of the statue holding the heart, but adds that above the heart was placed a naked sword in witness of the crime. He says that

<sup>\*</sup>The following is extracted from the Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. Henry of Cornwall: "Henry was kneeling at prayer before the high altar, when a band of armed men burst violently into the Church, headed by Guy de Montfort, who as he entered cried out in a loud voice, 'Traitor, Henry of Allemaine, thou shalt not escape.' Taken utterly by surprise, Henry was seized with a sudden panic, and rushed for sanctuary to the altar, clinging to it, and crying for mercy. He was however despatched with a multitude of wounds, the fingers of the hand that was clutching the altar being nearly cut off. . . . This cold-blooded murder excited universal horror, the more so as Henry was not even present at the death of Earl Simon de Montfort, and had laboured for the reconciliation and return of his sons. . . . The men of Viterbo caused the story of the slaughter to be painted on the wall, and a copy of Latin verses inspired by the picture is preserved. . . . Henry's bones and heart were conveyed to England in May 1270. The heart, encased in a costly vase, was deposited in Westminster Abbey, near the shrine of the Confessor, where it became an object of popular veneration."

by the river is to be understood the city, and that the Tamis is a river flowing by the royal city of London, which of old was called Trinovantum, as Julius Celsus\* writes.

As the Poets advance along the bank, they come to a less guilty order of the Violent, such as ordinary homicides or robbers, and their punishment is more lenient, the stream of blood shoaling proportionately, as the guilt of the sinners is less heinous.

Poi vidi gente che di fuor del rio
Tenea la testa ed ancor tutto il casso:
E di costoro assai riconobb' io. †
Così a più a più si facea basso
Quel sangue sì che cocea ‡ pur li piedi:
E quivi fu del fosso il nostro passo.

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<sup>\*</sup> Julius Celsus: A scholar at Constantinople in the seventh century after Christ, who made a recension of the text of Cæsar's Commentaries.

tdi costoro assai riconobb' io: Rossetti observes that the small tyrants were far more numerous than the great ones, and consequently Dante, who lived in those atrocious times, was able to identify a good many. But riconobbi may also well be taken to mean that Dante recognised them after Nessus had pointed them out and named them, just as in Limbo (Inf. iv, 119) he says:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Mi fur mostrati gli spiriti magni,"

and then goes on to speak of those he saw just as if he had recognised them.

<sup>†</sup> cocea pur li piedi: Others read sì che copria; sì che toccava; sì coceo [sic] tutti i piedi; cocea lor li piedi; etc. On these variants Dr. Moore (Textual Criticism, pp. 302, 303) writes: "Copria has quite the air of a correction, it being a much more obvious word than cocea to apply to a river. The corrector forgot that it was sangue bollente. Cocea has the support

Then I saw people who held the head and even the whole bust above the stream; and many of these I recognised. Thus more and more shallow did that blood become, so that (at last) it only boiled the feet: and at this point was our passage of the fosse.

As Nessus is wading, he points out that on either side the depth increases.

-"Sì come tu da questa parte vedi Lo bulicame che sempre si scema,"-Disse il Centauro,-" voglio che tu credi, Che da quest' altra a più a più giù prema Lo fondo suo, infin ch' ei si raggiunge Ove la tirannia convien che gema.

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"As thou seest that the boiling flood continually shoals on this side," said the Centaur, "I would have thee believe that on that other (side) it depresses its bed lower and lower, until it reunites (i.e. completes its circle at that part) where tyranny has to lament.

Lana explains that what Nessus virtually says to Dante is that as he has seen the river gradually shoaling up to the place they have now reached, so must be understand that on the other side it deepens again correspondingly, until on the far side of the Circle it attains a greater depth than any Dante has seen; and in that part the greatest tyrants would seem to be undergoing complete immersion. One would think, however, that no part of the river could contain a worse tyrant than Ezzelino.

of the more numerous and generally more authoritative MSS., though most of the Vatican group have copria."

Three hateful tyrants are next named, and after them two robber barons, both of them bearing the name of Rinieri, and one, at least, of a noble family. Nessus then leaves the Poets.

> La divina giustizia di qua punge Quell' Attila \* che fu flagello in terra,

\* Quell' Attila che fu flagello in terra: Attila, the King of the Huns (434-453) styled himself "The Scourge of God." Dante has followed the popular tradition which credited Attila with the destruction of Florence, whereas it is known that he never crossed the Po. There was much confusion about this time between the names of Attila, King of the Huns, and of Totila, King of the Ostrogoths, and Villani (ii, 1) increases this confusion by speaking of "Totile Flagellum Dei." But as a matter of fact Florence was never destroyed by the one or the other of these two kings. At several places, however, in Tuscany, and notably at Poppi in the Casentino, the name of Attila is found in place of Totila in ancient inscriptions. Another tradition, related by Lana, Pietro and Jacopo di Dante, the Chiose (Selmi), and Buti, states that Attila, when besieging Rimini, entered the city in disguise, and going into one of the logge where the citizens were wont to play at tables or chess, he was recognised by a citizen, who struck him on the head with a chessboard and killed him on the spot. Benvenuto alludes to this story as being perfectly false, and asserts that Attila died of a violent bleeding at the nose after drinking wine to great excess at the banquet consequent on his marriage with Honoria, sister of the Emperor Valentinian; and in that way this man of blood was choked with blood and wine when dying, just as after death he was immersed in blood up to the eyebrows. Of the myth as to Attila having destroyed Florence, Benvenuto (at the end of Canto xiii, vol. i, p. 464) says: "Sed certe miror nimis de isto excidis Florentiae quod Athila dicitur fecisse; quia, ut patet ex his quae jam scripsi de Athila in praecedenti capitulo non videtur quod Athila transiverit unquam Appeninum, nec Paulus Diaconus, nec alius tractans de gestis Athilae dicit hoc. Ideo dico quod autor noster secutus est chronicas patriae suae, quae multa frivola similia dicunt, ut plenius dicam infra capitulo xv; vel forte vidit aliquem autorem autenticum dicentem hoc, quem ego non vidi; sed quidquid sit de isto facto, ego nihil credo."

E Pirro,\* e Sesto;† ed in eterno munge Le lagrime che col bollor disserra A Rinier da Corneto, † a Rinier Pazzo, Che fecero alle strade tanta guerra."-Poi si rivolse, e ripassossi il guazzo.

There Divine Justice torments that Attila who was the Scourge on earth, and Pyrrhus, and Sextus; and to all eternity draws forth (lit. milks)

\* Pirro: Opinions have differed as to which Pyrrhus Dante means here, but there seems to be little doubt that he is referring to the famous King of Epirus, who from B.c. 280 to 274 was so terrible a foe to the might of Rome. Of the old Commentators Pietro di Dante and Benvenuto support the above view, and both mention his alleged descent from the other Pyrrhus the son of Achilles; Benvenuto also relates that he was a cousin of Alexander the Great (Fuit enim alter Alexander, sed virtuosior eo; et fuit de genere Pyrrhi praedicti filii Achillis, et consobrinus ipsius Alexandri magni). Jacopo di Dante, the Commento di Anonimo, the Chiose (Selmi), Buti, and especially the Ottimo, all contend that Pyrrhus the son of Achilles is intended. Boccaccio also inclines to this view, though somewhat uncertain. Dr. Moore writes to me: "I think it must certainly be Pyrrhus of Epirus, because (1) he is so frequently in Dante's mind in the De Monarchia; e.g., in Book ii, caps. v, x, xi. Besides, the three examples cited [in this terzina] would be all from Roman History, and so in pari materia."

+ Sesto: This is supposed to refer to Sextus Pompeius Magnus, a younger son of Pompey the Great, and a notorious sea-pirate, of whom Lucan (Phars. vi, 420-422) says:-

"Sextus erat, Magno proles indigna parente, Qui, mox Scyllaeis exsul grassatus in undis, Polluit aequoreos Siculus pirata triumphos.

Some maintain that Sextus Tarquinius is meant, and Buti says he feels quite uncertain to which of the two Dante is

referring.

† Rinier da Corneto, and Rinier de' Pazzi were both notorious robber-barons, the former in the Maremma district, and the latter in the country between Florence and Arezzo. Of Rinieri de' Pazzi the Ottimo says that he was a knight of the noble family of the Pazzi, and used to despoil the prelates of the Church of Rome by order of the Emperor Frederick II, about 1228. He was excommunicated in 1269 by Clement IV.

the tears, which by means of the boiling heat it unbinds from Riniero da Corneto, from Riniero dei Pazzi, who made so much war upon the highways." He then turned back, and re-crossed the ford.

We are to infer that Nessus has, while speaking, landed the Poets on the opposite shore, and that they having dismounted, he at once returns to his post. They are now on the edge of the Forest of Woe, which, as we shall see in the next Canto, they enter, and contemplate the sufferings of the Suicides.

END OF CANTO XII.

### CANTO XIII.

THE SECOND ROUND OF THE SEVENTH CIRCLE—THE VIOLENT AGAINST THEMSELVES—THE HARPIES—PIER DELLE VIGNE—THE SQUANDERERS\* OF THEIR WEALTH—THE BLACK HOUNDS OF HELL—LANO OF SIENA—JACOMO DI SANT' ANDREA—ROCCO DE' MOZZI.

Ar the conclusion of the last Canto we saw Dante and Virgil standing upon the further shore of the River of Blood, where they had been deposited by the Centaur Nessus. He has just recrossed the stream, and they are about to force their way into the dreadful forest where Suicides meet their doom.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In Division I, from ver. 1 to ver. 21, the Harpies are described, together with the strange penalty of the Suicides.

In Division II, from ver. 22 to ver. 78, Dante relates his interview with the shade of Pier delle Vigne, the great Chancellor of the Emperor Frederick II, and Piero's sad tale.

In Division III, from ver. 79 to ver. 108, Pier delle

<sup>\*</sup>It will be noticed at the beginning of Division IV, that there is a marked distinction between the Prodigals in Canto vii, whose sin was profuse spending (mal dare), and these who wantonly wasted their possessions like water (scialacquatori) for the insensate pleasure of ruining themselves.

Vigne, in answer to Dante's enquiry, explains how it happens that the souls of Suicides are converted into trees.

In Division IV, from ver. 109 to ver. 151, the miserable fate of the Squanderers of their own possessions is related.

Division I .- The Poets are now entering into the second of the Rounds or concentric Rings (gironi) into which the Seventh Circle is divided. The First Round was a vast plain which extended around a moat or River of Blood of great extent. This plain was peopled, as we saw, by "thousands upon thousands" of Centaurs. Immediately on the other side of the river is situated the great Forest of Woe, stretching away in a wide circle, though of less dimensions, being the inner ring, than the vast plain mentioned above. Inside the ring of the forest again is the Third Round of the Burning Sand, which the Poets can only observe from the shelter of the forest. Therefore from the inner edge of the River of Blood to the outer edge of the Burning Sand the whole intervening space is forest. In this are punished two classes of the Violent against themselves, namely:-

(1) The Violent against their own persons, i.e. Suicides, who are transformed into trees, the shoots of which are fed upon by the Harpies.

(2) The Violent against their substance, i.e. the dissipators of their own property, who in complete nudity have to flee before a voracious pack of black bitches, by whom they are overtaken and torn.

In the Preliminary Chapter of this work, under the heading Dimensions of Hell, we read that two attempts were made, by Manetti, about 1480, and Vellutello in 1596, to estimate the size of the different parts of Dante's Hell; and as the former scheme was never properly finished by its author, but carried on by others in a very imperfect manner, we confined ourselves to the estimate of Vellutello. According to him, each of these Rounds of the Circle of Violence has a width of 5'83 miles, and the total width of the Seventh Circle therefore would be about 17½ miles.

The rugged and impenetrable character of the forest, and the forbidding aspect of its gloomy recesses is first described.

Non era ancor di là Nesso arrivato,
Quando noi ci mettemmo per un bosco
Che da nessun sentiero era segnato.
Non \* fronde verdi, ma di color fosco;
Non rami schietti, ma nodosi e involti;
Non pomi v' eran, ma stecchi con tosco.

5

Not yet had Nessus reached the other side, when we cast ourselves into a wood, which was marked by no track. Not green the foliage, but of dusky hue, not smooth the branches, but gnarled and intertwined, not any fruits were there, but thorns imbued with poison.

<sup>\*</sup>Non fronde verdi: Gelli greatly admires the rhetorical skill with which Dante has described the evil nature of this forest. Each of the clauses begins with non; while the verb, which applies to all three, is placed in the last clause, thereby giving great emphasis and intensity to the signification of the words. Compare Cicero, In Verrem, Act ii, lib. i, cap. 3: "Non enim furem, sed ereptorem; non adulterum, sed expugnatorem pudicitiae; non sacrilegum, sed hostem sacrorum religionumque; non sicarium, sed crudelissimum carneficem civium sociorumque, in vestrum judicium adduximus."

Two things are worth notice in the above lines. By stating that they entered the wood before Nessus had reached the other side, Dante wishes to show that he and Virgil lost no time in pursuing their way, and it does not seem that they had to traverse any great intervening space. Secondly, they appear to have found themselves in front of a thick outer wall of underwood, unbroken by anything like a path or track to indicate the way for them to go. The words ci mettemmo per un bosco well express the idea of men who cast themselves headlong forward without knowing where they are going \* (com' uom che va, nè sa dove riesca. Purg. ii, 132). Benvenuto observes that it is well imagined by Dante to describe the forest as having no straight path, inasmuch as there is no reasonable cause that should induce men to commit so desperate an act as self-destruction.

Dante now compares the dense thickets of the Infernal Forest to those of the Tuscan Maremma with which we may suppose him to have been familiar.

> Non han sì aspri sterpi nè si folti Quelle fiere selvagge che in odio hanno Tra Cecina † e Corneto ‡ i luoghi colti.

<sup>\*</sup>The Gran Dizionario, s.v. mettere, § 67, under the head Mettersi, per entrare, cites from one of several works entitled Fiorita d' Italia, 312, the following passage: "Fuggendo si misseno in una selva di pruni."

<sup>†</sup> The Cecina is a river that runs into the Mediterranean about twenty miles south of Leghorn, after flowing through the province of Volterra.

<sup>†</sup> Corneto: A small town in the former States of the Church, near the sea on the river Marta. Cecina and Corneto form as nearly as possible the North and South boundaries of the

IO

No brakes so thorny nor so tangled have those fierce wild-beasts which hold in aversion the cultivated spots between Cecina and Corneto.

They make their lairs in the forest, and shun the open country.

Dante now describes the Harpies, the appointed ministers of punishment in this Circle. Benvenuto remarks that as this is a most dismal wood, it is appropriate that in it there should be the most dismal specimens of the feathered tribe.\*

> Quivi le brutte Arpie† lor nidi fanno, Che cacciar delle Strofade i Troiani Con tristo annunzio di futuro danno.

Tuscan Maremma, where, in the time of Dante, there were dense forests, tenanted by bears, stags, roe-deer, and other animals that shun the haunts of man.

\*In no part of his writings does Dante show greater skill than in his contrasts. Compare the death-like gloom, the horror, the inhospitable density of the thickets, the tangled thorn bushes, and finally the brutal winged monsters of the forest of Hell, with the soft enchantment of the divina foreste spessa e viva, as related in Purg. xxviii. In Hell he has just quitted the river of blood, in the divine forest he approaches a rill so limpid that all the purest streams in the world would appear turbid beside it. A soft fragrant breeze freshens the air, and from it (l. 10):—

"... le fronde, tremolando pronte, Tutte e quante piegavano. . . .

Non però dal lor esser dritto sparte
Tanto che gli augelletti per le cime
Lasciasser d' operare ogni lor arte;
Ma con piena letizia l' ôre prime,
Cantando, ricevièno intra le foglie,
Che tenevan bordone alle sue rime."

Very different are the ghastly winged beings, who with repulsive bodies, discordant cries, and destructive actions, are the denizens of the forest of woe.

tle brutte Arpie: Scartazzini thinks the Harpies are a symbol of the remorse of a bad conscience. The Trojans who



# Canto XIII. Readings on the Inferno.

453

Ali hanno late,\* e colli e visi umani, Piè con artigli, e pennuto il gran ventre: Fanno lamenti in su gli alberi strani.

15

Here make their nests the loathsome Harpies, who drove the Trojans from the Strophades with dire announcement of approaching evil. Broad wings have they, and human necks and faces, feet with talons, and feathered their huge bellies: on the weird trees they utter mournful cries.

Gelli discusses the various opinions as to what Dante meant by placing the Harpies in this forest.

accompanied Æneas were compelled to abandon the Strophades, islands in the Ionian Sea, finding them infested by the Harpies, who polluted their meals, and the Harpy Celaeno predicted their sufferings from hunger. See Virg. Æn. iii,

245-257:-

"Una in praecelsa consedit rupe Celaeno,
Infelix vates, rumpitque hanc pectore vocem:
Bellum etiam pro caede boum stratisque Juvencis,
Laomedontiadae, bellumque inferre paratis,
Et patrio Harpyias insontes pellere regno?
Accipite ergo, animisque atque haec mea figite dicta:
Quae Phoebo Pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo
Praedixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.
Italiam cursu petitis, ventisque vocatis,
Ibitis Italiam, portusque intrare licebit:
Sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem,
Quam vos dira fames nostraeque injuria caedis
Ämbesas subigat malis consumere mensas."

\*Ali hanno late, et seq.: Compare Æn. iii, 214-218:—
"Tristius haud illis monstrum, nec saevior ulla

Proluvies, uncaeque manus, et pallida semper Ora fame."

The meal of the Trojans, polluted by the Harpies, is described, ibid. 223-228:—

Pestis et ira deûm Stygiis sese extulit undis. Virginei volucrum vultus, foedissima ventris

Exstruimusque toros, dapibusque epulamur opimis. At subitae horrifico lapsu de montibus adsunt Harpyiae, et magnis quatiunt clangoribus alas, Diripiuntque dapes, contactuque omnia foedant Immundo."

Landino thinks they signify rapacity, there being no greater robbery of which man can be guilty than that of taking his own life. Vellutello disagrees with Landino, and asserts that Dante has only placed the Harpies here for the purpose of giving some sort of birds to suit trees of such a nature as these are. (Noi crediamo, chel poeta ue le habbia poste, per dar conuenienti uccelli a la spetie e natura de gliarbori.) Gelli without either approving or condemning these views, wishes to add his own. He thinks the Harpies signify three conditions, which so influence men's minds, that if they do not control them by Reason, they may be led into such despair as to make life odious and insupportable to them. These conditions are (1) Grief; (2) Slavery; and (3) Poverty.\*

<sup>\*</sup>The old Commentators are not unanimous in their opinions about the Harpies: "The Harpies are an allegory, signifying self-will, whence despair." (Lana). "Harpies...i.e. rapines... and as the man who kills himself and dissipates his possessions, snatches away his life and wealth, therefore he, Dante, pictures the Harpies feeding on such despairing wretches, figured by trees." (Pietro di Dante). "The Harpies, figured as they are, signify the sad recollections and memories of their own (i.e. the Suicides') deprivation." (Jacopo di Dante). "The Harpies have here to signify, that the sad recollections and memories of those who deprive themselves of life are gnawed and lacerated by fetid infamy." (Ottimo). "The Harpies signify rapacity. As they (the Suicides) snatched away their own lives, so the Harpies make them suffer by snatching off their tops, that is, feeding upon them and making them more hideous and foul. They build their nests upon these trees to remind them that their woe will continually increase." (Boccaccio). "The Harpies who bite off the tops, and scatter the blood of these (Suicides), figure Avarice and Prodigality, both of which vices reduce a man to despair." (Benvenuto). "Dante supposes the Harpies to have their appointed place upon the trees which clothe the souls of the desperate, in

Benvenuto here recapitulates the disposition of these three Rounds, remarking that Virgil takes this opportunity of telling Dante in which of them they are.

E'l buon Maestro;—" Prima che più entre,
Sappi che se' nel secondo girone,"—
Mi cominciò a dire,—" e sarai mentre
Che tu verrai nell' orribil sabbione.
Però riguarda bene, e sì vedrai
Cose che torrien fede al mio sermone."—

20

And the good Master began to say to me: "Before thou enter further in, know that thou art in the Second Round, and shalt be, until thou comest out upon the horrible sand-waste. Look well therefore around, and so shalt thou see things (so strange), as might discredit my speech."

Benvenuto says: idest, videbis non credenda, si dicerem lingua, nisi tu videres oculo.

Division II.—Dante now begins to describe the torment of the Suicides. All around he hears sounds of pain caused by the Harpies rending twigs from the trees, which trees are the actual bodies of the tormented and possess power of articulation only through the wounds caused by the Harpies. As each twig is broken off, blood issues, and with it the sound of lamentation. Dante stands still, to discover where among the trees are concealed the persons that he cannot see, but whose voices he can hear. His imagination is only in part incorrect. There are

which trees they build their nests, and feed upon the branches, and also to utter lamentations which are the remorse of these sinners for the evil they have done, by their despair and violence against themselves." (Buti). persons confined in the trees, but it is not on account of him and Virgil that they are concealed. Virgil divines his partly erroneous thoughts, and shows him how to get at the whole truth.

Io sentia da ogni parte traer guai,
E non vedea persona che il facesse;
Perch' io tutto smaritto m' arrestai.
Io credo ch' ei credette ch' io credesse \*
Che tante voci uscisser tra que' bronchi
Da gente che per noi si nascondesse.

25

\*credo . . . credette . . . credesse : Compare the famous line in Persius, Sat. i, 27:—

"Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire, hoc sciat alter."

It is thought that this line of Persius suggested the word-play so often found in Dante's poems. Blanc (Saggio) says he would like to be able to contend that Dante neither sought after these verbal quibbles, nor avoided them, but that the following passages forbid one from coming to the conclusion that he did not somewhat relish them.

Inf. xiii, 67, 68:—

"Infiammò contra me gli animi tutti, E gl' infiammati infiammâr sì Augusto," etc.

Inf. xxvi, 65, 66:-

"... Maestro assai ten prego E riprego, che il prego vaglia mille."

Inf. xxx, 136, 137:-

"E quale è quei che suo danneggio sogna, Che sognando desidera sognare."

Purg. xx, 1, 2:-

"Contra miglior voler voler mal pugna; Onde contra il piacer mio per piacerli," etc.

Purg. xxxi, 136, 137:-

"Per grazia fa noi grazia che disvele A lui la bocca tua."

Purg. xxxiii, 143, 144:-

"Rifatto sì, come piante novelle Rinnovellate di novella fronda."

Par, iii, 56, 57:-

"... perchè fur negletti Li nostri voti, e vôti in alcun canto," Però disse il Maestro:—"Se tu tronchi Qualche fraschetta d' una d' este piante, Li pensier ch' hai si faran \* tutti monchi."— 30

I heard lamentations uttered on every side, and I saw no one who made them; whereat quite bewildered I stood still. I think that he (Virgil) thought that I thought that so many voices were issuing through these trunks from people who were hiding on account of us. "Therefore," said the Master, "if thou break off any little twig from one of these trees, the thoughts which thou harbourest will be altogether modified (lit. mutilated)."

Buti remarks that Virgil tells Dante that he is only partly wrong; that his ideas on the subject will be diminished (si faran monchi), but not be altogether removed. Benvenuto, on the other hand, takes monchi to signify that Dante's belief was to be entirely amputated and removed.

Dante, eager for information, at once follows Virgil's advice.

Allor porsi la mano † un poco avante

Par. v, 139:-

"Nel modo che il seguente canto canta."

Par. xxi, 49, 50:-

"Perch' ella, che vedeva il tacer mio Nel veder di Colui che tutto vede."

Compare also Ariosto, Orl. Fur. ix, st. 23:—
"Tanto più che, per quel ch' apparea fuori,
Io credea e credo, e creder credo il vero,
Ch' amasse ed ami me con cor sincero."

\*si faran tutti monchi: Virgil means that Dante's preconceived ideas will be altogether falsified by facts, or at all events considerably modified, by being mutilated (monchi) of the full extent of the belief Dante had held at first, that the voices belonged to people hiding from them.

+ Allor porsi la mano . . . avante, et seq.: On ll. 31-39 inclusive, Gelli remarks that he only wishes they could be

E colsi un ramicel da un gran pruno:\*
E il tronco† suo gridò:—"Perchè mi schiante?"—
Da che fatto fu poi di sangue bruno,
Ricominciò a gridar:—"Perchè mi scerpi?
Non hai tu spirto di pietate alcuno?
Uomini fummo, ed or sem fatti sterpi:
Ben dovrebb' esser la tua man più pia,
Se state fossim' anime di serpi."—

considered by some who venture to blame Dante's style and words; and if they wish to know the beauty, the force, and the energy of his writings, they should compare them with those of Virgil, who in a long passage in £n. iii, 22-57, relates how Æneas found the shade of Polydorus imprisoned in a tree. Dante's lines perfectly resemble the following (ll. 26-30):—

"Horrendum et dictu video mirabile monstrum:
Nam, quae prima solo ruptis radicibus arbor
Vellitur, huic atro liquuntur sanguine guttae,
E terram tabo maculant. Mihi frigidus horror
Membra quatit, gelidusque coit formidine sanguis."

And Il. 39-42:-

". . . gemitus lacrymabilis imo Auditur tumulo, et vox reddita fertur ad aures ; Quid miserum, Ænea, laceras ? jam parce sepulto ; Parce pias scelerare manus."

\*un gran pruno: "Chiamal pruno, perciocchè era, come di sopra (l. 6) ha mostrato, pieno di stecchi." (Boccaccio). The Gran Dizionario says that pruno is the generic name for all kinds of thorny trees from which hedges can be made. We may contrast the condition of this shade, who had been the great Chancellor of Frederick II, transformed into a vast thorn tree, with that of Rocco de' Mozzi (mentioned in l. 123), a person of no great distinction, who has become merely a humble shrub (cespuglio).

til tronco suo gridò: The Anonimo Fiorentino thinks that the tree remonstrated because it knew that Dante was not one of the appointed ministers of the punishment of Hell. The same scene with the same remonstrance, though in more commonplace language, occurs in Frezzi, Il Quadriregio, book i, cap. 4:—

"A quelle frasche stesi su la mano,
E d' una vetta un ramuscel ne colsi;
Allora ella gridò: oimè, fa piano,
E sangue suo uscì, ond' io lo tolsi."

Come d' un stizzo verde, che arso sia

Dall' un de' capi, che dall' altro geme,\*

E cigola per vento che va via;

SI della scheggia rotta usciva insieme

Parole e sangue: ond' io lasciai la cima

Cadere, e stetti come l' uom che teme.

45

Then I stretched my hand a little forward, and plucked a tiny branch from a great thorn tree, and its trunk cried out: "Why dost thou rend me?" After it had become dark with blood, it recommenced crying: "Why dost thou mangle me? Hast thou no sort of feeling of pity? Men were we, and now are we turned into stocks: well might thine hand have been more merciful, even had we been souls of serpents." As from a green brand that is on fire at one of its ends, and from the other exudes bubbles, and hisses with the air that is escaping; so from the broken twig there came forth together both words and blood: whereupon I let the branch fall, and stood like a man who is in fear.

"And as it queynte, it made a whistelynge, As doon thise wete brondes in hir brenninge, And at the brondes end out-ran anoon As it were blody dropes many oon."

<sup>\*</sup>geme: The primary meaning of gemere (as given in the Vocabolario della Crusca) is to weep quietly; but in § v, § vi, § vii, it takes the sense of "to distil, send forth, exude water or other humours," and especially as applied to vines "to exude bubbles or drops of moisture from cuts, in the spring, from the movement of the sap." Compare Discorso dell' Agricultura of G. Tebaldi, Florence, 1776, 4to, 13: "Meglio è annestare [to graft] quando la vite comincia a muovere e a gemere." And Ferd. Paoletti, Opere Agrarie, Florence, 1786, 2 vols. 8vo, l. 329: "Le viti incise e tagliate in certi tempi, incominciano subito a gemere." In the market at Florence the cheese-sellers, praising their Parmesan, cry: "Guardi'l bel Parmigiano! lo vedi come geme!" meaning that it is so fresh that it exudes moisture. They will also use piange in the same sense. Chaucer, in the Knighte's Tale, 2339-2342, has imitated this passage:—

Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, i, pp. 181, 182) notices "how Dante sometimes combines passages or incidents which in Virgil are found in collocation (more or less) but not in connexion. Thus the story of Polydorus and the episode of the Harpies occur close together in Virgil (Eneid, book iii), but they are not connected either in time or place. Dante has of course borrowed the idea of imprisoning the souls of suicides in trees from the story of Polydorus, but he has added a fresh element of horror by supposing the Harpies to infest the wood and lacerate the sensitive and bleeding branches. Thus, either from an imperfect recollection of Virgil, or much more probably, of deliberate intention, he has united two incidents of Virgil's narrative which happened to be in a certain proximity of context. If this be the explanation, the elaborate guesses of the commentators as to the symbolism of the Harpies is to a great extent beside the point. At any rate the symbolism plays a secondary part."

Virgil, seeing the bewilderment of Dante, comes to his aid, and addressing the ill-fated spirit in the tree with much courtesy and kindness, apologises for having felt himself obliged to counsel Dante to break off the branch, as it was absolutely necessary for him to have a practical demonstration of the truth. He also invites him to tell Dante who he was.

— "S' egli avesse potuto creder prima,"— Rispose il Savio mio,—" anima lesa, Ciò ch' ha veduto pur con la mia rima, Non averebbe in te la man distesa; Ma la cosa incredibile mi fece Indurlo ad opra che a me stesso pesa.

Ma dilli chi tu fosti, sì che in vece

D' alcuna ammenda tua fama rinfreschi

Nel mondo su, dove tornar gli lece."—

"O wounded Soul," replied my Sage, "had he been able to believe at first that which he has only seen in my rhyme (i.e. in the Æneid), he would not have stretched forth his hand against thee, but the incredibility of the thing made me prompt him to the act which now weighs heavily upon myself (i.e. grieves me sorely). But tell him who thou wast; so that in lieu of any amends (for thine injury) he may revive thy good name in the world above, whither it is granted to him to return."

The voice in the tree now replies, and with equal courtesy reciprocates that of Virgil's address to him. He makes use of the terms adescare, "to lure with a bait," and invescarsi, "to let oneself be caught by bird-lime," in the figurative sense, implying that Virgil has placed before him the temptation of a few moments' conversation, and that he will willingly fall into the trap.

E il tronco:—"Sì con dolce dir m' adeschi
Ch' io non posso tacere; e voi non gravi\*
Perch' io un poco a ragionar m' inveschi.

"Grazioso mi fia, se mi contenti Del nome tuo e della vostra sorte."

<sup>\*</sup>voi non gravi, etc.: The trunk (i.e. Pier delle Vigne) begins his reply by addressing Virgil with "thou" (sì col dolce dir m' adeschi), and then goes on to apologise gracefully for detaining the two Poets, addressing them collectively as voi. A similar passage occurs in Par. iii, 40, 41, where Dante asks his kinswoman, Piccarda de' Donati, what is her name individually in the second person singular, and what is the condition of herself and her companions collectively in the second person plural:—

And the trunk: "Thou dost so allure me with gentle speech, that I cannot remain silent, and let it not be burdensome to (both of) you if I allow myself to be enticed into the pleasure of conversing for a while.

The shade is that of Pietro delle Vigne, who, according to Benvenuto, was born at Capua of poor parents, and turned his education to such good account that he became the most learned man of his day. As a doctor versed both in the Roman and the civil law, and a perfect master of style, he rose into such high favour with the Emperor Frederick II, as to become his Chancellor and his most intimate confidant. In this capacity he had access to all the Emperor's secrets, and was able to confirm or alter his purposes, and to manage everything exactly as he liked. But his too great good fortune brought upon him the envy and the hatred of many; for the other courtiers, seeing that his exaltation led to their abasement, secretly plotted to accuse him of charges which they trumped up one after the other. One accused him of having so enriched himself, that he was more wealthy than the Emperor; another, that he took credit to himself for whatever the Emperor might have done of his own wisdom; another accused him of revealing the Emperor's secrets to the Roman Pontiff, and so on, Frederick II, who was by nature suspicious, gave faith to all these calumnies, cast Pietro delle Vigne into prison, and had his eyes put out. Some relate that as Frederick was making a progress through Tuscany to Pisa, Pietro was borne, a blinded prisoner, on a mule in his train, and conveyed to the

Castello di San Miniato, where he put an end to himself by beating his head against the wall of the dungeon in which he was confined. Others have it, that Pietro, when standing at the window of his own palace in his native city of Capua, threw himself down into the street from a great height, just when the Emperor was passing by. But Benvenuto thinks he committed suicide in his first prison, and does not give credence to the two stories just quoted. first, because he does not think it probable that the Emperor, after having had Pietro's eyes put out, would have had him conveyed in his train to no purpose, and still less that having had him blinded, he should have let him go at liberty, for Pietro was not blinded in his mind, and might by his counsels have done Frederick much harm. Frederick had many put to death after imposing fines upon them, and amongst others he did not spare one of his own sons in a case precisely similar to that of Pietro delle Vigne. Boccaccio relates the circumstances of Pietro's fall and death somewhat differently and in great detail. He says that the opportunity seized by Pietro's enemies for slandering him to the Emperor was when the latter was at war with the Church, and that by forged letters and suborned witnesses they made Frederick believe himself to have been betrayed by Pietro. The Emperor's confidence in his Chancellor being thus destroyed, he had him blinded (lo fece abbacinare),\* but not being

<sup>\*</sup>lo fece abbacinare: "Cioè accecare con far tenere gli occhi aperti alla spera d'un bacino di rame, investito da' raggi del sole." (Footnote in the Comento of Boccaccio).

fully convinced of his guilt, allowed him to go away free. Pietro caused himself to be conducted to Pisa. a city which he knew to be loyal to the Emperor, and where, from the great services he had rendered it in the days of his power, he might expect some friendliness from its citizens. Being disappointed in this, he one day induced a boy who was leading him about, to place him opposite to the Church of San Paolo on the Arno. Then suddenly breaking away from his little guide, he rushed furiously forward, with his head down like a sheep butting, and dashed out his brains against the wall of the church.\*

Note the curious similarity in the stories of Belisarius; as also of Romèo (Par. vi); of Pier della Broccia (Purg. vi); and again of Boëthius (Par. x) with that of Pier della Vigne. Had Dante a fellow-feeling with faithful public servants rewarded by false accusations?

Boccaccio points out that in the lines that follow, the shade of Pietro never once mentions his own name to Dante, by which one may take for granted that his reputation was widely spread, and his sad story well known.

Io son colui che tenni ambo le chiavi † Del cor di Federico, e che le volsi Serrando e disserrando sì soavi.

бо

<sup>\*</sup>Giov. Villani (vi, 22) feels uncertain as to whether Pietro committed suicide or died of grief in prison: "ma ciò gli fu fatto per invidia di suo grande stato, per la qual cosa il detto savio per dolore si lasciò tosto morire in pregione, e chi disse ch' egli medesimo si tolse la vita."

<sup>+</sup> ambo le chiavi, et seq.: Dr. Moore (Text. Crit. pp. 306, 307) says: "It is perhaps interesting to note that the metaphor of ll. 58-60 is probably suggested by the language of Isaiah xxii,



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Che dal secreto suo \* quasi ogni uom tolsi: Fede portai al glorioso offizio, Tanto ch' io ne perdei lo sonno † e i polsi.

22, where it is said that Eliakim should supplant 'the treasurer Shebna which is over the house'-a position just similar to that of Pietro delle Vigne, - 'The key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder; so that he shall open and none shall shut, and he shall shut and none shall open." Buti thinks that the locking means the refusal of petitions to the Emperor, and the unlocking the granting of them. G. Di Siena thinks rather volger li chiavi del cor, signifies to move it at one's will to love or to hate. Bargigi interprets: "la chiave del volere, e la chiave del non volere, perocchè egli voleva ciò che io gli consigliava, e non altro." Compare Petrarch, Part i, Ballata 5 :-

"Del mio cuor, Donna, l' una e l' altra chiave

Avete in mano."

And Shakespeare (Tempest, i, sc. 2):

. . . having both the key

Of officer and office," etc.

\* dal secreto suo . . . ogni uom tolsi : Tolsi = allontanai. The expression secreto suo corresponds with the Latin phrase a secretis, and is analogous to the Italian word secretario or segretario. Benvenuto relates as an instance of the intimacy of Pietro with Frederick II, that on a palace at Naples were to be seen the effigies of the Emperor seated on a throne, and Pietro on a chair by his side. The people were represented kneeling at the Emperor's feet, asking for judgment of their causes in the following verses:-

"Caesar, amor legum, Federice piissime regum, Causarum telas Nostrarum solve querelas."

The Emperor was represented giving his reply in these words:-

"Pro vestra lite Censorem juris adite;

Hic nam jura dabit, vel per me danda rogabit: Vineae cognomen, Petrus est judex sibi nomen." Vineae was probably pronounced Vigne, making a spondee.

+ Lo sonno e i polsi: The Oxford text reads i sonni, but in Text. Crit. p. 306, Dr. Moore says: "As between sonno and sonni: the former is clearly preferable. The latter seems due to a feeble attempt to introduce uniformity with the plural polsi." Witte and many others read le vene e i polsi. Dr. Moore (l. c. p. 305) thinks that sonno (sonni) e i polsi may be safely pronounced the primary reading. Sonno e i polsi gives a more appropriate sense; vene e i polsi has a prima facie apI am he who held both the keys of the heart of Frederick (i.e. the power of persuading or dissuading him), and who turned them so softly in locking and unlocking, that I removed nearly every man from his confidence; to my glorious office I bore fidelity so great, that through it I lost both sleep and vigour.

Boccaccio speaks of a man who has any spirit or vigour as one che abbia alcun polso.

Pietro next relates how he was undone by the malicious jealousy of the other courtiers.

pearance of doing so, but would rather seem to refer to Pietro's death, a reference which would be premature and out of place as yet. His devotion to his noble office was such as to destroy, not his life (vene e i polsi), but his repose by night and his strength and mental powers by day. Court jealousy supervened, and roused suspicions which were the cause of his death. Castelvetro points out the distinction very clearly: "Ancora non ha parlato dell' invidia che fu cagione che egli fosse rimosso dall' ufficio . . .; nè dello sdegno che fu cagione della morte sua. Nè la fede, che portò all' ufficio, fu cagione dell' invidia, ma il favore smoderato che gli veniva da Federigo." Vene e i polsi is undoubtedly a reading of great antiquity, for it is found in Lana, but it is always well to remember, as Scartazzini points out in his volume of Prolegomeni, that in some cases of variants, both readings may possibly be Dante's own, and the later one the revision by himself of the earlier one. In the Prolegomeni (pp. 425-428) Scartazzini expresses his conviction that Dante was preparing the complete outline of the Commedia for many years before he actually began composing it. He feels no doubt, that when Dante began to write the first Canto of the Inferno, he had already decided there were to be one hundred Cantos in the Commedia, and had probably composed many hundreds of verses of the leading passages before he took the work in hand as a whole, during the last eight years of his life. Let us suppose then that le vene e i polsi may have been composed by Dante during his period of preparation, and lo sonno e i polsi substituted by himself later, as better expressing the narrative. See also Inf. ii, 60, footnote, respecting moto versus mondo lontana.

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La meretrice\* che mai dall' ospizio
Di Cesare † non torse gli occhi putti,
Morte ‡ comune, e delle corti vizio,
Infiammò contra me gli animi tutti,
E gl' infiammati infiammàr sì Augusto,
Che i lieti onor tornaro in tristi lutti.

The harlot (Envy), the common bane and vice of courts, who never removed her wanton eyes from Caesar's household, inflamed the minds of all men against me, and they that were inflamed so inflamed Augustus, that my joyful honours turned into bitter woes.

Pietro now shows that he wishes to love and honour Frederick II, in spite of the dishonour the latter had inflicted on him, because he looked on him as deceived by others. Pietro thereby increases our interest in him, and gives proofs of that fidelity which calumny had denied to him. He takes the opportunity of assuring Dante in the most solemn way that remains to him as a lost soul, swearing by the new roots of his own tree (which Benvenuto says is equivalent to swearing by his own soul, but which may also mean by his recently commenced existence in Hell), that as regards treachery to his benefactor he had been perfectly innocent, and entreats that

<sup>\*</sup>La meretrice, etc.: This means Envy. Chaucer (Prologue to the Legend of Good Women) makes allusion to this very passage:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Envye is lavender [from Italian lavandaja] of the court alway; For she ne parteth, neither night ne day,

Out of the hous of Caesar; thus saith Dante; Who-so that goth algate she wol nat wante;"

<sup>†</sup> Cesare . . . Augusto: Both these names are used here to denote the Emperor Frederick.

<sup>†</sup> Morte comune: Compare Wisdom ii, 24 (Vulgate): "Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum."

either he or Virgil will rehabilitate his good name. Of course the very fact that Pietro is only punished as a Suicide, was intended by Dante as a proof that self-destruction was his sole crime. Had he really been guilty of treachery to his benefactor, he would have been found in the very lowest Circle of Hell, in the Ring of it named Giudecca, among the fourth and worst class of Traitors.

> L' animo mio per disdegnoso gusto,\* Credendo col morir fuggir disdegno, Ingiusto fece me contra me giusto. Per le nuove radici † d' esto legno Vi giuro che giammai non ruppi fede Al mio signor, che fu d' onor sì degno. 1

70

\* disdegnoso gusto: This is a most difficult passage, nor have I seen any version of it that is wholly satisfactory, neither am I quite satisfied with my own, which however gives the real sense of the words. In the Gran Dizionario, gusto (§ vii and § viii) has the meanings: "Diletto, piacere." I take the sentence to mean: "through the bitter satisfaction or relish of feeling disdain." In his agony of mind, poor Pietro gave way to the fierce delight of feeling sovereign contempt for his despicable traducers. Disdegnoso gusto in his disdain for the courtiers, disdegno in the next line is the disdain they would have felt for him when fallen from his high estate, had he not escaped their malice by suicide. The translation I have adopted has the support of the interpretation of Rossetti: "Disdegnoso gusto esprime che quando il disdegno deriva da giusta cagione, l'uomo ha un certo compiacimento a nutrirsene. Per fuggir disdegno, cioè lo spregio di chi lo tenea per traditore, e forse il dileggiamento (derision) degli stessi suoi calunniatori." Biagioli also: "Disdegnoso gusto; gusto di disdegno per impeto di furore. Disdegno, dispregio, credendo, con darmi la morte, tormi al dispregio in ch' io era.

t nuove radici: By nuove must be understood as speaking comparatively, for Pietro delle Vigne had died nearly fifty years before. Some take nuove in the sense of "strange, un-

couth."

the fu d' onor sì degno : In the De Vulg. Eloq. i, 12, ll. 20-24, Dante is full of praise for Frederick: "Si guidem illustres E se di voi alcun nel mondo riede, \*
Conforti † la memoria mia, che giace
Ancor del colpo che invidia le diede."—

My spirit, through the relish of my disdain (for the courtiers), thinking to escape (their) disdain by dying, made me (who was) just unjust to myself (by self-destruction). By the new roots of this tree I swear to you that never did I break faith with my Lord, who was so worthy of honour. And if either of you return to the world, let him rehabilitate my fair fame, which is still lying low from the stroke which envy dealt it."

Dante expresses great reverence and admiration for the Emperor, both as a great prince, a man of letters, a patron of literature, a man of worth and dignity, and also as a great Ghibelline; but from the

heroes Federicus Caesar et bene genitus eius Manfredus nobilitatem ac rectitudinem suae formae pandentes, donec fortuna permansit, humana secuti sunt, brutalia dedignantes." Giov. Villani (vi, 41) relates that on the occasion of Frederick's splendid obsequies in the noble Cathedral of Monreale near Palermo, a certain ecclesiastic, by name Trottano, wrote the following brief epitaph:—

"Si probitas, sensus, virtutum gratia, census, Nobilitas orti, possent resistere morti,

Non foret extinctus Federicus, qui jacet intus."

These lines greatly pleased Manfred and the other barons, and they ordered them to be engraved on the Emperor's tomb.

\*E se di voi alcun nel mondo riede: Compare Inf. x, 82:—
"E se tu mai nel dolce mondo regge," etc.

† Conforti la memoria mia: Confortare has many meanings besides to comfort, namely, to console, to restore, to fortify, to corroborate; to exhort, to incite; to persuade, but for the meaning in this passage, see Gran Dizionario, s.v. confortare, § 14: "Confortar la memoria di chi che sia vale Ristorare la buona fama che alcuno abbia perduta non per sua colpa." Compare Inf. ii, 28-30:—

"Andovvi poi lo Vas d' elezione,
Per recarne conforto a quella fede
Ch' è principio alla via di salvazione."

point of view of a Christian and as a Catholic, he has placed him among the Heretics in Hell. (See *Inf.* x, 118-120).

Division III.—Pietro delle Vigne has ended his melancholy tale. Virgil knows that there is no time to lose, for when the broken twig shall have ceased to shed blood, the voice of the shade will no longer find a vent; besides which they have not as yet traversed even half of the immense distance they have to walk, and they must hasten on. But Virgil wishes his companion to gain information on two points, and urges him to question the tree about them. Dante, however, is overcome by so much sympathy for the ill-fated shade, that he feels himself quite unable to address him, and entreats Virgil to be again the spokesman.

Un poco attese,\* e poi :-- "Da ch' ei si tace,"Disse il Poeta a me,-- "non perder l' ora; 80
Ma parla e chiedi a lui se più ti piace."Ond' io a lui :-- "Domandal tu ancora
Di quel che credi che a me satisfaccia;
Ch' io non potrei : tanta pietà m' accora."-+

Compare also G. Villani, Lib. xi, cap. 66, where, speaking of the two captains Piero and Marsilio dei Rossi of Parma, he writes: "Messer Marsilio . . . era ammalato in Padova, e colla giunta del dolore della morte di messer Piero s' accorò

<sup>\*</sup> Un poco attesse: Virgil waits awhile to see whether the spirit wishes to say anything more to them of his own accord.

<sup>†</sup> tanta pietà m' accora: The Gran Dizionario (§ 4) says of accorare: "dice dolore più forte e più intimo." Buti renders this passage: "Che mi trafigge [pierces] il core."

Compare Inf. xv, 82-84:—
"Che in la mente m' è fitta, ed or mi accora [goes to my heart].

La cara e buona imagine paterna
Di voi."

He paused a while, and then: "Since he is silent," said the Poet to me, "lose not the occasion; but speak, and ask of him if thou wouldst learn more." Whereupon I to him: "Do thou question him again of whatsoever thou thinkest will satisfy me, for I cannot: so great is the pity that consumes my heart."

Virgil complies and again addresses the spirit; in doing so, he distinguishes Dante from himself, also a spirit, by speaking of him as "the man (l' uom)." He then puts two questions to Pietro, first, how the spirits come to be confined in the trees, and secondly, if any of them ever get out again.

Perciò ricominciò:—"Se l' uom \* ti faccia 85
Liberamente ciò che il tuo dir prega,
Spirito incarcerato, ancor ti piaccia
Di dirne come l' anima si lega
In questi nocchi; e dinne, se tu puoi,
S' alcuna mai da tai membra si spiega."— 90

duramente nell' animo." Scartazzini points out that there is something of personal motive in the deep compassion Dante now evinces for the third time since he entered Hell. The first time was when Virgil described to him the eternal existence without hope of the poets and sages of antiquity (Inf. iv, 40-45), for Dante was himself of their band (della loro schiera, Inf. iv, 101), and on hearing of their fate he felt great grief; the second time was at the relation by Francesca of her tale of woe, when Dante, who well knew what it was to feel the pangs of love, was so moved with pity that he fell into a dead faint (Inf. v, 142); and now again, he feels compassion for Pietro, who had been destroyed by Envy and Calumny; for to these Dante too was himself indebted for being at that time an exile, despoiled of his property, and dishonoured in the eyes of his fellow-citizens.

\* U uom: Casini contends that the expression uom ti faccia has a value that is wholly impersonal, as we find in other places in the poem; but I have followed Benvenuto and others in taking it (this fact has been noticed above) as a contrast betwee
the living man, and Virgil, the spirit.

Thereupon he recommenced: "So may the man (Dante), imprisoned spirit, perform for thee freely that which thy words entreat, as it may please thee to tell us farther (firstly), in what way the soul is bound up in these gnarled trunks; and (secondly) to declare to us if thou canst, whether any (soul) is ever loosened from such limbs."

By the second question Virgil means to ask, whether the spirits of the Suicides will rise again at the Day of Judgment, and reclothe themselves with their mortal bodies like the other departed.

The shade of Pietro replies, and had he had organs wherewith to sigh, he would have done so when recalled by Virgil to the full recollection of his sin and its eternal punishment; but as it is, he can only blow through the rupture in the branch out of which he had shed blood. He begins by relating how the soul gets into the tree.

Allor soffiò lo tronco forte, e poi Si convertì quel vento in cotal voce: \* —" Brevemente † sarà risposto a voi.

"Così per non aver via nè forame
Dal principio del foco in suo linguaggio
Si convertivan le parole grame.
Ma poscia ch' ebber colto lor viaggio
Su per la punta, dandole quel guizzo
Che dato avea la lingua in lor passaggio,
Udimmo dire," etc.

<sup>\*</sup>Si convertì quel vento in cotal voce: Compare Inf. xxvii, 13-19, where Guido da Montefeltro's voice has great difficulty in finding a vent for itself through the flame:—

<sup>†</sup> Brevemente: Pietro has told the sad history of his unmerited suffering at great length up to this point; but when asked to discuss the details of the righteous judgments inflicted upon him for his crime of suicide, he excuses himself from going into the subject further than just relating the facts.



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Quando si parte l' anima feroce \*

Dal corpo, ond' ella stessa s' è disvelta,

Minòs la manda alla settima foce.†

Cade in la selva, e non l' è parte scelta;

Ma là dove fortuna la balestra,

Quivi germoglia come gran di spelta; ‡

Surge in vermena, ed in pianta silvestra:

L' Arpie, pascendo poi delle sue foglie,

Fanno dolore, ed al dolor finestra.

Then the trunk blew heavily, and afterwards the wind changed itself into these words: "Briefly shall it be answered to you. When the inhuman soul departs from the body from which it has itself torn itself, Minos sends it to the Seventh Circle (lit. opening). It falls into the forest, and there is no place assigned to it but wherever chance launches it. Here it sprouts as a grain of spelt; it grows into a sapling, and (eventually)

\*feroce: The Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca, takes the word in this passage in its primary sense of "fierce (like a wild beast), inhuman, cruel, relentless." Buti says the soul of the Suicide may well be called feroce, since, like a wild beast, it turns its fangs upon its own flesh.

† alla settima foce: "cioè al settimo cerchio in questo secondo girone." (Gran Dizionario). Foce in its primary sense is "the mouth of a river"; and by extension, "the point where one street debouches into another"; and next, as in the present passage, "a pass between two mountains." Compare Purg. ii, 103, where Casella speaks of the Angel-Pilot directing his boat towards the mouth of the Tiber:—

"A quella foce ha egli or dritta l' ala."

† gran di spelta: "Spelt, a kind of corn. Called 'spelt, corne' in Minsheu, The Guide into the Tongues, ed. 1627. Cf. Gothic spleltze, chaff, shell, beard of ear of corn. Levins (Manipulus Vocabulorum, ed. 1570) has: 'To spelt corne, to thrash it (tundere), to remove the husk (gluma, eglumare)'; which suggests a connection with the verb to split." (Skeat, Etymological Dictionary). Littré (Dictionnaire) says of "grand épeautre (triticum spelta)" that "les épeautres sont cultivés dans les terrains maigres," etc. It would therefore seem to be a plant peculiarly suitable to the barren soil of Hell.

into a forest tree: then the Harpies by feeding upon its foliage give it pain, and to the pain a window (i.e. they make an opening through which the cry of pain can issue).

So far, Pietro has answered Virgil's first question. He now goes on to answer the second, telling Virgil, in so many words, that the spirits of himself and his companions will indeed rise again on the Day of Judgment, but that their bodies will nevermore contain their souls. The bodies which were felt too irksome in life will find an eternal resting-place on the trees wherein their spirits are confined.

Come l' altre verrem per nostre spoglie,
Ma non però ch' alcuna sen rivesta:
Chè non è giusto aver \* ciò ch' uom si toglie. 105
Qui le strascineremo, e per la mesta
Selva saranno i nostri corpi appesi,
Ciascuno al prun dell' ombra † sua molesta."—

Like the other (spirits) we shall come (to Earth) for our bodies (*lit*. stripped-off clothing), but not however that any may don them again: for it is

Witte translates the line:-

<sup>\*</sup>non è giusto aver, et seq.: That which a man cannot bestow upon himself he must not deprive himself of, but rather is bound to retain it at the pleasure of the person who bestowed it. If therefore he takes away or renounces such benefits, it is not right that he should have them again. (Buti).

tl' ombra sua molesta: Blanc, whom I follow, takes this to mean that the shade found the body such an encumbrance, that it would no longer tolerate the burden, but committed suicide. He strongly objects to take molesta in the sense of molestata, tormented. Many think molesta must have the sense of the soul being hostile to the body. Blanc interprets the passage: "the soul, or the existence, that has become too burdensome for the suicide to endure."

<sup>&</sup>quot;An seines lästgen Schattens Baum gehenket."

not right for a man to have that whereof he deprives himself. Hither shall we drag them, and throughout the forest of woe shall our bodies be hung, each one on the tree of (i.e. belonging to) its burdened shade."

Benvenuto says that as regards this passage, than which none more difficult is to be found in the whole poem, one is bound to insist with all the powers of one's mind that what the author here lays down not only has the appearance of being erroneous, but distinctly heretical. To say that these particular spirits will not reclothe themselves with their flesh is altogether contrary to the Faith, and the Poet, as a faithful Christian, could not and ought not to say such a thing. Benvenuto, after citing different suggestions that have been made to get out of the difficulty-all of which he dismisses as wholly insufficient-says he has no doubt that Dante never stated the above as his own opinion, but only made Pietro delle Vigne (who in despair had destroyed himself) say it, not because it is true, but because Pietro fallaciously believed it to be so; for if he had believed in the resurrection of the body, and still more in the eternity of punishment, he could never. Benvenuto thinks, have put an end to his own life. Therefore there is no more use in knocking one's head against a wall, and calumniating Dante, as some persons are so fond of doing; for even if they are not able to understand his fictions, still they ought to defend him and recollect that Dante was always most Catholic in his utterances, as may be seen in all his writings, and he would not have spoken as he does in this passage without good reason, for in matters of Faith he was certainly not ignorant of what every little old woman knows, namely, that every soul shall put on its flesh again at the Last Day.

Division IV .- A new class of the Violent against themselves now comes upon the scene. These are they who utterly squander their own substance, not as the Prodigals in the Fourth Circle, by spending it injudiciously and profusely (mal dare, Inf. vii, 58). but by so reckless and wasteful a misuse of it as practically to amount to self-destruction. The reader must gather this by inference, for it is not so stated in the text, but the persons, whose shades are the principal actors in the scene we are about to study. were men well known in their time, and notorious for this particular delinquency; and no doubt on the subject seems to have existed among the oldest Commentators, such as Lana, Boccaccio, Benvenuto, Buti, the Anonimo Fiorentino, the author of the Chiose Anonime and others.

Benvenuto remarks that Dante has with great art pictured the shades running in terror through the forest, naked and pursued by ravening hounds, who when they catch them, rend them limb from limb. These hounds are the emblems of the emissaries of the creditors, the latter being represented by the hunters who may be supposed to be following the pack. For when a rich man by wilful waste has reduced himself to penury, he finds himself naked, like the spirits in the wood, continually pursued by creditors and their emissaries, and though he is ever

escaping and breaking through prisons and other obstacles, they are ever on the watch for him, and when they catch him, they figuratively tear him limb from limb. One seizes his house, another his vine-yard, another his household goods, and another whatever else is left; and if they cannot seize enough, they lay hold upon his person.

Dante introduces this scene in words that speak for themselves.

Noi eravamo ancora al tronco attesi,
Credendo ch' altro ne volesse dire,
Quando noi fummo d' un romor sorpresi,
Similemente a colui che venire
Sente il porco e la caccia alla sua posta,
Ch' ode le bestie e le frasche stormire.

We were still expectantly waiting by the trunk, thinking that it might wish to tell us more, when we were surprised by a noise in like manner to him (the hunter), who perceives the boar and the chase coming towards his post, who hears the beasts and the crashing of the branches.

Spell-bound, Dante listens to the approach of the weird hunt, though he knows not what he is going to see. Very soon, however, the principal actors in the scene are before him.

Ed ecco duo dalla sinistra costa,

Nudi e graffiati, fuggendo sì forte,

Che della selva rompièno ogni rosta \*

<sup>\*</sup>rosta: Borghini (Studi sulla Divina Commedia di Galileo Galilei, Vincenzo Borghini ed altri, p. 302), speaking of the difficulty which even the most educated Florentines of his day [he died in 1580] would experience in knowing the many technical words in use in certain localities in Tuscany, and of the nearly boundless wealth of words in the Tuscan language, alludes especially to this word as used in the present passage, as fol-

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Quel dinanzi:—" Ora accorri, accorri, morte."— E l' altro, a cui pareva tardar troppo, Gridava:—" Lano, si non furo accorte

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lows: "Now there is in Dante the word rosta, used in a particular sense, and but little understood, which means: when many boughs are plaited together to make a kind of hedge to screen off or to turn aside the waters of rivers. This word, if heard by a citizen whose property is on the hills, would be an entirely new expression, whereas to one who owned land on the plain of Florence, near the Arno or the Bisenzo or the Ombrone, it would be a perfectly familiar term." The late worthy Padre Giuliani, Professor of Dante Literature in Florence, in his charming little book, Delizie del parlare Toscano, Firenze, 1884, vol. i, p. 187, writing on the above explanation, remarks: "Such was the decided assertion of Borghini, a most experienced judge of his native tongue; and yet even he did not know that the same word is used by the peasantry in the mountain districts of Siena, the Casentino and Pistoja, in the identical sense understood by Dante. 'Roste,' they told me, 'is the name we give to certain screens of roots, boughs and twigs, which we are in the habit of making up here and there in the forests, to stop the chestnuts, when they have fallen off the trees, from being carried away by any sudden rain-flood."
See also Gran Dizionario, s.v. fare, § fare rosta, "fermarsi più persone in giro per impedire checchesia." Compare Fra Jacopone da Todi (Rime) :-

"Fanno d' accordo insieme tutti rosta Di non voler l' albergo suo lassare."

Padre Giuliani (himself a Piedmontese), after saying that it will not be unprofitable to investigate in what part of Italy one may find the most beautiful language of such excellence as to be worthy of being recorded in literature, adds: "Without going back to remote times, but confining myself to the present, and overcome by the force of truth, and the evidence of examples, I am bound to confess that the Tuscan people alone preserve, pure and unsullied in all its features, the idiom of Ciullo d' Alcamo, of Guido Guinicelli, and of Dante. Dante, my master and benefactor, has drawn me wholly to himself, the more so, that he has given me the desire and the power to refresh my soul in the harmony of this perennial music." To sum up, according to Borghini, rosta means an obstacle to the overflowing of rivers, as understood in the plains; according to Giuliani, an obstacle to sudden floods up in the mountains—I therefore translate it "obstacle." Rosta also means a branch

Le gambe tue alle giostre del Toppo."— E poichè forse gli fallia la lena, Di sè e d' un cespuglio fece un groppo.

And behold on the left hand two, naked and torn, fleeing so precipitately, that they broke down every obstacle in the wood. The foremost (cried): "O Death, this time haste thee, haste thee!" and the other one who seemed to himself to be too slow (i.e. unable to keep up with his companion), shouted: "Lano, thy legs were not so prompt at the jousts (i.e. the skirmish) of the Toppo." And perchance because his breath failed him, of himself and of a bush he made one group (i.e. he crept cowering into a bush).

These two shades are those of Lano (an abbreviation of Ercolano) of Siena, and Jacomo di Sant' Andrea. The former was of gentle blood, and inherited great wealth from his father. There was at that time at Siena a society of very rich young men who formed themselves into what Jacopo della Lana calls the brigata spendereccia,\* and Vellutello the brigata godereccia. These turned all their pos-

of a tree gathered for the purpose of fanning oneself (arrostarsi), and Boccaccio understands rompièno ogni rosta to mean that the two spirits, in their precipitate flight, tore through and broke down all the branches that stood in their way.

\*Dante refers to the Brigata Spendereccia in Inf. xxix, 125-132:-

"Trammene Stricca,
Che seppe far le temperate spese;
E Niccolò, che la costuma ricca
Del garofano prima discoperse
Nell' orto dove tal seme s' appicca;
E tranne la brigata in che disperse
Caccia d' Ascian la vigna e la gran fronda,
E l' Abbagliato il suo senno proferse."
See also my footnotes on the above lines.

sessions into a sum of money amounting to 200,000 ducats, and in the course of twenty months, by most wanton extravagance, they reduced themselves to utter destitution. Lano, having ruined himself in this foolish manner, is said to have joined an army which the Sienese had raised to assist the Florentines against the Ghibellines, who were assembled in great force at Arezzo under Guglielmo degli Ubertini, Bishop of Arezzo. Benvenuto says that the Ghibelline army comprised Tuscans, Romagnoles, as well as men from the Marche and the Duchy (of Spoleto). He reckons the Sienese at 400 knights and 4000 foot. The Sienese fell into an ambush laid for them by the Aretines at the Pieve [Parish] of Del Toppo, and G. Villani (vii, 120) relates that they fell in great numbers. See also Gino Capponi, Storia della Repubblica di Firenze, vol. i, p. 74. Lano, preferring death to the certain poverty that awaited him at home, threw himself into the thick of the fight, and was among the slain. Costa, in his Commentary, remarks that there is a distinct meaning in the words Ora accorri, morte, used by Lano in l. 118, the word ora showing that on the present occasion, death would have been of greater service to him than when he threw his life away. Lano would seem to belong both to the category of the Squanderers and the Suicides.

Jacomo della Cappella di Sant' Andrea, of Monselice, was the son of Odorico da Monselice and Speronella Delesmanini, noted as having been the wife of six husbands. He is said to have been put to death by Ezzelino in 1239. He is mentioned by

Jacopo Alighieri, by the Anonimo, by Lana, by Benvenuto, and several others. Gelli tells us that he was so unbridled in his prodigality, that many of his acts were rather those of a fool than a prodigal. On one occasion, when travelling from Padua to Venice, he is said to have thrown away a large number of gold coins of the value of ten scudi (over (2) each, to see them make ducks and drakes (far basserini) on the lagoon. Another time he had some of his labourers' cottages burnt, in order that himself and a number of his guests might dry their wet clothes on returning from the chase. Scartazzini relates that like Nero, wishing to see a large conflagration, he set one of his own villas on fire, and watched till it was burned down, together with all its out-buildings. As we have before remarked, Dante has evidently wished to draw a distinction between the Prodigals of the Fourth Circle, who only spent their money overprofusely, and these miserable dissipators of their whole substance.

We now learn how the fugitives were being hunted by so vast a host of demons in the shape of dogs, that the whole forest was full of them. Lano di Siena, who was running first, appears, for the time at least, to have distanced the hellish pack, but Jacomo di Sant' Andrea is not so fortunate.

> Diretro a loro era la selva piena Di nere cagne,\* bramose e correnti, Come veltri che uscisser di catena.

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<sup>\*</sup>nere cagne, etc.: Compare Inf. xxxiii, 31:—
"Con cagne magre, studiose e conte," etc.

13

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In quel che s' appiattò miser li denti, E quel dilaceraro a brano a brano; Poi sen portar quelle membra dolenti.

Behind them the wood was full of black bitch-dogs, ravening and swift, like greyhounds that have been slipped from the leash. On him who had squatted down they set their teeth, and him did they rend piecemeal; then carried off those tortured limbs.

In rushing upon Jacomo da Sant' Andrea, th hounds had broken down the bush in which he has tried to conceal himself. This, as we shall now see is the abode of another hapless shade, whose suffer ings are much greater, says Benvenuto, than thos of Pier delle Vigne, who had shed tears and bloom from only one little fracture, whereas this last on is broken all to pieces.

Presemi allor la mia scorta per mano,

E menommi al cespuglio che piangea,

Per le rotture sanguinenti, invano.

"O Jacomo,"—dicea,—"da Sant' Andrea,

Che t' è giovato di me fare schermo?

Che colpa ho io della tua vita rea?"—

My Guide then took me by the hand, and led me to the bush which was wailing in vain (i.e. without hope of relief) through its bleeding fractures. "O Jacomo da Sant' Andrea," it said, "what has it profited thee to make of me thy screen? what blame have I for thy guilty life?"

Virgil takes advantage of the first pause in the lamentations of the spirit to ask his name, and the spirit thereupon reveals his identity.

Quando il Maestro fu sopr' esso fermo,
Disse:—"Chi fusti, che per tante punte
Soffi con sangue doloroso sermo?"—

Car

nto	XIII.	Readings on the Inferno.	483
	Ed eg	li a noi :- "O anime * che giunte	
	Si	iete e veder lo strazio † disonesto	140
	C	h' ha le mie fronde sì da me disgiunte,	
	Racco	glietele al piè del tristo cesto:	
	Id	fui della città che nel Batista	
	M	utò 'l primo padrone: ond' ei per questo	
	Sempi	re con l' arte sua la farà trista:	145
	E	se non fosse che in sul passo d' Arno	
	R	imane ancor di lui alcuna vista,	
	Quei	cittadin, che poi la rifondarno	
	S	opra il cener che d' Attila rimase,	
	A	vrebber fatto lavorare indarno.	150
	Io fei	giubbetto ‡ a me delle mie case."-	100

\*O anime: The spirit in the tree, having no eyes to see with, imagines both Dante and Virgil to be shades like himself.

tstrazio disonesto: Scartazzini says that the Latins used honestus for "beautiful, noble," and inhonestus for "ugly, disgusting." Here it has the sense of "shameful." Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, i, p. 179) remarks that it has been suggested that the expression may have been derived from Æn. vi, 494-497, where the minute description, after the manner of Virgil, of the manifold details of the mutilation of Deiphobus ends with "et truncas inhonesto vulnere nares." If this be so, it would explain the word disonesto having this unusual meaning. The full passage is:—

"Atque hic Priamiden laniatum corpore toto Deïphobum videt, et lacerum crudeliter ora, Ora manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis Auribus, et truncas inhonesto vulnere nares."

† fei giubbetto a me delle mie case: Lana says: "There is a house called Giubbetto in Paris (Giubbetto è in Parigi una casa) in which justice is executed for the Magistracy of the city (per la pubblica Signoria): in it heads are cut off, criminals are hanged, and sentences are carried out against the persons of malefactors (li si procede nella persona dei malfattori per la ragione pubblica). Now the shade in the bush says that he made of his own houses a gibbet for himself, i.e. that he hung himself in them." In the Chiose Sinchrone of the Codice Cassinese we find: "Giubettum est quaedam turris Parisiis ubi homines suspenduntur." The Ottimo writes in the same sense.

When my Master had stopped close by it, he said: "Who wast thou, who, through so many wounds art breathing forth such woeful words together with thy blood?" And he (the spirit in the bush) to us: "O Souls that are come to contemplate the shameful havoc which has just severed my shoots from me, gather them together (I pray you) at the foot of the ill-fated shrub \* (i.e. of myself). I was of the city which exchanged its first patron (Mars) for the Baptist: on account of which he (Mars) for ever with his art (i.e. warfare) shall make her sorrowful: and were it not that on the passage of the Arno (i.e. on the Ponte Vecchio) there still remains some semblance of him, those citizens who afterwards rebuilt it (Florence) upon the ashes that were left by Attila, would have caused the work (of its reconstruction) to be done in vain. (In that city) did I make for myself a gibbet of my houses (i.e. I hung myself in one of my palaces)."

Among the old Commentators there is a great difference of opinion as to whether the shade in this bush was that of Rocco, Rucco, or Ruco de' Mozzi, or that of Lotto degli Agli. Lana, as also the Falso Boccaccio, consider it to be the latter, and Lana mentions, as a well-known fact, that in the time of Dante it was Messer Lotto degli Agli, who was so distressed at having pronounced a sentence, afterwards proved to be unjust, that he hanged himself with his silver belt. The Chiose (ed. Selmi) says that the bush that was weeping had been Ricco de' Mozzi

<sup>\*</sup>ill-fated shrub: Mr. Butler translates "sorry tussock." In Webster's Dictionary, s.v. tussock, I find: "A tuft, as of grass, twigs, hair, or the like." The English for cesto in Millhouse's Dictionary is "shrub." I think from the context it is clear that "shrub" is the right meaning, for I do not see how the fronde (l. 141) could be broken away from a tuft of grass.

of Florence, who had been very rich, but eventually fell into such poverty that he hanged himself in his own house. The Ottimo and Buti give both the disputed names, but are unable to decide which is the correct one. Pietro di Dante and Jacopo di Dante give neither of the two names, but Pietro remarks that it happens very frequently in that city (Florence) that men hang themselves. Boccaccio confirms the statement of Pietro as to the frequency of the suicides, observing that it seemed like a curse of God on Florence at that time that so many men hung themselves. Jacopo thinks Dante showed great art in not naming the spirit, for every one who read the story might consider it to refer to his relative. Jacopo adds that it is the special vice of the Florentines to hang themselves, just as the people of Arezzo are given to throw themselves down wells. Benvenuto mentions both Rocco de' Mozzi and Lotto degli Agli as having hanged themselves, but says, he cannot conjecture who is the person referred to here, as such numbers in Florence hanged themselves by the neck-more than he can remember.\*

On Il. 143-151, Blanc (Saggio) has a long discussion. He thinks Dante is here following a tradition that was so generally accepted in his time that it is unnecessary to verify it. The legend was this: In its pagan days Florence elected Mars to be its tutelary deity, and placed an equestrian statue of

<sup>\*</sup> At the present day at Florence a common form of suicide is that of throwing oneself out of window.

him in a temple where the Bapistery now stands. When the city became Christianised, in the reign of Constantine, it selected St. John the Baptist to be its patron saint in place of Mars. But the Florentines, still having some hankering after their Pagan errors, were unwilling to have the statue of Mars destroyed, and preserving it as a sort of palladium, placed it on the top of a tower near the Arno. It remained there until Attila (or rather Totila, for it is well known that Attila never crossed the Apennines) took and destroyed the city (this again is contrary to history), and the statue fell into the Arno. When Florence was rebuilt by Charlemagne (this is another myth), there was recovered from the river the lower half of the statue of Mars, from the waist downwards, and having been examined with a kind of mystical terror, it was placed upon a pillar in the centre of the Ponte Vecchio. There it remained until 1333 (after Dante's death), when it was carried away in the great inundation which destroyed the bridge, and every trace of it was lost. From this legend the meaning of the words E se non fosse, etc., may be clearly understood. Lana speaks of the statue as existing in his time (about 1323). Landino contends that under certain constellations. the statues, and similar consecrated things, might have much influence upon the destiny of the city.

Blanc remarks that although the above explanations seem to him sufficient, one must not disregard the observations of Benvenuto on this subject. The latter says that Boccaccio da Certaldo used to tell him that he had often heard old men say to any boys

who pelted this statue with stones or mud, that they would come to a bad end, and that in fact one who did so pelt it was drowned in the Arno, and another was hung. Benvenuto adds: "But, Reader, before I proceed further, I want you to know that this Canto is not less ingenious and obscure than the preceding one; therefore bethink you that Dante does not follow the legend of the populace, for it would be too absurd, and would almost make him speak heresy, were he to assert that Florence would bring evil upon herself because she was converted to Christianity. Say, rather, that Dante is uttering against the Florentines a taunt, which, though veiled, is exceedingly bitter, namely, that from the time that Florence dismissed Mars, that is, strength and valour in arms, and began to worship the Baptist only, meaning the Florin upon which the Baptist is stamped, she gave herself up wholly to the acquisition of wealth, and therefore will be unfortunate in her warlike achievements; for as long as the Florentines gave their minds to deeds of arms and to exertion, they were energetic and victorious; but when they turned their attention to rapacious harpies and accumulation of riches, although they might seem to be more prosperous and powerful, yet were they less honoured in their feats of arms, and, in their continual wars, were more and more weakened by their avarice: if therefore some slight vestige of Mars \* were not still remaining in it, Florence would

<sup>\*</sup>In Par. xvi, 145-147, reference is made to the mutilated statue of Mars:—

many a time have met with the same destruction that she met with from Attila."

Benvenuto thus relates a curious legend, of which however he greatly doubts the truth, namely, that Attila in A.D. 440, having in vain besieged Florence. contrived to enter it by fraud and treachery. Knowing that Pistoja and Florence were very hostile to each other, he promised the latter to destroy the former, and to the Florentines to be their faithful friend. They foolishly giving credence to this artifice, opened their gates and admitted Attila. As soon as he was inside the city he summoned all the greatest and noblest of the citizens to a council, and had them slaughtered one by one as they passed through an antechamber, their bodies being secretly made away with by a subterranean aqueduct under the palace, nor was this carnage discovered until, when too late, the people saw that the Arno was

> "Ma conveniasi a quella pietra scema Che guarda il ponte, che Fiorenza fesse Vittima nella sua pace postrema."

There is a curious reference in the same Canto to the relative positions in Florence of the statue of Mars on the Ponte Vecchio and the Church of San Giovanni, which is the Bapistery. Dante asks Cacciaguida (ll. 25, 26) :"Ditemi dell' ovil di San Giovanni

Quanto era allora," etc.,

wishing to know what the size of Florence was in the time of his great-great-grandfather. Cacciaguida answers him that the city was then but one-fifth of the size it had attained in the time of Dante (ll. 46-48):—
"Tutti color ch' a qual tempo eran ivi,

Da poter arme, tra Marte e il Battista, Erano il quinto di quei che son vivi."

<sup>\*</sup>The city, therefore, in the time of Cacciaguida, had the Ponte Vecchio at one edge of its circumference and the Bapistery at the other.

being stained red by the blood falling into it from this aqueduct. Attila is said to have then ordered a general massacre, the sack of the city, and its complete destruction.

Benvenuto, both in discussing this passage, and also in Canto xv, remarks that Dante often quotes the chronicles of his country, which relate similar frivolous anecdotes; but whatever they may be, he, Benvenuto, does not believe the above story, for, as mentioned before (p. 486), Attila never crossed the Apennines. Boccaccio and Landino recount this legend, but both speak of the palace where Attila was lodged as il Capitolio, and Boccaccio states that among the slain in the general massacre was Maurizio, Bishop of Florence.

Gelli comments on the different versions of the legend as told by Procopius and Villani. As to the assertion of the latter that Florence remained in ruins from the time of its destruction until it was rebuilt by Charlemagne, Gelli thinks that it was not possible that so great a city could remain in ruins for upwards of 300 years without the fact being recorded by historians. It cannot, therefore, be true either that Attila destroyed it, or that Charlemagne rebuilt it, as Dante makes this spirit say, and as Villani writes. But Gelli, wishing to save the credit of Dante and of Villani, thinks we must suppose that in their time there was some forgotten chronicler who did say so.\* They must not,

<sup>\*</sup> Dr. Moore thinks this ingenious suggestion by Gelli might be supported by the bitter sarcasm of Par. xviii, 133, where the Canto concludes with the denunciation of an unnamed personage, as to whose identity Commentators differ.

therefore, he adds, be blamed, for it is not the same with chronicles as with sciences, since the truth or fallacy of scientific assertions can be reduced from the soundness of their premises, and the conclusions derived therefrom; but the verifications of history can only be made from the testimony of different writers, and by comparing one with another, and this he says "at the present day (1560) has become very easy, owing to the vast mass of books that the art of printing has brought into existence." But in the days of Villani and Dante the only books were manuscripts, and these few in number, whence verification was extremely difficult; for which reason every sort of excuse must be made for any shortcomings of this kind.

END OF CANTO XIII.

## CANTO XIV.

THE THIRD ROUND OF THE SEVENTH CIRCLE—THE VIOLENT AGAINST GOD—THE BURNING SAND—THE RAIN OF FIRE—CAPANEUS—THE COLOSSUS OF IDA—THE RIVERS OF HELL.

WE left Dante and Virgil standing by the bush that contained the shade of Rocco de' Mozzi in the Second Round of the Seventh Circle. The Poets have now completed their inspection of the Infernal Forest of the Suicides and Squanderers, and are approaching the edge of the horrible Sandy Waste (l' orribil sabbione, xiii, 19), wherein is punished the third kind of Violence, which, as we noticed in Canto xi, 49-51, is in its turn threefold, and divided into:—

- (a) The Violent against God;
- (b) The Violent against Nature;
- and (c) The Violent against Art.

This Canto deals only with the first subdivision. Benvenuto divides it into four parts:

In Division I, from ver. 1 to ver. 42, Dante describes the position of the Third Round with reference to the preceding one; its nature; and the penalty that the sinners undergo therein.

In Division II, from ver. 43 to ver. 75 (and here

I have included three lines more than Benvenuto takes), the Poets single out Capaneus, a Blasphemer against God, and converse with him.

In Division III, from ver. 76 to ver. 120, Virgil gives Dante an explanation of the origin of all the rivers in Hell.

In Division IV, from ver. 121 to ver. 142, in answer to a question from Dante, Virgil tells him why it is that only now, for the first time, they see the river Phlegethon.

Division I.—At the end of the last Canto the voice in the bush had entreated the Poets to collect, and lay down by his roots, the twigs that had been so ruthlessly broken off from him by the shade of Iacomo di Sant' Andrea in his precipitate flight from the pursuing hounds of Hell. Dante now does so, with all his sympathies aroused at the sufferings of a fellow citizen of Florence.

> Poichè la carità del natio loco Mi strinse, raunai le fronde sparte, E rende' le a colui ch' era già fioco.\*

Inasmuch as the love of my native place constrained me, I collected the scattered twigs, and restored them to him who was already faint of voice.

<sup>\*</sup>fioco: Some read roco = hoarse, and others explain fioco to mean "hoarse," but Blanc (Voc. Dant.) says that its primary meaning is "that which is of small power, weak." He adds that although the Vocabolario della Crusca gives to this word the signification of "hoarse," he does not think it necessary to do so, as that sense is only applicable to it in Inf. iii, 27: "Voci alte e floche." I do not think that even there it means "hoarse," but "faint."

5

As we have previously seen, these spirits could only speak out of the wounds that served them for mouths. The flow of blood having ceased, they lost their power of utterance.

The reader must understand that the Poets now move on to the edge of the Infernal Forest, but they are not able to leave it as yet, for it would not be possible for a mortal, without destruction, to place his foot upon the burning sand of the Third Round, or to come within the range of the flakes of fire that are falling upon the tormented spirits. They-are compelled therefore to continue their course along the border of the Burning Sand, themselves walking inside the Forest. It is only when, as we read in 1. 76 et seq., they come to the stream, which crosses the sand after issuing from the Forest, that by means of a phenomenon explained in 11. 79-84, they are able to quit the Forest and walk upon the hardened margin of the stream.

Indi venimmo al fine, ove si parte

Lo secondo giron dal terzo, e dove
Si vede di giustizia orribil arte.

A ben manifestar le cose nuove,\*

Dico che arrivammo ad una landa †
Che dal suo letto ogni pianta rimove.

\* cose nuove: Compare Inf. vii, 19, 20:—

"Ahi giustizia di Dio, tante chi stipa
Nuove travaglie e pene, quante io viddi?"

tlanda: The primary meaning of the word is "a meadow" (prateria), and it is akin to the French lande, "an uncultivated plain." The Grandes Landes is the name of the vast uncultivated region between Bordeaux and Arcachon. See the word in Donkin's Etymological Dictionary: "Landa It. Prov.; French lande, heath, plain; O. Fr. lande, saltus; Basque landa,

La dolorosa selva l' è ghirlanda Intorno, come il fosso tristo ad essa: Quivi fermammo i passi a randa a randa.\*

Thence (after quitting the bush) we came to the boundary where the Second Round is divided from the Third, and where is seen a terrible form of (Divine) Justice. Clearly to make manifest the new things (we saw), I say that we reached a plain which from its bed repels every plant. Forest of Woe is a garland to it round about, as is the fosse of torment to that (i.e. the Forest): here on the very edge we stayed our steps.

Both Benvenuto and Buti remark how appropriate this sterile burning sand is for the punishment of the sins of the Violent against God, against Nature, and against Art, every individual of which three subdivisions leads, when in the world, a life as profitless as this soil, in which no grass will grow nor tree take root.

Dante compares the sandy waste to the Libyan desert, across which Cato of Utica, in the year B.C. 47, marched the army of Pompey after hearing of his assassination, for six days undergoing hunger and thirst, and every privation.

field. Not from Gothic and English land, but from Breton lann, a thorny bush, plur. lannou, a heath. Cf. Fr., brande, bush, plur. brandes, a heath. Lana (land) is pure Celtic.

<sup>\*</sup> a randa a randa: The repetition of the words adds force and emphasis to the sentence, meaning "on the very extreme edge." See again Donkin, s.v.; "Randa Prov. extremity; Prov. It. a randa, close upon, quite, urgently; also Span. randa, Portug. renda, point-lace, prop. the rim or border; cf. Germ. Kante, O.H.G. rand = O. Norse rönd, margo, extremitas. Eng. round," etc. See Buti: "Rasente rasente la rena, perchè in su la pianura non potevamo scendere, perchè v' era fuoco."

Lo spazzo\* era un' arena arida e spessa, Non d' altra foggia fatta che colei, Che fu da' piè di Caton† già soppressa.

15

The surface of the ground was an arid and thick sand, made of no other fashion than that which of yore was trodden by the feet of Cato.

Benvenuto relates this supposed occurrence at length, and thinks Dante very happily inspired in comparing the huge, flat, burning and sterile waste that he now sees, to the boundless and intolerable Libyan desert, the terrible description of which by Lucan seems to have left an indelible impression upon his mind.

Dante now, after solemnly warning his readers to dread the vengeance of God for the crimes so very prevalent in his day, which vengeance, he says, will assuredly fall upon those who perpetrate them, proceeds to classify the guilty spirits according to the

"E non pure una volta, questo spazzo Girando, si rinfresca nostra pena."

See note on this passage in Readings on the Purgatorio, Second Edition, Vol. ii, p. 281, in which I have combated the fallacy of Dante having altered spazio into spazzo for the sake of the rhyme, as some have attempted to show, which the present passage, where spazzo is not at the end of a line, completely dispels. From spazzo we also get spazzare, to sweep the floor, and spazzola, a brush, or palm branch for sweeping the floor.

+ Caton: An account of Cato's fatal march will be found in Lucan, Phars. ix, 379-410.

<sup>\*</sup>spazzo: This word is not in use in the spoken language of Italy. Both spazzo = pavimento, a floor, or surface of the ground, and spazio, space, are derived from spatium, but have different meanings. For spazzo in the sense of pavement, marble floor, compare Viaggi in Terra Santa di Lionardo Frescobaldi ed altri del secolo xiv, p. 25: "Ed era bene insino al terzo della sala pieno lo spazzo di bellissimi drappi e tappeti." Compare Purg. xxiii, 70, 71:—

threefold manner in which they receive their punishment. The Violent against God, the Blasphemers. have to lie upon their backs upon the burning sand. with their faces turned up towards Heaven, Whose power they derided, so that they receive the full force of the Rain of Fire. The Violent against Art, the Usurers, have to sit looking towards the earth, whose fruits they despised or misused. The Violent against Nature have to run continually, looking horizontally towards their own species, with whom they had sinned so grievously. We shall see moreover from what Dante is told by Brunetto Latini,\* that any breach of discipline has to be atoned for by the offender lying for a hundred years exposed to that severer penalty which is undergone by the Blasphemers.+

\* In Inf. xv, 37-42, when Dante offers to sit down and converse with Brunetto Latini, the latter answers:—

"'O figliuol,' disse, 'qual di questa greggia
S' arresta punto, giace poi cent' anni
Senza arrostarsi quando il fuoco il feggia.
Però va oltre: io ti verrò a' panni,
E poi rigiugnerò la mia masnada,
Che va piangendo i suoi eterni danni.'"

† The late Professor Bartoli, in his Storia della Letteratura Italiana (a work of which his recent death has unfortunately prevented the completion), vol. vi, part i, p. 128, while noticing that there is a certain similarity of punishment in the unceasing motion of the Violent against Nature and that of the Unchaste whirled about in the pitiless hurricane (Inf. v), confesses to feeling it a grave difficulty that the penalty of having to lie still for a hundred years should be considered more severe than that of having to run for ever. He cannot see what difference of torment there can be between eternal immobility and eternal motion But Bartoli has apparently forgotten that the shades not only had to lie motionless upon the burning sand, but in addition, as Brunetto expressly states, were forbidden to ward off the flames that fell upon them (senza



## Canto XIV. Readings on the Inferno.

497

O vendetta di Dio, quanto tu déi
Esser temuta da ciascun che legge
Ciò che fu manifesto agli occhi miei!
D' anime nude \* vidi molte gregge,
Che piangean tutte assai miseramente,
E parea posta lor diversa legge.
Supin † giaceva ‡ in terra alcuna gente;
Alcuna si sedea tutta raccolta,
Ed altra andava continuamente.
Quella che giva intorno era più molta,§
E quella men che giaceva al tormento,
Ma più al duolo avea la lingua sciolta.||

O vengeance of God, how greatly must thou be dreaded by every one who reads that which was

arrostarsi quando il fuoco il feggia), and these were they who gave evidence of the greatest suffering, by the utterance of the

loudest lamentations (Il. 26, 27).

\*nude: We may presume that all the shades in Hell were naked, the only exceptions being the Hypocrites wrapped in cloaks of lead (Inf. xxiii); and the Fraudulent Counsellors each garbed in a sheet of flame (Inf. xxvii); but their apparel in both cases was imposed upon them as a part of their torment.

+ Supin for supinamente. An adjective used with the function

of an adverb, as in Inf. x, 72; and Inf. xxiii. 44 (Casini).

† giaceva . . . si sedea . . . andava: Giaceva refers to Capaneus and his section, who, as Mr. Tozer says, having been defiant, now lie impotent; si sedea refers to the Usurers, who have to sit to all eternity in Hell as they sat all day at their tables when on earth; andava refers to the Sodomites, whose restless want of self-control in life is perpetuated by the unceasing movement to which they are now condemned.

§ più molta: Dante (Inf. xv, 106-108) is told by Brunetto that those guilty of the hideous crime of Sodomy were all priests, men of letters, and personages of distinction. In a note on the same passage we shall see with what horror Benvenuto alludes to the extreme prevalence of this shocking

vice.

|| lingua sciolta: As the Blasphemers in life were always ready with their tongue to revile God, so now is their tongue ever ready to utter lamentations, and to rail against Divine Justice.

revealed to my eyes! I beheld many troops of naked spirits, who were all weeping very piteously, and a diverse law seemed to be assigned to them. Some were lying supine on the ground; some were sitting all crouched up; and others were running incessantly. Those that were going round (the Violent against Nature) were the most numerous, and the fewest those who were lying down under the torment, but they (the Blasphemers) had the tongue more loosed (i.e. were crying loudest) at the pain.

Having first described the different modes in which the three subdivisions of the sinners in this Round were undergoing their punishment, Dante next relates how that punishment was a slowly-falling rain of fire which tormented all, but with a varied degree of intensity. He compares it to some peculiar phenomena supposed to have occurred to the army of Alexander the Great which will presently be discussed.

Sopra tutto il sabbion d'un cader lento Piovean di foco dilatate falde,\* Come di neve in alpe senza vento.

30

"Alfin giungemmo al loco ove già scese Fiamma dal cielo in dilatate falde, E di natura vendicò l' offese Sovra le genti in mal oprar sì salde. Fu già terra feconda, almo paese:

<sup>\*</sup> dilatate falde: Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante i, p. 22) observes that among other ways Dante shows his familiarity with Scripture by the introduction of details in the punishment of sinners, which have evidently been suggested by some incident or some denunciation to be found in the Bible. We cannot, for instance, doubt that the punishment of those who were guilty of the sin of Sodom piovean di foco dilatate falde is borrowed from Gen. xix, 24: "Dominus pluit super Sodomam et Gomorrham sulphur et ignem a Domino de coelo." Compare also a very similar passage in Tasso, Ger. Lib. Canto x, st. 61:—

Canto XIV. Readings on the Inferno.

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Quali Alessandro \* in quelle parti calde Dell' India vide sopra lo suo stuolo Fiamme cadere infino a terra salde;

> Or acque son bituminose e calde, E steril lago; e, quanto ei torce e gira, Compressa è l' aria, e grave il puzzo spira."

\* Alessandro: Many and divergent are the opinions on this passage expressed by the different Commentators. Boccaccio frankly confesses that he does not know whence Dante got the story. Buti speaks of un libro de' fatti d' Alessandro, but without further indicating his authority. Benvenuto says it comes from a letter written by Alexander to Aristotle. He also refers vaguely to "Gallicus ille qui describit Alexandrei-This Gallicus Dr. Paget Toynbee (see letter to dam metricè." The Academy, 2nd Feb., 1889) believes to be Gaultier de Lille, or Gualtherus de Castellione (i.e. De Châtillon), who wrote an epic poem on Alexander the Great called the Alexandreis, in Latin hexameters, towards the end of the twelfth century. But as regards the source from whence Dante derived his account of the episode alluded to in the present passage, Dr. Toynbee (Dante Dictionary, s.v. Alessandro) thinks there can hardly be a doubt that Dante "took it, directly or indirectly, from the apocryphal Epistola Alexandri Regis ad Aristotilem praeceptorem suum de Mirabilibus Indiae; there is, however, a notable discrepancy between the two accounts, for Dante says that Alexander bade his soldiers trample the flames, whereas in the Epistola it is the snow they are bidden to trample: Frigus ingens vespertino tempore saeviebat. Cadere mox in modum vellerum immensae coeperunt nives; quarum aggregatione metuens ne castra cumularentur, calcare militem nivem jubebam, ut quam primum injuria pedum tabesceret."" Dr. Toynbee, both in his Dante Dictionary, and in his more recent work Dante Studies and Researches, observes that it was assumed by the Commentators that Dante was quoting the Epistola from memory, and confused the details of the account there given of the incident. But he evidently had got his information at second hand from Albertus Magnus, who, in quoting Alexander's epistle in the De Meteoris, makes exactly the same confusion with regard to the trampling of the flames as Dante does in the Inferno. In the passage in question Albertus cites the example of Alexander in India as an instance of the occurrence of the igneous vapours (cf. vapore, Inf. xiv, 35) which he has just been discussing. (De Meteoris, Lib. i, tract. iv, cap. 8): "Admirabilem autem impressionem Perch' ei provvide a scalpitar lo suolo

Con le sue schiere, acciocchè \* il vapore
Me' si stingeva mentre ch' era solo:

Tale † scendeva l' eternale ardore;
Onde l' arena s' accendea, com' esca ‡
Sotto focile, a doppiar lo dolore.

Senza riposo mai era la tresca §

Delle misere mani, or quindi or quinci
Iscotendo da sè l' arsura fresca.

Over the whole sandy waste were raining down broad flakes of fire, falling slowly like snow without wind upon an Alpine mountain. Even as the flames which Alexander, in those torrid regions of India, saw falling upon his host unbroken to the ground; on account of which he took care to

scribit Alexander ad Aristotilem in epistola de mirabilibus Indie dicens quemadmodum nivis nubes ignite de aëre cadebant quas ipse militibus calcare precepit." Dante's source of information from Albertus Magnus has been noticed by Benvenuto, whose remarks show that he was evidently much pleased with his discovery.

\*acciocchè il vapore me' si stingeva, etc.: In the Gran Dizionario, s.v. acciocchè, § 6, we find a full justification of the use of the word with the same sense as perciocchè, which latter is a very common reading, though, as Dr. Moore observes, it is clearly a facilior lectio. The Gran Dizionario (l.c.) says: "Siccome l' A ha senso di Per, così gli antichi Acciocchè usavano in luogo di Perciocchè senza il soggiuntivo." Compare Vita Nuova § xiv, ll. 108-110: "E però non è bene a me dichiarare cotale dubitazione, acciocchè lo mio parlare sarebbe indarno." The Gran Dizionario quotes the following from the Novelle Antiche: "Le balie de' fanciulli dicono, quando elli piangono: Ecco il re Ricciardo; acciò che come la morte fu temuto."

+ Tale scendeva l' eternale ardore: L. Venturi (Simil. Dant. p. 362, Sim. 589) says that "gli accenti gravi del verso esprimono l' incessante e interminabile pioggia di fuoco."

‡ com' esca sotto focile: Compare Frezzi, Quadriregio, i, 17:-

§ tresca: Compare Purg. x, 64, 65:—
"Li precedeva al benedetto vaso,
Trescando alzato l'umile Salmista."

have the earth trampled down by his troops because each flame (lit. vapour) could be better extinguished while it was single (i.e. before the flames should get united to each other and break out into an entire sheet of fire): so fell the eternal heat; whereby the sand, like tinder under flint-and-steel, got ignited, so as to double the torment. Unceasing was the rapid dance of the wretched hands, now on one side, now on the other, shaking off from them the fresh burning.

Division II.—Dante's attention is now drawn to one of the Blasphemers, stretched out at full length on the burning sand, whose whole demeanour exhibits a stubborn indifference and dogged defiance. This is Capaneus,\* one of the seven kings who be-

\* Capaneus is again alluded to as an example of arrogance towards God in *Inf.* xxv, 13-18, where it is said that even he was not more arrogant than Vanni Fucci:—

"Per tutti i cerchi dell' inferno oscuri
Non vidi spirto in Dio tanto superbo,
Non quel che cadde a Tebe giù da' muri.
Ei si fuggì, che non parlò più verbo:
Ed io vidi un Centauro pien di rabbia
Venir chiamando: 'Ov' è, ov' è l' acerbo?'"

In this quotation observe the word a erbo, on which see note below on maturi (l. 48), in which note the comparison is made between the sense of maturare and acerbo. Again in the Canzoniere (Canz. xviii), where Dante is urging that even in Sodom there were a few righteous men, so also are there, he says, a few in Florence; though Capaneus (representing Arrogance), Crassus (Avarice), Aglauros (Envy), Simon Magus (Simony), il falso Greco, i.e. Sinon, who is so styled in Inf. xxx, 98 (Deceit), and Mahomet (Schism), are devouring it:—
"Chè stentando viv' ella;

Che stentando viv' ella;
E la divoran Capaneo e Crasso,
Aglauro, Simon mago, il falso Greco,
E Macometto cieco,
Che tien Giugurta e Faraone al passo.
Poi ti rivolgi a' cittadin suoi giusti,
Pregando sì ch' ella sempre s' augusti."

sieged Thebes, represented by both Æschylus and Statius as an arrogant and impious blasphemer who, having boasted that he would conquer Thebes in spite of Jupiter, was thereupon struck dead by a thunderbolt. We do not learn his name until the close of the conversation that now takes place, when Virgil utters it in a short and stern reproof.

Io cominciai:—" Maestro, tu che vinci \*

Tutte le cose, fuor che i Demon duri
Che all' entrar della porta incontro uscinci,
Chi è quel grande, che non par che curi
L' incendio, e giace dispettoso e torto †
Sì che la pioggia non par che il maturi?"—‡

\*tu che vinci, et seq.: Boccaccio observes on this passage, that Reason (Virgil) can overcome everything except Obstinacy, which Divine Power alone can vanquish.

torto: Tommaséo says this is either for torvo, stern, grim, fierce in the face; or, twisted in the attitude. He (one of the authors of the Gran Dizionario) much prefers the former. Landino confirms this: "il che significa l' ostinazione dell' animo e la perversità sua, e mente non diritta, e opinione depravata."

† la pioggia non par che il maturi: Blanc (Saggio) observes that the metaphor is taken from fruit, which at first is sour (acerbo), but afterwards the rays of the Sun ripen it. Tommaséo says that the proud are styled acerbi. (See note above on Capaneus). As the rain in falling softens the fruit, so does the rain of fire here soften, that is, render humble, the arrogant blasphemers. This is (says Blanc), nearly without exception, the interpretation and the reading of the early Commentators, though a few read il marturi "torments him." Dr. Moore (Textual Criticism, p. 307) thinks there can be no doubt as to the genuineness of maturi as against marturi, which latter may have been suggested by the suitableness to l. 46, of which it does little more than repeat the idea, and still more, perhaps, from the failure to see the propriety of the metaphor in maturi. Landino says: "è per similitudine da' pomi che prima sono acerbi e poi maturi . . . Diciamo acerbo l' animo di colui il quale ancora sta pervicace."

I began: "Master, thou who overcomest all things save the stubborn demons who came forth against us at the entrance of the gate (of Dis), who is that mighty one, who seems not to heed the burning, and lies there so disdainful and stern that the (fiery) rain seems not to soften him?"

Alfieri (whose marginal notes in his own copy of the Divina Commedia are quoted by Biagioli) calls attention to this perfect picture of the obdurate and arrogant blasphemer of the gods, and the art with which Dante has picked out and blended the colours that harmonise best with the character of the subject. We have seen how the cowardly wretches in the Vestibule of Hell were unable to restrain their cries of anguish merely at the sight of gadflies and wasps; we have seen the magnificent picture of Farinata, lofty-minded in his actions and his words; we now have before us the arrogant Capaneus lying upon the burning sand, his eyes turned away in haughty indifference to the torment under which he alone, among all his companions in misery, is obstinately silent. (See Il. 26, 27).

Capaneus now displays himself even more fully in the character of the Arrogant soul. He answers Dante's question himself, though he had not been addressed, and shouts out his words in an angry and defiant voice, proclaiming himself as little afraid in death, as he had been in life, of the Divine Power that struck him down.

> E quel medesmo, che si fue accorto Ch' io domandava il mio duca di lui, Gridò:—" Qual io fui vivo, tal son morto.

Se Giove stanchi il suo fabbro,\* da cui Crucciato prese la folgore acuta Onde l' ultimo di percosso fui; O s' egli stanchi gli altri a muta a muta In Mongibello † alla fucina negra,

55

\*Se Giove stanchi il suo fabbro, et seq.: Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, i, pp. 249, 250) remarks that a curious imitation of Statius may be found in the post mortem defiance of Jove by Capaneus imagined by Dante in Inf. xiv, 51-60. It is evidently copied from the description by Statius, in the end of the Thebaid, Book x, of the scene on the ultimo di (Inf. xiv, 54) of the life of Capaneus. In Dante, Capaneus boasts that if Jove were to employ all his artillery against him, as he did against the giants, alla pugna di Flegra, he could not quench him. In the Thebaid it is Jupiter himself who replies to the defiance of Capaneus by referring to his victory at Phlegra (x, 909, 910). Other echoes and more or less obvious references are quoted by Dr. Moore, as Inf. xiv, 59 (Statius, ibid. l. 904, and l. 927); Inf. xiv, 57 (Statius, l. 889, and l. 911). Curiously enough also, another passage from Theb. ii, 599, "Hinc lasso mutata Pyracmone temnens Fulmina," a passage also relating to the battle of Phlegra, seems to have suggested to Dante the line:—
"Se Giove stanchi il suo fabbro." (1 52).

But more than this again, Dante reproduces the curious expression mutata fulmina (Theb. ii, 599), in a slightly different

application :-

"O s' egli stanchi gli altri a muta a muta."

Compare Milton, Par. Lost, i, 106 et seq.

† Mongibello: According to ancient Mythology the forge of Vulcan was situated in Sicily, beneath Mount Ætna, of which the modern name is Mongibello. Compare Berni, Orl. Inn. xvi, st. 21:—

"Sì come alla fucina in Mongibello
Fabbrica tuoni il demonio Vulcano,
Batte folgori e foco col martello,
E con esso i suoi fabbri ad ogni mano."

Also Spenser, Faerie Queene, Book ii, Canto ix, st. 29:-

In Studies in Dante, ii, p. 271, Dr. Moore remarks of Mongibello: "This very natural-looking Italian word is a curious hybrid. Gibello represents the Arabic Ghebel = a mountain. So Mongibello is a redundant compound like 'Penhill,' 'Wickham,' etc. In the Trésor of Brunetto Latini, Etna is called Mont Gibel. So Gibraltar = Ghelel (or Jebel) Tarik, the latter word being a Moorish proper name."

Chiamando: 'Buon Vulcano,\* aiuta, aiuta,'
Sì com' ei fece alla pugna di Flegra,†
E me saetti con tutta sua forza,
Non ne potrebbe aver vendetta allegra."—

And that same one, who had perceived that I was questioning my Leader about him, cried out: "Such as I was alive, such am I dead. Though Jove weary out his smith (Vulcan), from whom in wrath he snatched the sharp thunderbolt, with which on my last day I was struck down; or though he should weary out the others (the Cyclops) in alternate gangs (working) in the black smithy in Mongibello (Etna), crying: Good Vulcan, help, help,' as he did at the battle of Phlegra, and launch bolts at me with all his might, yet should he not have thereby a joyful vengeance."

The braggart insolence of Capaneus arouses unwonted indignation on the part of Virgil, who rebukes the blasphemer.

\*Buon Vulcano: Tommaséo notices that Venus uses this expression to Vulcan in Virg. Æn. viii, 376-378:—

"Non ullum auxilium miseris, non arma rogavi Artis opisque tuae; nec te, carissime conjux,

Incassumque tuos volui exercere labores."

And in *ibid*, 439-443 Vulcan calls for the assistance of the Cyclops in similar language to that quoted by Capaneus:—

"Tollite cuncta, inquit, coeptosque auferte labores, Ætnaei Cyclopes, et huc advertite mentem:— Arma acri facienda viro Nunc viribus usus, Nunc manibus rapidis, omni nunc arte magistra. Praecipitate moras."

+ Flegra: The battle of Phlegra is thus mentioned in the Dittamondo, lib. iv, cap. 4:—

"La battaglia crudel ci manifesta
Ove fur morti li giganti in Flegra,
Per l' ossa che discopre la tempesta."
Compare also Petrarch, Trionfo della Morte, cap. i.:

Compare also Petrarch, Trionfo della Morte, cap. i, 32, 33:—
"Con un furor qual io non so se mai
Al tempo de' giganti fosse a Flegra."

Allora il Duca mio parlò di forza Tanto ch' io non l' avea sì forte udito : -" O Capaneo, in ciò che non s' ammorza La tua superbia, se' tu più punito: Nullo martirio, fuor che la tua rabbia,

65

Then did my Leader speak with force so great. that I never heard him so loud before: "O Capaneus, in that thine arrogance is (yet) unquenched, thou art the more punished: no torment save thine own rage would be pain (at all) adequate to thy fury."

Sarebbe al tuo furor dolor compito."-\*

Virgil's righteous wrath is thrown into strong relief by the contrast of his gentle manner, when, turning his back on the scoffer, he summons Dante to follow him with cautious steps.

> Poi si rivolse a me con miglior labbia,+ Dicendo :- " Quel fu l' un de' sette ! regi Ch' assiser Tebe; ed ebbe e par ch' egli abbia

Dio in disdegno, e poco par che il pregi: Ma, come io dissi a lui, li suoi dispetti Sono al suo petto assai debiti fregi.

Or mi vien dietro, e guarda che non metti Ancor § li piedi nell' arena arsiccia, Ma sempre al bosco li ritieni stretti."-

75

70

† labbia: See Inf. vii, 7:—
"Poi si rivolse a quell' enfiata labbia,"

and see footnote on that passage.

sette regi: The Seven Kings who besieged Thebes were Polynices, Parthenopaeus, Amphiaraus, Hippodemon, Tydeus, Capaneus, and his father-in-law Adrastus, King of the Argives.

Ancor must be taken here in conjunction with guarda

rather than with metti.

<sup>\*</sup> compito: I take the interpretation of this passage in the Gran Dizionario, which says that compito here is equivalent to adeguato. "Quia talis oppressus et dejectus non potest habere majus tormentum in mundo isto quam rabiem suam, qua se mordet." (Benvenuto).

Then turned he round to me with gentler countenance, saying: "This was one of the Seven Kings that besieged Thebes; and held, and, as it seems, holds, God in disdain, and it seems that he lightly esteems Him: but, as I told him, his evil passions are most suitable adornments for his breast. Now follow me, and moreover take heed that thou set not thy feet upon the red-hot sand, but keep them always close to the wood."

The Poets never once step out on to the sand, but continue to walk within the edge of the wood, which they only quit when they come to the causeways petrified by the waters of the Phlegethon, which form solid margins on each side of it.

[Benvenuto made the Second Division end three lines further back, but I have thought it better to prolong it to the conclusion of Virgil's words, and so avoid an awkward break.]

Division III.—The Poets now move on further, and eventually come to a stream which was probably a considerable distance from the spot where they left Capaneus. It was of boiling blood, and must have presented a terrible picture to the eye as seen through the lurid gloom of the forest, the ruddy hue of the falling fire, and the sulphur yellow of the sand. Castelvetro thinks the red stream is merely the overflow of the vast moat of boiling blood in the First Round, and that after traversing the forest and the burning sand, it falls into the Great Abyss, and forms the frozen lake of Cocytus at the bottom of Hell. He notices that Dante had looked without apparent terror at the River of Blood and the tyrants

seething therein, but that now when he sees the stream in its reduced form, and with none tormented in it, his hair stands on end at the recollection of its former horrors. Dante makes a very curious comparison between the stream and a certain watercourse at Viterbo, which in his time issued from a bubbling pool that went by the name of the Bulicame, and which was conducted through the special

\* Bulicame: All the Old Commentators describe it. Gelli says: "I would have you to know that on the plain of Viterbo, distant from the walls about a mile and a half, there is to be seen a circular pool about twelve ells wide; in the middle of this there wells up from underground a very copious spring of exceedingly hot water, which is boiling continuously, for which reason it has acquired the name of Bollicame. And all that the pool will not contain of this boiling water flows away along a watercourse about two feet wide and very deep, by which it is conducted like a mill-race through that quarter of the city which the prostitutes inhabit." Benvenuto says: "Debes scire quod apud civitatem Viterbii est quaedam mirabilis aqua calida, rubea, sulphurea, profunda, de cujus lecto exit quidam rivulus parvus, quem meretrices habitantes in illa planicie dividunt inter se; nam in qualibet domuncula meretricis est balneum ex illo rivulo ordinatum; ergo bene est comparatio propria in ruore, in colore, in foetore.'

Castelvetro declares that in his time there were no such houses of ill-fame, nor any stream running through the city that flowed out of the Bulicame. Blanc, however, sees no reason to doubt the accuracy of the story, and feels sure that these unfortunates did have their residences near this water, as its medicinal virtues would be an attraction to their customers; and he quotes a passage from Poggio Fiorentino, in which a very similar state of things is related as existing at the baths of Baden in Switzerland at the time of the Council of Constance, about a century after the death of Dante, and in which a melancholy picture is presented of the morals of the Clergy in those days. Boccaccio's account of the Bulicame is the one which most closely agrees with the text. He says: "Some relate, that near unto this bullicame there are chambers in which the public women have their dwellings, and they, for the purpose of washing their clothes, have turned off little conduits of this quarter of the town where the prostitutes resided, and was by them obtained to supply hot baths in their houses for the use of their visitors.

Tacendo divenimmo là ove spiccia

Fuor della selva un picciol fiumicello,
Lo cui rossore ancor mi raccapriccia.\*

Quale del Bulicame esce ruscello
Che parton poi tra lor le peccatrici,
Tal per l' arena giù sen giva quello.

Lo fondo suo ed ambo le pendici
Fatt' eran pietra,† e i margini da lato:
Perch' io m' accorsi che il passo era lici.

water so as to bring it into their different rooms." Lana says that the water is portioned off among the prostitutes' houses at Viterbo; and that each of them has a bath of the said water in her house; which water, from its sulphurous source and its heat, is of a reddish colour and emits continual vapour. So likewise did this Infernal stream run through the air (sic) of Hell red and smoking. See also Ignazio Ciampi, Un Municipio Italiano nell' età di Dante Alighieri. Roma, 1865. Also Felice Bussi, Storia de Viterbo.

In the Dittamondo, iii, cap. 10, Fazio degli Uberti describes the heat of the Bulicame to have been so intense, that a whole sheep thrown into it would be boiled to rags while a man walked a quarter of a mile, and remarks that the bath was a

sovereign remedy for the stone :-

"Io nol credea, perchè l' avessi udito,
Senza provar, che 'l bulicame fosse
Acceso d' un bollor tanto infinito.

Ma gettato un monton dentro si cosse,
In men che un uomo andasse un quarto miglio,
Ch' altro non ne vedea che proprio l' osse.
Un bagno v' ha, che passa ogni consiglio
Contra 'l mal della pietra, però ch' esso
La rompe e trita come gran di miglio."

\*raccapriccia: The sense is, "makes me shudder with horror and fear." Gelli says that the Tuscans call capricci those first sensations of a chill, which a man feels when he is beginning to have a fever.

+ Fatt' eran pietra: Rossetti (Commento Analitico) thinks that one might imagine that the continual flow of that stream of exceedingly hot blood had conglutinated and baked the sand In silence we came to where a little brook gushes forth from the wood, the redness of which even now makes me shudder with horror. As from the Bulicame there issues a rivulet which the sinful women afterwards share amongst them, so did that (brook) run down across the sand. Its bottom and both its sloping banks had become petrified, as well as the margins at the side: whence I perceived that there was the passage.

Dante knew full well that he had to get somehow across the glowing waste, on which Virgil had enjoined him not to set his feet, and therefore when they reached this spot and he saw the stone margins of the rivulet which crossed at right angles the path they were following, he could well understand that

into hard terra cotta. But as a matter of fact there are several rivers in Italy which possesses the property of petrifying all objects that are deposited in their waters. In Purg. xxxiii, 67, 68, Beatrice tells Dante that he would have understood the moral significance of the allegory before him had not his vain thoughts been as the petrifying waters of the Elsa (a river in Tuscany) round his mind:—

"E se stati non fossero acqua d' Elsa

Li pensier vani intorno alla tua mente," etc. It is said to be the petrifying power of the waters of the Anio which has formed the great blocks of Travertine, of which so many of the principal edifices of Rome are constructed. This stone was called lapis Tiburtinus from the fact of the Anio flowing past Tibur (the modern Tivoli). The Travertine of which the ancient city of Paestum is entirely built is said to have been petrified by the waters of the River Sele, formerly Silarus, which was celebrated in ancient times for its calcareous incrustations. See Silius Italicus, Punica, lib. viii, 582, 583:—

"Silarus . . . quo gurgite tradunt

Duritiem lapidum mersis inolescere ramis."

Blanc (quoted by Camerini without reference) states that this stream petrified its bed from the character of its waters, just as the waters of Carlsbad form stalactites. I do not know from which of Blanc's works Camerini has taken the words.

these were the means afforded him for making his way across the burning sand to the mouth of the great central Abyss. In the two last lines of this Canto we learn how Virgil explains to Dante that not only do these margins form a path impervious to heat, but also that no fire can fall upon them without being quenched. As from the sulphurous waters of the Bulicame, so also from this stream was a dense column of vapour given forth, which latter effectually guarded those passing beneath it from the fiery flakes above.

Dante and Virgil are now supposed to have stepped on to one of the hardened margins of the red stream, and during a conversation which begins here and lasts until the end of the Canto, they do not seem to have advanced. Virgil is about to explain to Dante the mystical origin of all the rivers and marshes of Hell, and he begins by an earnest assurance that the subject merits Dante's closest attention.

--" Tra tutto l' altro ch' io t' ho dimostrato,

Posciachè noi entrammo per la porta

Lo cui sogliare \* a nessuno è negato,

Cosa non fu dagli tuoi occhi scorta

Notabil come lo presente rio,

Che sopra sè tutte fiammelle ammorta."—†

<sup>\*</sup>sogliare: This is derived from the old Latin word soliar, "a covering for the feet," and is also equivalent to soglia, threshold; Fr. seuil; Sp. suela, floor; Pg. solha, and many other forms, for which see Donkin's Etymological Dictionary, s. v. suolo. In the present passage soglia undoubtedly refers to the entrance denied to none, as were the gates of the City of Dis. (See Inf. viii, 115, 116).

t sopra se tutte fiammelle ammorta: Buti considers that Dante wished to give to the redness of the river this literal signification, namely, that the river takes different colours

Readings on the Inferno. Canto xiv.

512

Queste parole fur del Duca mio: Perchè il pregai che mi largisse il pasto \* Di cui largito m' aveva il disio.

"Among all the other things which I have shown thee since we entered through the gate, the threshold of which unto none is denied, nothing has been discerned by thine eyes so noteworthy as the stream before us, which quenches all the flakes of fire above it." These words were my Leader's: whereupon I prayed him to bestow on me the food for which he had bestowed on me the appetite.

Dante means that Virgil had given him a craving for the explanation of the mysterious allusion. Ben-

according to the places in which it flows; and as when it passed through the Seventh Circle it became Phlegethon, the stream of boiling blood, therefore it retains that red colour here. In the moral sense one may say that this river signifies the penalty of sin; and as in the Seventh Circle are punished the Violent who sinned from blood-guiltiness, it is right that the river be red. Secondly, Dante wishes his readers to understand that the river gives forth moist vapours which extinguish the flames; while in the moral sense he wishes to show that the contemplation of sin quenches in the soul the fire of temptation to the kind of sins that are punished in this region.

\*che mi largisse il pasto, et seq. : Compare Par. iii, 91-96 :-

"Ma sì com' egli avvien, se un cibo sazia,
E d' un altro rimane ancor la gola,
Che quel si chiede, e di quel si ringrazia,
Così fec' io con atto e con parola,

Per apprender da lei qual fu la tela Onde non trasse infino a co la spola."

Both in the Convito and in the Paradiso Dante speaks of Science as the food of Angels. See Convito, i, ll. 51-54: "Oh beati que' pochi che seggono a quella mensa ove il pane degli Angeli si mangia, e miseri quelli che colle pecore hanno comune cibo!" And Par. ii, 10-12:—

"Voi altri pochi, che drizzaste il collo Per tempo al pan degli Angeli, del quale Vivesi qui, ma non sen vien satollo," etc. venuto remarks that no food, however artistically prepared, restores the body so pleasantly as the lesson learnt from the interpretation of a cunningly devised fable restores the mind.

Virgil complies with Dante's request, and unfolds the mystical source of this red stream, which is said to percolate through the Earth out of a colossal statue situated in a deep cavern under Mount Ida in Crete. Alluding to the ruinous condition of the once renowned cities of the Island, and its present neglected and untilled soil, he calls it a desolated land. Boccaccio confirms Dante's statement and says that Crete is a wasted country by comparison with its former greatness in the days when it had a large population, numerous cities, and a very fertile soil. In the time of Boccaccio the Venetians (to whom, Camerini asserts, Boccaccio was very hostile), were holding Crete under a cruel tyranny, and had driven forth many of the former inhabitants. and, to keep the remainder in poverty, had turned a great part of the soil, which is extremely fruitful and of excellent quality, into pasture, or had caused it to lie fallow. Benyenuto confirms Boccaccio's account, and says the fact is so well known, that he forbears from discussing it. Rossetti explains that the island had been laid waste through continual wars and earthquakes, by which its once famous cities had been overthrown.

—" In mezzo mar siede un paese guasto,"—
Diss' egli allora,—" che s' appella Creta,\*

<sup>95</sup> 

<sup>\*</sup> Creta: Virgil (Æn. iii, 104-106) says of Crete:-

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514

Sotto il cui rege \* fu già il mondo casto.
Una montagna v' è, che già fu lieta
D' acqua e di fronde, che si chiamò Ida;
Ora è diserta come cosa vieta.
Rëa † la scelse già per cuna fida

100

"Creta Jovis magni medio jacet insula ponto;
Mons Idaeus ubi et gentis cunabula nostrae;
Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna."
In ll. 111-113 the worship of Cybele in the island is spoken of:—

"Hinc mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiaque aera, Idaeumque nemus; hinc fida silentia sacris, Et juncti currum dominae subiere leones."

Fazio degli Uberti (Dittamondo, lib. iv, cap. 7) says of Crete:

"Dal temperato ciel, la terra e l' acque Maccaronéson in prima si disse, Ma da Cres re lo proprio nome nacque.

Fama è per quei, che vi fanno dimoro, Che già si vide con cento cittade, E si dicea Centopoli fra loro."

\*rege: According to Mythology, the period of the reign of Saturn in Crete was that of the Golden Age on Earth. Compare Juv. Sat. vi, l. 2:—

"Credo pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam

In terris."

To this Juvenal adds, that the age in which he himself lived was so degenerate that it could not even be compared to the Iron Age, which came last, after the Golden, the Silver, and the Brazen. See Sat. xiii, 28-30:—

"Nona aetas agitur, pejoraque saecula ferri Temporibus: quorum sceleri non invenit ipsa Nomen, et a nullo posuit Natura metallo." Ovid also speaks of the Golden Age, Metam. i, 89, 90:—

"Aurea prima sata est aetas, quae, vindice nullo, Sponte sua, sine lege, fidem rectumque colebat."
Pietro di Dante, commenting on this passage, quotes from Ovid about the other Ages of the World: The Silver Age (Metam. i, 113-115); the Brazen Age (ibid. i, 125-127); the Iron Age (ibid. i, 157-131). The Golden Age is described by

Virgil (Æn. viii, 319-327).

† Rëa: Rhea also known by the various names of Berecynthia, Cybele, Terra, and Ops, was said to be the wife of



# Canto XIV. Readings on the Inferno.

515

Del suo figliuolo; e per celarlo meglio, Quando piangea vi facea far le grida.

"In the midst of the sea," he then said, "there lies a wasted country which is called Crete, under whose king (Saturn) the world in olden time dwelt in innocence. A mountain is there, which was named Ida, that was once smiling with watersprings and with foliage; now it is deserted as a thing worn-out. Rhea selected it of yore as a secure cradle for a son of her's (Jupiter), and the better to conceal him when he cried, caused loud noises to be made on it (the mountain).

By grida we must understand noise of all kinds, the clashing of swords, shields, cymbals, and the frenzied yells of the Corybantes.

The Colossus of Ida is now described.

Dentro dal monte sta dritto \* un gran veglio, Che tien volte le spalle † invêr Damiata, E Roma guarda sì come suo speglio. La sua testa è di fin' oro formata, E puro argento son le braccia e il petto.

105

Saturn, and the mother of Jupiter, Juno, Neptune and Pluto. To save Jupiter from his father Saturn, who devoured his children as soon as they were born, Rhea secreted him on Mount Ida, where he was suckled by the goat Amalthea, and the sound of his infantine cries was drowned by the beating of cymbals by the Corybantes, the priests of Cybele.

\*sta dritto: Stare dritto, like star in piedi, star su, star ritto, simply means "to stand." See Readings on the Purgatorio, Second Edition, Vol. i, pp. 148, 149; footnote on Purg. iv, 104, on the meanings of the verb stare.

tien volte le spalle: Voltare le spalle is simply "to turn one's back." The image of the Old Man is by some thought to be a symbol of universal history, whose course always conforms to the course of the heavens from East to West. Damietta lies on the confines of Asia and Africa and on it history turns its back, and gazes intently towards Europe, where Rome is the sole hope of the future of the Empire, and on it the Old Man gazes as upon a mirror.

Poi è di rame infinio la forcata: \* Da indi in giuso è tutto ferro eletto, Salvo che il destro piede è terra cotta, IIO E sta † in su quel, più che in sull' altro, eretto. Ciascuna parte, fuor che l' oro, è rotta D' una fessura che lagrime goccia,

Le quali accolte foran quelle grotta. Lor corso I in questa valle si diroccia: Fanno Acheronte, Stige e Flegetonta; § Poi sen va giù per questa stretta doccia

Infin là dove più non si dismonta:

\*alla forcata: Mr. Tozer thinks that at this point the dual power of the Church and the Empire commences.

+sta in su quel, più che in sull' altro: Dr. Paget Toynbee (Dante Dictionary, p. 180) says that Dante differs from Daniel in making the bronze terminate with the trunk, in order no doubt to emphasize his theory of the dual organisation of Church and Empire; the right leg with the foot of baked earth, on which the image rests most, being the symbol of the ecclesiastical power, corrupted and weakened by the acquisition of the temporal power from Constantine, but at the same time that to which mankind chiefly looked for support and guidance.

Lor corso, et seq.: Compare Milton, Par. Lost, ii, 575-586:-

". . . four infernal rivers, that disgorge Into the burning lake their baleful streams; Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate; Sad Acheron, of sorrow, black and deep; Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation loud Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegethon, Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage. Far off from these, a slow and silent stream, Lethe, the river of oblivion, rolls Her watery labyrinth, whereof who drinks, Forthwith his former state and being forgets, Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain."

§ Flegetonta: Dr. Toynbee thinks that Dante may have got the meaning of the word Phlegethon from the commentary of Servius (on En. vi, 265), who says: "Per Phlegethonta . . . ignem significat; nam φλόξ Graece, Latine ignis est."

Fanno Cocito; \* e qual sia quello stagno, Tu il vederai: però qui non si conta."—

120

Within the mountain there stands a great old man who keeps his back turned towards Damietta (i.e. Egypt), and looks at Rome as in his mirror (i.e. full in front). His head is formed of fine gold, and of pure silver are his arms and his breast, from thence he is of bronze as far as the fork: from that point downwards he is wholly of unalloyed iron, save that his right foot is of baked clay, and on this, more than on the other, he stands supported. Every part except the gold (i.e. the head) is rent with a fissure that drips tears, which, when collected, force a passage through that cavern. Their course descends from rock to rock (i.e. from each succeeding Circle above) into this valley: they (the tears) form Acheron, Styx and Phlegethon; then it (the Phlegethon) runs its way down through this narrow channel to where there is no more descent (namely, at the bottom of Hell: there) they form Cocytus; and what that lake is, thou shalt see: here therefore it is not told." +

† The following are some of the explanations of this remark-

able passage given by the early Commentators:

Pietro di Dante sees the allegory that the Empire of the world which used to be in the East, and principally where the City of Damietta stands near Acre in Syria (sic), departed

thence and passed to the Latins in the West.

Jacopo di Dante thinks the gradual deterioration of the ages is signified in the downward path from the Golden Age of Innocence until the world became teeming with vices. In the Christian sense it means the procession of the ages from the primeval times of the Patriarchs to Jesus Christ. And the image looking towards Rome and turning its back on Damietta is to show that dominion in the century of Dante was concentrated at Rome and had left Babylon. And Damietta is

<sup>\*</sup> Cocito . . . stagno : Compare Virg. Æn. vi, 323 :—
"Cocyti stagna alta vides Stygiamque paludem."

Blanc (Saggio) well explains this difficult passage. The evident purpose of Virgil is to describe to Dante the origin of the rivers of Hell. It is quite clear that the image of the Old Man within the mountain in Crete is taken from the dream of Nebuchadnezzar

mentioned, "because it is a certain mountain half way between

Banbellonia and Rome (sic)."

Lana also speaks of Damiata as a mountain in Babylonia, and explains the allegory as meaning that the Empire of the world and the dominion over public affairs will leave Babylon and come to Rome. The Chiose Anonime (ed. Selmi) says that the golden part of the image concerned celestial matters; the silver, those of destiny; the bronze, things terrestrial; and

the iron, things infernal.

Benvenuto says the allegory represents the different ages of man in the world, and the image, being that of an old man, shows the many thousand years that the race of man has inhabited the world; he turns his back on Babylon, because the once mighty empire of the Assyrians went to pieces a long while ago; and he looks towards Rome because at the last came the empire of the Romans and the Roman Church. Benyenuto thinks that Dante has evidently mistaken the Babylon of Egypt for the great Babylon of antiquity; for it is certain that Damietta is a city of Egypt formerly called Memphis by prophets and poets, and while it was frequently captured by Christian nations, it was for that very reason destroyed by the Saracens, who did not wish to leave standing such a stronghold for their enemies. Dante intended his readers to understand by Damiata the Babylon of the Assyrians, and yet this Babylon is subject to the Babylon in Egypt, that is to say, to the power of the Soldan. The old man looking on Rome as on his mirror, symbolising the human race, is contemplating his own features in her (Rome), for she was a woman more beautiful, more young, and more recent than the Babylon that is deserted for ever.

Gelli takes a different view of the allegory, namely, that the statue being made to turn its face towards Rome shows that Dante, both here as well as in many other passages in his works, manifests his opinion that a great part of the evil deeds of the world originated in the bad example of the Heads of the Church, upon whom men are looking continually as upon a mirror. Not only did Dante hold this opinion, but Petrarch

also, as may be read in his writings.

in the book of Daniel; \* and equally clear that Dante understands it in a different sense. Dante is not in this passage speaking of certain monarchies succeeding one another, but of the general history of the human race; and as among ancient writers is found the tradition of the Golden Age, the Silver Age, etc., so also, in Dante's writings, the deterioration of metals denotes the degradation of Man. He has placed the statue in Crete, partly from the ancient tradition that it was there that the Golden Age flourished, and partly because, according to the geographical knowledge of those days, that island was supposed to stand like a central point in the midst of the three best known parts of the world, and might in consequence be considered as the centre and beginning of the human race. The statue turns its back to Damietta, and its face towards Rome, either to indicate the general course of history, which began in the East, and then travelled to the West, or better perhaps, the advancement of religious worship, which from the rude Egyptian idolatry, gradually ascended to the truths of Christianity, having its central abode at Rome.+ The image has one foot of iron, and the other of clay, and would seem to be chiefly supported by the latter. The most

<sup>\*&</sup>quot;Thou, O King, sawest, and, behold, a great image. This great image, whose brightness was excellent, stood before thee, and the form thereof was terrible. This image's head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms were of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay." (Daniel ii, 31-33).

<sup>†</sup> See Ozanam, Dante et la Philosophie Catholique (ed. 1839), p. 108; also Jacopo di Dante (Chiose), on this passage.

obvious explanation certainly seems to be that the deterioration of the human race was there reaching its extreme limit; but it is equally allowable to seek for another hidden signification in these feet. the foot of iron is symbolised the Empire; and the foot of baked clay is thought to symbolise the Church.

On the question whether Dante meant to describe four rivers, or one river under varying names, Blanc (ibid.) is of opinion that had there been several rivers, they must of necessity have fallen into Cocytus, and Dante, who is a marvel of minute precision in his descriptions of places, would certainly not have failed to mention the fact. But in truth in 1. 117 one reads (according to Blanc's reading, but not the one I follow): Poi sen van giù per quella stretta doccia, by which it is clear that the Phlegethon is the sole exit of all the rivers. The tears collect, and boring through the crust of the earth, penetrate right down into Hell, where they are found in the shape of Acheron, which flows round the upper edge of Hell. This then runs off underground, reappearing as the Styx, which after encircling the City of Dis, dives down a subterranean channel, and remains unseen until it emerges once more as Phlegethon. It accompanies the two wayfarers to the edge of the Great Abyss, over which it leaps as a furious cataract and plunges down into Malebolge; but what becomes of it then we are not told until we find it at the bottom of the Pit, where, under the name of Cocytus, it gathers together all the waters of Hell.

For my own part I confess that I prefer the view

that there is one river with four names,\* and that seems also to be the opinion of Barelli (L' Allegoria della D.C., 1864, pp. 90-92), who says: "This stream that springs from so sinful a source, and flows through the different regions of Hell under four different names, is the antithesis to that rill which bubbles up in the middle of the divina foresta of the Purgatorio and waters it, which then divides into two streams which are Euphrates and Tigris, and these two names again change respectively into Lethe and Eunoe. The river of Hell takes its origin in the corruption of the human race, and its evil character increases in proportion to its downward descent from stage to stage. It renders more wretched the abode of the lost, and is one of the instruments of their punishment; whereas the river of the divine forest issues from a sure and unfailing source which receives back again, by the will of God, as much as it pours away when divided into two streams.† It flows with its limpid waters to beautify the Church of God; in its onward course it acquires on the one hand (in Lethe), the power of washing away the memory of past sins; on the other (in Eunoe), that of conferring all the wealth of spiritual benefits. In a word, the first is an emblem of sin, the second an emblem of grace; the one of evil, the other of its antidote."

<sup>\*</sup> I observe that Mr. Tozer, in his English Commentary on Dante, inclines to this opinion.

<sup>†</sup> See Purg. xxviii, 124-126 :-

<sup>&</sup>quot;Ma esce di fontana salda e certa, Che tanto dal voler di Dio riprende, Quant' ella versa da due parti aperta,"

Division IV .- In the lines that follow, we find that Dante is puzzled about the course of this river of many names, and he asks Virgil how it happens that after having traversed all the Circles above. they only now see it for the first time in this Third Round.

> Ed io a lui :- "Se il presente rigagno Si deriva così dal nostro mondo, Perchè ci appar pure \* a questo vivagno?"-

And I to him: "If this rill before us thus takes its rise from our world, why does it only become visible to us on this border (between the Second and Third Rounds)?"

Virgil explains that although they have come so far down, and have always turned to their left as they descended into a new Circle or Round, still they have not as yet walked completely round the circumference of Hell. It is not easy to reckon what distance that circuit would represent, since with every fresh descent a diminished circumference was reached, but according to Manetti's computations, the circumference at the top (after deducting the depth of the crust of the Earth, which he and Galileo put at 405 miles and a fraction), could not be less than about 7,000 miles, or, according to Vellutello whose considerably modified computations I have adopted, 1,000 miles. See Preliminary Chapter, on the Dimensions of Hell.

<sup>\*</sup> pure a questo vivagno: Observe the contrast between this pure and pur in l. 126. Here it means "only," in the other "always, constantly, continuously."

Ed egli a me:—"Tu sai che il luogo è tondo,
E tutto che tu sii venuto molto
Pur\* a sinistra giù calando al fondo,
Non se' ancor per tutto il cerchio vôlto;
Perchè, se cosa n' apparisce nuova,
Non dee addur maraviglia al tuo volto."—

And he to me: "Thou knowest that the place (Hell) is circular, and although thou hast come far, always to the left descending towards the bottom, thou hast not yet gone round the complete circle; therefore, if any new thing appears to us, it need not bring wonder to thy countenance."

Dr. Moore (Text. Crit. p. 308) observes that Virgil's reply is quite clear. The place is round, and though the Poets had journeyed far, turning constantly and solely to the left, they had not yet completed the circuit. Buti remarks that one can only descend into Hell by turning to the left, that is, by the path of vice which is symbolised by the left hand. There

<sup>\*</sup>Pur a sinistra: Witte reads più a sinistra, on which Dr. Moore (Text. Crit. p. 308) observes: "This is a case in which I think we must certainly adopt the reading Pur, which has a comparatively small number of MSS. on its side. It should be observed, however (and this is curious), that the early Commentators, so far as they notice the passage, seem to be unanimous for Pur, as, for example, Lana, Boccaccio, Anon. Pior. (tutta volta a sinistra), Buti, Bargigi, Landino (sempre a sinistra). So also the Ottimo, where the passage is illustrated by a diagram. Benvenuto explains the point very clearly thus: 'Ergo si venisti semper ad sinistram potest esse aliquid ad dextram de quo tu nondum perpenderis.'" We find the same expression in Inf. xxix, 52, 53:—

"Noi discendemmo sull' ultima riva

Del lungo scoglio, pur da man sinistra."

See also xviii, 21: "tenne a sinistra."

xix, 41: "discendemmo a mano stanca." xxi, 136: "Per l' argine sinistra volta dienno." xxiii, 68: "Volgemmo . . . pure a man manca." xxxi, 83: "volti a sinistra."

are only two exceptions to the rule of the way observed by the Poets in their transit through Hell. In Inf. ix, 132, where they turn to the right before they pass among the tombs of the Heresiarchs, is the first instance. But as I have already stated at the conclusion of Canto ix, I follow Poletto's opinion. who thinks that as the Poets had to fetch a wide compass (grande aggirata) round the walls before disembarking at the Gate of Dis, they found on entering that they had overshot the mark for the right place to descend into the next circle, and were consequently obliged to take the ground to the right. The other occasion is mentioned in Inf. xvii, 31, when the Poets, before approaching Geryon, descend to the right (alla destra mammella). Dr. Moore (l.c.) points out that in Inf. xxiii, 31, Virgil speaks of the possibility of their finding a way to their right as the best means of escaping from the pursuing demons. The Cornices of Purgatory are traversed by turning always to the right.

Benvenuto remarks that Dante might seem to be contradicting himself in saving that he had not seen this river, which, however, he certainly had seen and fully described where the Violent against their Neighbour were being punished. But it must be explained that although he has seen the Phlegethon, out of which this stream before him has issued, vet as he did not follow the course of it through the Forest of Woe, he has not had an opportunity of seeing how or where the present stream issued from the River of Blood, though he now meets with it again on this Sandy Waste. For instance, one might

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quite well see the Lake of Garda, and afterwards see the Mincio at Mantua, or at some other point far from its source, and not be aware that it flows out of the Lake of Garda at Peschiera, and that the water of the river is the same water as that of the lake. In the same way Dante has not up to now been aware that he had already seen the Phlegethon, as we shall see by the questions he asks next.

Ed io ancor:—" Maestro, ove si trova
Flegetonta e Letè, che dell' un taci,
E l' altro di' che si fa d' esta piova?"—

And I again: "Master, where are to be found Phlegethon and Lethe, for of the one (Lethe) thou speakest not, and the other (Phlegethon) thou sayest is formed by this fall (of tears)?"

It is natural for Dante to ask after Lethe, for the poets of antiquity had always included it among the rivers of the Infernal Regions, which were supposed to be Acheron, Styx, Phlegethon, Cocytus and Lethe. Virgil had named the other four, and the omission of Lethe arrested Dante's attention.

Virgil in reply tells Dante that he certainly cannot see Lethe here in Hell, for it is the river of oblivion, and in Hell a great part of the torment of the sinner consists in the recollection of his evil deeds. But Dante will see it, when, after leaving these regions of Hell, and having traversed the whole of Purgatory, he will discover the stream in whose tranquil and beneficent waters the souls, that have by long penance expiated their sins, are finally washed from all remembrance of them before ascending to Paradise.

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—"In tutte tue question certo mi piaci,"—
Rispose;—" ma il bollor dell' acqua rossa \*
Dovea ben solver l' una che tu faci.
Letè vedrai, ma fuor di questa fossa,
Là dove vanno l' anime a lavarsi

Ouando la colpa pentuta è rimossa."-

"In all thy questions truly thou pleasest me," he answered; "but the boiling of the ruddy water might well have solved one (question) that thou puttest. Lethe thou shalt see, but outside of this Abyss, there (in Purgatory) where the souls go to wash themselves, when the fault repented of has been removed."

Blanc (Saggio, pp. 140, 141) observes that, from Virgil telling Dante that the red colour of the river of blood might clearly have indicated to him that it was Phlegethon, many have striven to show that this is a proof that Dante was acquainted with the Greek language, as the word Phlegethon is derived from φλέγω, to burn. But he adds that when we consider that Boccaccio, who, only fifty years after Dante's time, while he had a Greek as a guest in his house, wrote (Genealogia Deorum, xv, cap. 7) as follows: "Since there is no one in Italy who is acquainted with the Greek writings . . . nay, not even do we know the Greek characters," and when even Petrarch lamented that a manuscript of Homer which he possessed was so much dead capital to him; and when one recollects that Dante shows himself ignorant of Greek in many passages of his writ-

<sup>\*</sup> ma il bollor dell' acqua rossa : Compare Virgil, Æn. vi, 550,

<sup>551:&</sup>quot;Quæ rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis
Tartareus Phlegethon, torquetquæ sonantia saxa."

ings, using the word entomata (instead of ěντομα) for insects, and in the Convito (ii, 15, ll. 59-63) remarking that one could not well know the opinion of Aristotle . . . perchè la sua sentenza non si trova cotale nell' una traslazione (latina) come nell' altra; and when one recollects that Dante never quotes from Sophocles or Æschylus, but only from those passages of Euripides that are quoted by Horace, it is impossible to contend that he could have known anything at all of the Greek language. Dante would know the meaning of the word Phlegethon from the passage in Virgil quoted to illustrate il bollor dell' acqua rossa in l. 134, but not probably from any other source.

Poi disse:—"Omai è tempo da scostarsi
Dal bosco: fa che diretro a me vegne: \*
Li margini fan via, che non son arsi,
E sopra loro ogni vapor si spegne."—

Then he said: "Now it is time to withdraw from the wood: mind that thou walk (exactly) behind me: the margins, which are not aflame, form a path, and above them every vapour (i.e. fire) is extinguished."

<sup>\*</sup> fa che diretro a me vegne: Compare Purg. ii, 28, 29:—
"... fa, fa che le ginocchia cali;
Ecco l' Angel di Dio."

### CANTO XV.

THE THIRD ROUND OF THE SEVENTH CIRCLE (CONTINUED)—
THE VIOLENT AGAINST NATURE—BRUNETTO LATINI
—FRANCESCO D'ACCORSO—ANDREA DE' MOZZI.

This Canto treats of the second subdivision of the third kind of Violence, namely, that against Nature. As we noticed in the last Canto, the punishment meted out to sinners in these three subdivisions is the same, but it is applied in three different ways. We saw that the Violent against God have to lie on the Burning Sand with the flakes of fire falling upon their upturned faces. Unceasing movement is the penalty exacted for the hideous crime punished in this subdivision.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In Division I, from ver. 1 to ver. 45, Dante minutely describes how he was able, without danger, to traverse the Burning Sand, and how, from among a group of sinners passing by, he is recognised by his once revered friend Brunetto Latini.

In Division II, from ver. 46 to ver. 78, Brunetto speaks of the evil fortune that Dante may expect at the hands of the Florentines.

In Division III, from ver. 79 to ver. 99, Dante assures Brunetto of the loving recollection he has preserved of his instructions, and that even though

Brunetto has foretold adversity, yet when it comes, Dante will endure it without dismay.

In Division IV, from ver. 100 to ver. 124, Brunetto tells Dante the names of some of the sinners with whom he is undergoing punishment.

Division I.—In order that the reader may fully realise the present position of the Poets, it may be well, even at the risk of some repetition, to recapitulate a little. After Nessus had deposited them on the further side of the River of Blood, they at once entered into the Forest of Woe. This they traversed until they found themselves on the edge of the Burning Sand, but being unable to tread upon it, they turned to their left, and keeping still inside the border of the Forest, walked on, until, as we saw in 1. 76 of the last Canto, they reached the point where the Phlegethon crosses their path. This stream they found to be bordered by petrified margins on which Dante could safely set his feet, and above there the atmosphere was so humid, that it quenched the fire which was continually falling all around them. They now take advantage of these safeguards, and it would seem that the path they are following runs across the great Sandy Waste.

> Ora cen porta l' un de' duri margini, E il fummo del ruscel di sopra aduggia\*

<sup>\*</sup>aduggia: Adduggiare is derived from uggia (shade), which, quite in a secondary sense, may, as in this passage, have the signification of a grateful shade. The primary meaning of the word, however, is shade in a bad sense, and aduggiare in Donkin's Etymological Dictionary (s.v. uggia) is interpreted "to shade harmfully, to injure, to have a pernicious influence."

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Canto xv.

Sì che dal foco \* salva l' acqua e gli argini.

Now one of the indurated margins bears us onward, and above it the vapour from the stream makes such a shade, that it protects both the water and the dikes from the (falling) fire.

Buti remarks that if a lighted candle is held over smoke it is immediately extinguished, and so the vapour that arises from the water puts out the flakes of fire and makes the edges of the stream safe to walk upon.

Dante now, with his wonted precision, describes the exact nature of these margins, and compares them to the dikes in Flanders, and to certain embankments in the neighbourhood of Padua.

We find it in its bad sense in Purg. xx, 43-45, where Hugh Capet speaks bitterly of his descent from Philip le Bel:—
"Io fui radice della mala pianta,

Che la terra cristiana tutta aduggia

Sì che buon frutto rado se ne schianta."

On this the Ottimo observes: "Dice che il re di Francia oggi
è di tanto podere, che sotto la sua ombra tutta la terra cristiana sta auggiata. Onde, siccome l' uggia nuoce al campo
seminato, così dice di costui che nuoce al cristianesimo."

From the signification "hurtful shade," uggia in modern Italian, and especially in Tuscany, has acquired that of "a nuisance, a bore," and the adjective uggioso has the same sense. I recollect hearing a mother at Florence scolding her little girl, who was roaring, in these words: "Faustina, sta zitta, se no ti do le manate, sai, uggiosa!" (Hold your noise, Faustina, or if you don't, I'll slab your hands. Mind that, you little torment!)

\* il foco salva l' acqua e gli argini: This is without doubt the best reading, which has overwhelming MS. authority, and is supported by Witte, the Oxford Dante, Lana, the Ottimo, Boccaccio, Jacopo di Dante, Benvenuto, Buti, Gelli and many others. The reading salva l' acqua gli argini is supported by the Codice Cassinese, the First Four Editions, Bargigi, Foscolo, and a few unimportant editions.



# Canto xv. Readings on the Inferno.

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Quale i Fiamminghi tra Guizzante\* e Bruggia,
Temendo il fiotto che vér lor s' avventa,
Fanno lo schermo perchè il mar si fuggia;
E quale i Padovan lungo la Brenta,†
Per difender lor ville e lor castelli,
Anzi che Chiarentana; il caldo senta;

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\* tra Guizzante e Bruggia: This practically means between Calais and Ostend, or, as Mr. Tozer well puts it, "along the Flemish coast." There is little doubt that by Guizzante Dante intended the little village of Wissant, the mediæval port between Calais and Cape Grisnez, which in those days was the usual starting place for England. This village is spoken of by Villani (xii, 68) as having been sacked and burned by Edward III, on his march to Calais from the battle of Cressy, and it must consequently have been to the west of "Partito il re Adoardo dal campo di Crecì ove avea avuta la detta vittoria . . . n' andò a Bologna in su lo mare [Boulogne sur mer] . . . poi ne venne a Guizzante, e perchè non era murato, il rubò tutto, e poi vi mise fuoco, e tutta la villa guastarono. E poi ne vennono a Calese," etc. In the time of Dante both Wissant and Bruges (a few miles inland from Ostend) were in Flanders, and the great Flemish dike probably extended from Wissant on the West to some point near Bruges on the East, and therefore in coupling these two names, Dante had in his mind the two extremities of that dike. Those who are firm in their belief that Dante visited England, are inclined to think that it would be during his journey thither that he passed by the dikes of Flanders: and indeed the very fact of his having been at Wissant at all, is an argument in favour of his having been there on his way to England, as he could not possibly (so it is argued) have been there for any other purpose; but to this it has been replied, that had Dante ever experienced the tempestuous North Sea, or even the shorter Channel passage, some mention of so disagreeable an incident would certainly have found its way into his writings.

[This was written before the publication of Mr. Gladstone's interesting article, "Did Dante Study at Oxford?" Nineteenth

Century, June, 1892.]

† lungo la Brenta: See Dittamondo, lib. iii, cap. 3:—
"Da pado o da padule prese il nome
Chè presso v' è assai questa cittade,
Brenta la cerchia e chiude come un pome."

† Chiarentana: Benvenuto thinks that Chiarentana stands

Canto xv.

IO

Readings on the Inferno.

A tale imagine eran fatti quelli, Tutto che nè sì alti nè sì grossi, Qual che si fosse,\* lo maestro fèlli.

Even as the Flemings between Wissant and Bruges, fearing the flood-tide that rushes towards them, rear their bulwarks that the sea may retreat; and even as the Paduans (make embankments) along the Brenta to protect their towns and castles, before Chiarentana feels the heat (and swells the Brenta with its melted snow); of like formation were these (margins) fashioned, though the master-engineer, whoever he was, had not made them so lofty nor so thick.

for Carinthia, over which, in his time, certain lords held sway, who were known as Dukes of Carinthia. But in Lunelli's Spiegazione geografica della voce Chiarentana di Dante it is contended with far greater probability that Dante is here referring to a mountain of the Trentino between Valvignola and Valfonte, to the East of Lake Levico, called by the inhabitants Canzana and Carenzana, which extends along the left bank of the Brenta, and this river takes its source from the two lakes lying at the foot of the mountain, as well as from the mass of torrents that flow down its sides. There is no consensus of

opinions as to the place indicated.

\*Qual che si fosse: I follow the mass of the Commentators in interpreting these words as referring to the master-engineer (maestro). Some think Dante implies that he did not know whether these margins were due to divine or to diabolical agency, but Scartazzini urges that Dante knew perfectly well who was the Architect of Hell, and had said so in the most expressive words (Inf. iii, 4), Giustizia mosse il mio alto fattore; and he refers the words to quelli (margini) nè sì alti nè sì grossi, and meaning: "whatever may have been their size." The word maestro is not always understood by English students of Dante. It means an expert in any trade or profession. Among the early Italian novelists it is chiefly used to signify a physician, and notably by Boccaccio. Dante makes Guido da Montefeltro (Inf. xxvii, 96, 97), say that Boniface VIII. besought him "as a physician to cure him of the fever of his arrogance":—

"Così mi chiese questi per maestro A guarir della sua superba febbre." See my note on that passage.

Benvenuto, speaking of the tides in Flanders, says that "they are influenced by the Moon, which is the mother of moisture (just as the Sun is the father of heat), and attracts water from afar, as the magnet attracts iron (sicut magnes attrahit ferrum). But in the West the Moon causes this operation of the waters to take place in a much more marvellous way than elsewhere, and especially so at the time of the Full Moon; and this has aroused the greatest wonder among the most distinguished navigators Benvenuto means, of course, those from the South of Europel because there are no such tides either in the East or in the Mediterranean Sea. In England. which is in the Western Ocean, the sea rises so exceedingly in the royal City of London, that at certain periods the water of the river Thames flows over the bridge, which is a very high one. Flanders the tide is so strong that it will at times leave the shore dry for fifteen miles; and then, when returning, will re-cover the ground so swiftly that the fleetest horse would not be able to escape before it." Benvenuto speaks also of an extraordinary spring-tide having recently occurred in his time in Flanders, which drowned 15,000 persons. In the same way the inhabitants of the banks of the Brenta are compelled to construct dikes on either side of that river to protect themselves from the overwhelming floods that prevail in the spring, when the Sun has melted the glaciers, and the torrents of snow water threaten them with inundations.

We may now attempt to picture the scene. We see Dante and Virgil walking along this dike or causeway, which we may infer was about the height of an ordinary man above the sand, for in 1, 24 we read that Brunetto Latini could reach up and lay hold of the hem of Dante's garment. The gloom of the dark air around is lit up by the lurid glare of the falling flames. A thick mist from the stream on their left rolls above their heads, and affords them protection from the fire. On their right, some six feet below the causeway, is the hot tawny-coloured sand, and across the width of this (some 51 miles) the path runs in a slanting direction. From all sides resound bitter lamentations, but those obliged to remain lying with upturned face (see xiv, 27) are the loudest in their lamentations.

The vast space which the Poets are traversing is now indicated by the intimation that while Dante has been observing and describing the dikes, he and Virgil have walked a considerable distance, in fact quite out of sight of the Forest of Woe, and at this point they come in contact with the shades of the Violent against Nature, running on the sand alongside of the dike, one of whom, Brunetto Latini, recognises Dante, and accosts him.

Già eravam dalla \* selva rimossi

<sup>\*</sup> dalla selva rimossi tanto: Contrast this with Purg. xxviii, 22-24:-

<sup>&</sup>quot;Già m' avean trasportato i lenti passi Dentro alla selva antica tanto, ch' io Non potea rivedere ond' io m' entrassi."

In Purgatory Dante had got so far inside the Divine Forest that on looking back, he could no longer see where he had entered; here in Hell he has walked so far away from the Forest of Woe, that had he looked back, which he did not, he would have been unable any longer to catch sight of it.



# Canto xv. Readings on the Inferno.

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Tanto, ch' io non avrei visto dov' era,
Perch' io indietro rivolto mi fossi,
Quando incontrammo d' anime una schiera,
Che venía lungo l' argine, e ciascuna
Ci riguardava,\* come suol da sera
Guardar l' un l' altro sotto nuova luna;
E sì vêr noi aguzzavan † le ciglia
Come 'l vecchio sartor ‡ fa nella cruna.
Così adocchiato da cotal famiglia,
Fui conosciuto da un, che mi prese §
Per lo lembo e gridò:—" Qual maraviglia?"—

We had already got so far away from the wood, that I should not have seen where it was even had I turned back, when we encountered a troop

\* Ci riguardava, etc.: Compare Virg. Æn. vi, 452-455:—
"Ut primum juxta stetit, agnovitque per umbras
Obscuram [sc. sylvam], qualem primo qui surgere mense
Aut videt, aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam,
Demisit lacrymas, dulcisque affatus amore est."
And ibid. 268-271:—

"Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram, Perque domos Ditis vacuas, et inania regna. Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna Est iter in sylvis."

† aguzzavan le ciglia: I borrow a happy rendering by Carlyle, "puckered their eyebrows." Daniello remarks that Dante admirably describes this act of sharpening the eyebrows, which is like that of an archer when he is taking aim to shoot at a target.

‡ Come 'l vecchio sartor : Compare Dittamondo, lib. iv, cap. 4:-

"Perocchè sì mi stringe a questo punto

La lunga tema, ch' io fo come il sarto,

Che quando ha fretta spesso passa il punto."

§ mi prese per lo lembo: Dante was walking on the petrified margin of the Phlegethon, and the head of Brunetto hardly reached up to his feet, so that the most natural movement on the part of Brunetto was to take hold of his skirt. It is remarkable that although Dante found the form of Casella impalpable (Purg. ii, 76-81), yet Brunetto's touch arrested his steps, and Dante's hand stroked Brunetto's face.

of souls, who were coming alongside of the bank, and every one of them began peering at us just as at eventide one man is wont to peer at another under (the dim light of) the new moon; and they puckered (lit. sharpened) their eyebrows towards us just as the old tailor does at the needle's eye. (While) thus being scrutinised by the abovenamed company, I was recognised by one, who seized me by the skirt, and exclaimed: "What marvel (is this)?"

Brunetto, son of Buonaccorso dei Latini, was born of a noble family in Florence about 1220, and died there in 1294. Benvenuto says that he was a man of great wisdom and eloquence; but that he had such an overweening opinion of himself, that when he was a distinguished notary, and had on one occasion allowed some trifling error to creep into a certain writing which he might easily have corrected, he preferred to leave it there, and run the risk of being accused of a fraud, rather than by the alteration of his writing to admit the possibility of having erred through ignorance. On this account he had to leave Florence, and in his absence was condemned to be burned. The Chiose Anonime (ed, Selmi) states that Brunetto was a near neighbour of Dante, and taught him a great many things; that he did not care for the soul, as he was altogether worldly; that he sinned greatly in unnatural crime, and scoffed much at the things of God and Holy Church. Giovanni Villani (Lib. viii, cap. 10) writes of him that he became the Secretary (Dittatore) of the Republic. Ricordano Malespini (cap. 162) relates that he was sent as ambassador to Alfonso King of CasCanto xv. Readings on the Inferno.

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tille to induce him to favour the Guelph party in opposition to Manfred. At this juncture the rout of the Guelph forces at the battle of Montaperti in 1260 obliged Brunetto to escape into France. Camerini thinks this was the real cause of his banishment, and that the story told by Benvenuto and Boccaccio is perfectly false. Brunetto was able to return to Florence in 1269, and died there in 1294. He wrote the Tesoretto in the Tuscan language, and during his sojourn in Paris a work in French entitled Li Livres don Tresor. Although he was commonly supposed (from a misunderstanding of Inf. xv, 82-85) to have been the teacher of Dante and of Guido Cavalcanti,\*

<sup>\*</sup>Though probably not the personal teacher of Dante and Guido Cavalcanti, Brunetto no doubt afforded them much instruction by his writings, and exercised great influence over theirs. In confirmation of this, see Ugolini Verino, a four-teenth century writer, De Illustratione Urbis Florentiae, lib. ii:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Barbariem veterem, te rhetore, Thusca juventus Exuit; et linguae paulatim sermo latinae Cultior eluxit, priscumque recepit honorem. Nam de fonte tuo mansuras ebibit undas Dantes, et Guido prae docto carmine vates Pimpleas potavit anuas de fonte latino."

This also is affirmed by Benvenuto: "Non solum docebat Dantem, sed et alios juvenes florentinos, unde multos fecit magnos eloquentes et morales." Tiraboschi wrote on this subject: "che Brunetto tenesse scuola, non trovo autore che espressamente l'affermi; e io credo probabile ch' egli istruisse bensì chi ricorreva a lui per consiglio e direzione, ma non fosse già pubblico professore." In the admirable article on Brunetto Latini, in Alcuni Capitoli della Biografia di Dante, by Professor Michele Scherillo, Turin, 1896, the learned author, discussing the question Brunetto Latini Maestro di Dante (p. 159), observes: "A buon conto, il maestro premesso al nome di Brunetto non vuol dire che dottore, ed era titolo che si dava solitamante ai medici, . . . ai flosofi e teologi, . . . e ai legulei [jurisconcults]." And Scherillo points out that almost as if

it is evident that he cannot have been so in the ordinary sense of the word, for, as Dr. Paget Toynbee points out in his Dante Dictionary, Brunetto was about fifty-five when Dante was born. Villani explains that notwithstanding the depravity of his private character, he makes mention of Brunetto because he was the first master who made a beginning in devulgarising and refining the Florentines, and giving them some knowledge of graceful speech, and of how to guide the Republic according to the rules of politics.

Benvenuto, alluding especially to Brunetto's exclamation qual maraviglia? remarks that beyond the astonishment felt by the shades in general on seeing Dante alive in such a place, and without punishment, Brunetto marvelled still more on his own account that Dante should have merited such renown and favour as midway in his journey through human life, to be permitted to make so miraculous a journey through Hell, and that for a far nobler object than that of Brunetto's wretched Tresor (suo vili thesauro), seeing that Dante's aim was to win salvation both for himself and for others.

Dante could foresee the equivocal meaning that the word maestro would involve in the future, he does not attach it to Brunetto as he does to Aristotle, to Virgil, to Pier Lombardo, to Gilberto Porretano (these two last in the De Mon.), and to Maestro Adamo. In fact in ll. 97-101, almost in the same sentence we find him speaking of Virgil as Lo Mio Maestro, and of B. Latini as ser Brunetto. Besides, Dante could not have recognised the latter as his master in style and poetry in the same sense as he does with Virgil. On the contrary in De Vulg. Eloq. i, 13, ll. 1-13, we find that he groups him with some other Tuscan writers as deserving of censure.

Dante, after some hesitation, identifies the ghastly figure at his feet as that of his once revered friend.

> Ed io, quando il suo braccio a me distese, Ficcai gli occhi per lo cotto aspetto Sì che il viso abbruciato non difese \* La conoscenza sua al mio intelletto; E chinando la mano † alla sua faccia,

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\* difese both in this passage as well as in Inf. vii, 81, and Inf. viii, 123, signifies prevention, hindrance, not defence.

Benvenuto says of chinando la mano: "ut tangerem eum in fronte, quae erat mihi magis vicina, sicut ipse ceperat me per infimam vestem quae erat sibi magis vicina, quia ego eram altus et ipse bassus." Biagioli explains that this gesture of Dante, in lowering his hand to Brunetto's face, was after he

t chinando la mano alla sua faccia: Others read chinando la mia alla sua faccia, and Gregorio di Siena (Naples, 1867-1870) says that these two readings continue to torture the brains of Dantists. I follow the same reading (namely, mano) as I did in my first edition, which was published shortly before Dr. Moore's Oxford text, in 1894. This is the reading adopted by the Ottimo, Benvenuto, Lana, Boccaccio, Daniello, the First Four Editions, Gelli, Biagioli, Witte, Casini, Scartazzini and Di Siena. Bargigi, Buti, Dr. Moore, Lord Vernon, the Codice Bartoliniano, the Cod. Cassinese, Cesari, Brunone Bianchi, and Fraticelli advocate the reading la mia alla sua faccia. Some of these latter contend that Dante putting forth his hand and stroking or touching Ser Brunetto's face would evince a want of respect towards his superior. With that view I cannot agree. The movement appears to me alike natural and graceful, denoting both affection and sympathy, and is just what one can imagine being done by a disciple to a loved and revered master whom he sees, after long separation, in sorrow and suffering. So natural a gesture is it in Italy, that I almost seem to hear it accompanied by the words "Oh! poverino!" Di Siena observes: "We will not enter as judges into such a controversy, but still we think the lowering of the hand to the face of Ser Brunetto can signify a rapid and perfectly intelligible gesture of reverence quite as well as the inclination of the head. The act of lowering either the hand or the head is intended to mark the relative positions of Dante standing at a considerable height, and Brunetto on the sand below."

Risposi:-" Siete voi qui, ser \* Brunetto ? "- 10

And I, when he stretched forth his arm to me. fastened my eyes so closely upon the baked countenance, that the scorched features did not prevent the recognition of him by my intelligence; and reaching down my hand to his face, I answered: "Are you here, Ser Brunetto?"

This is (says Benvenuto) as though Dante would say to Brunetto: "You wonder that I, alive and still young, am passing through Hell in order to flee from the paths of sin; but it is certainly no less marvellous that you, who were wont to be of such high morality and culture, should be dead in so base a sin, and be so scorched and burned here."

Benvenuto points out that from reverence to his senior and his teacher, Dante addresses Brunetto in the plural, i.e. using the voi instead of the tu. In Canto x, at pp. 365, 366, I have drawn attention to Dante's different uses of voi and tu.

had made out who he was by his close scrutiny of the scorched features; and therefore that De Romanis, the editor of the third edition (1820-22) of Lombardi's Commentary, is in error when he argues that Dante inclined his face to Brunetto's for the purpose of identifying him, as, if Dante did so, it was described three or four lines back, and had he then repeated the movement, it would not have been that he might recognise Brunetto, for that he has told his readers in the preceding three lines, he had done already. Without pretending to say which of the two readings is right, I confess to preferring the idea of the tender sympathising caress implied in the reading chinando la mano, which I accordingly adopt.

\* ser Brunetto: Ser is the shortened form of sere, for which modern usage has substituted signore, formerly a title of nobility and of superiority, but which Biagioli (who was a Neapolitan) laments had in his day become so common as to

be given even to police spies.

Adolfo Bartoli (Storia della Letteratura Italiana, Florence, 1889, vol. vi, part ii, p. 58) asks why, if Dante's reverence for Ser Brunetto was so great. and he felt so many ties of affection for him, he has been so pitiless as to deal such a crushing and fatal blow to his reputation as he does by mentioning his punishment here. Some have tried to show that Dante, a Ghibelline, has placed Brunetto here because he was a Guelph, but this is a complete fallacy, as it is a fact that Dante has placed many Ghibellines in Hell, and many Guelphs in Purgatory, notably his bitter foe Charles of Anjou (see Purg. vii, 113 and 124), and consequently we see that political sentiments would exercise but a secondary influence on his adjudication of rewards or punishments among the departed great. Bartoli cannot agree with Scartazzini that Dante condemned Brunetto to Hell because he felt himself the delegate of the Eternal Judge, and wished to lay down a strong line of demarcation between justice and private affection, seeing that Brunetto really was stained with the degrading crime for which Dante has represented him in Hell. Bartoli thinks Dante would probably have been more inclined to draw a veil tenderly over the name of his beloved teacher, as also over those of the great Florentines in the next Canto, and would have left them in the obscurity he concedes to the multitude of such sinners, so vast that il tempo saria corto a tanto suono (l. 105). But no! he loses no opportunity in these two Cantos of mingling respect and affection for persons guilty of offences so abominable, that in this nineteenth century (Bartoli wrote this in 1889) all would recoil with horror at the very mention of their names. Virgil tells him they must be treated with the greatest courtesy, that their deeds of arms vie with their reputation for wisdom. and that their words would always be listened to in the world. Dante would have embraced them had he been able to descend on to the sand, but he speaks with affection of their "honoured names!" Bartoli thinks the hypothesis of Blanc the most plausible, that in the thirteenth century unnatural crimes were so exceedingly prevalent, that men guilty of them did not incur the loathing and horror which they would inspire in modern times; and that Dante. though obliged, from the theological point of view. to brand them as sinners punished for deadly sins. vet would not look upon them, from the human point of view, as men so dishonoured that he should shrink from consorting with them on terms of friendship.

Brunetto now confirms his identity, giving his name in full and intimating his desire to converse with Dante, a request with which the latter promises to comply, if Virgil will permit it.

> E quegli :- "O figliuol mio, non ti dispiaccia Se Brunetto Latini \* un poco teco

<sup>\*</sup> Brunetto Latini: In my first edition, a supplemental note at the end of this Canto expressed my very strong reasons for preferring Latini to Latino, which latter form some few exponents of Dante advocate. I was at that time particularly urged by the late Sir James Lacaita to draw attention to this matter. I may remark that no modern Italian ever speaks of Brunetto Latino, but always Brunetto Latini. The name in full was Brunetto dei Latini, like Farinata degli Uberti. Latini is the genitive of Latinus, and is equivalent to saying



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Ritorna \* indietro, e lascia andar la traccia."-Io dissi a lui :- "Quanto posso ven preco; E se volete che con voi m' asseggia, † Faròl, se piace a costui, chè vo seco."-

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filius Latini, like Williamson in English for "the son of William," etc. In Southern Italy the form is almost always "di Vincenzi," "di Pietri," "di Giovanni," etc., and afterwards, especially in this century, they have gradually, for the sake of abbreviation, taken to write it as one word, "Devincenzi," "Degiovanni," "Desanctis," "Depretis," etc., and "Brunetto Latini" stands for "Brunettus filius Latini." principal advocates of Latino are Dr. Paget Toynbee, in his Dante Dictionary as well as in a letter to The Academy, 9th Feb. 1895, and Dr. Sundby in a Danish monograph on the Life and Letters of Brunetto Latini-but even this latter uses the term Latini on his title page, and not Latino. Prof. Michele Scherillo in his work Alcuni capitoli della biografia di Dante, Torino, 1896, in the article on Brunetto Latini, p. 116, footnote, writes as follows: "Si è lungamente disputato se sia da scrivere 'Brunetto Latino' o 'Latini.' Il Sundby preferì la prima forma; ma nella traduzione della sua monografia il Renier le sostituì la seconda, che cercò giustificare con ogni maniera di argomenti. Il Paris (nella Romania, xiv, p. 313, 314) però sostenne ancora la prima; e il Vernon adottò la seconda (Readings on the Inferno, London, 1894, vol. i). Il vero è che Brunetto medesimo e i suoi contemporanei scrivevano indifferentemente nell' una maniera e nell' altra (cf. Paget Toynbee, Brunetto Latino or Brunetto Latini? nell' Academy del 9 febbrajo 1895, p. 127); alla stessa guisa che, in pieno Cinque-Cento, si continuava a scrivere il Macchiavelli e il Macchiavello.' Del resto, dovendo tradurre il suo casato [surname] in francese, o come avea da dire se non Brunez Latins ?- Per conto mio, ho data la preferenza alla grafia Latini, poichè, secondo già osservò il Flechia (Di alcuni criteri per l'originazione dei cognomi italiani, p. 3), 'il finimento in i, che alcuni [like Sir James Lacaita] tengono per forma di genitivo latino e altri per plurale di valore collettivo, è, si può dire, normale nei cognomi toscani."

\* ritorna indietro: Buti observes that the troop in which Brunetto was running were going in the opposite direction to that pursued by Dante and Virgil, and therefore, for them to enter into conversation, it was necessary either that the troop should halt, which was forbidden, or that one party should

turn back with the other.

†m' asseggia: Nannucci (Analisi Critica dei Verbi, p. 798)

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And he: "O my Son, let it not displease thee if Brunetto Latini turn back with thee a little, and let the train pass on." I said to him : " As much as I may I pray you thereto; and if you wish me to sit down with you, I will do it, if it pleases him yonder (Virgil), for I journey with him."

Benvenuto remarks that in the above reply Dante, while showing the greatest readiness to remain in Brunetto's company, is careful only to consent on the condition of doing so with Virgil's approval, for he does nothing without the counsel and permission of Reason, and especially in such very questionable surroundings.

Brunetto explains to Dante that he would incur too heavy a penalty were he to avail himself of his friendly offer to sit down with him.

-" O figliuol,"-disse,-" qual di questa greggia \* S' arresta punto, giace poi cent' anni † Senza arrostarsi ‡ quando il fuoco il feggia. §

warns his readers not to fall into the error of the Commentators on this passage, who attempt to derive this word from assedere, whereas it comes from assejere, asseggere, compound form of seggere, the j being changed into the double g. Nan-nucci quotes from Il Beato Jacopone, Lib v, xvi, 18:—

"In estante ch' io fui giunto Non mi lasso siger punto.'

\* greggia: The primary meaning of this word in the Gran Dizionario is that of a quantity of beasts herded together.

May not Dante have used the word here advisedly in speaking of those who had lived as "brute beasts, made to be taken and destroyed." (2 Pet. ii, 12).

+ giace poi cent' anni: Compare Virg. Æn. vi, 329: "Centum

errant annos, volitantque haec littora circum."

Moore (Studies in Dante, i, p. 168), on this.

arrostarsi: See Canto xiii, 117, footnote on rosta. See also

Moore, Text. Crit. p 311, on variant senza restarsi.

§ feggia: Nannucci (Analisi Critica dei Verbi, p. 336) explains that this is present indicative from the verb feggiare: "Non da



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Però va oltre: io ti verrò a' panni,\*

E poi rigiugnerò la mia masnada,†

Che va piangendo i suoi eterni danni."—

"O my Son," said he, "whosoever of this herd stops at all, lies afterwards for a hundred years without fanning himself when the fire strikes him. Therefore do thou move onwards: I will come at thy skirts, and afterwards I will rejoin my band, who go lamenting their everlasting penalties."

feggere, come dicono i commentatori e la Crusca, ma da feggiare, chè qui è terza pers. sing. del Indicat., e non del Congiunt., cioè quando il fuoco lo fiede, lo ferisce."

\*io ti verro a' panni: Benvenuto explains that Brunetto said he would come along near the dike at Dante's feet in such wise that his head should just reach up to his skirts (ita quod cum capite attingebat pannos autoris), and from this it may be gathered that the dike was about the height of a man's stature. Blanc, too, asks why Brunetto says a' panni, and not allato or appresso; and argues that it is very clear both from this expression, and from his taking hold of Dante's garment, per lo lembo, that his face only just reached up to the level of Dante's skirts.

† masnada: Compare Purg. ii, 130, quella masnada fresca. In its later use, masnada came to signify a band of robbers or brigands, but in its early days it had a good sense, and meant a company of armed men, or simply a company. It was also sometimes used to signify a family, as in the Nov. Ant. 19, 1: "Un giorno avvenne che un cavaliere povero, gentile, avvisò un coperchio d' uno nappo [cup] d' ariento e disse nell' animo suo: s' io posso nascondere quello, la masnada mia [my family] ne potrà stare bene molti giorni." See Readings on the Purgatorio, Second Edition, vol. i, p. 81, footnote, § on masnada. See also Donkin's Etymological Dictionary, p. 283: "Magione It. Provençal. O. Sp. mayson, O. Pg. meisom, Fr. maison (whence Sp. meson); from mansio (mansion). Hence It. masnada, Sp. mesnada manada, Prov. mainada, O. Fr. mesgnée mesnie, E. meiny (whence menial), household, retinue, body of armed men, etc., from a form mansionata (It. manata, Sp. Prov. manada, a handful, from manus); from masnada (masnadino) is It. mastino. Sp. Prov. mastin, Pg. mastim, Fr. matin, E. mastiff, a house-dog, prop. = a member of the household (O. Fr. mastin). Hence also manor, manse, messuage (Low Latin mansuagium)."

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From the above we see that according to the law of Hell, the mere fact of departing for a single instant from its ordinances on the part of those who sinned against Nature, would immediately subject them to the penalty of the Blasphemers for a hundred years, but with this addition, that they would not be able, like them, to brush aside the flames, but must allow them to fall without resistance upon their upturned faces.\*

Dante mutely assents to Brunetto's request, his whole demeanour showing that he feels no repugnance whatever for the shade at his feet.

> Io non osava scender † della strada Per andar par di lui : ma il capo chino t Tenea, com' uom che reverente vada.

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\*In this girone there is no mention made of demons or other ministers of torment. How then would the hundred years' penalty be enforced?

+ Io non osava scender, etc.: Compare Inf. xvi, 46-51:-

"S' io fussi stato dal foco coperto, Gittato mi sarei tra lor disotto,

E credo che il Dottor l' avria sofferto. Ma perch' io mi sarei bruciato e cotto,

Vinse paura la mia buona voglia, Che di loro abbracciar mi facea ghiotto."

Compare also Purg. xxvi, 100-102:-

"E senza udire e dir pensoso andai,

Lunga fiata rimirando lui, Nè per lo foco in là più m' appressai."

ma il capo chino tenea : Compare this with Dante's attitude when walking alongside of the spirits of the Proud in Purgatory (Purg. xi, 73-78):—
"Ascoltando, chinai in giù la faccia;

Ed un di lor (non questi che parlava) Si torse sotto il peso che lo impaccia; E videmi e conobbemi e chiamava, Tenendo gli occhi con fatica fisi

A me, che tutto chin con loro andava."

50

I did not dare to descend from the causeway to walk level with him: but I kept my head bowed down like a man who walks reverently.

Division II.—After the interchange of a few remarks between Dante and his old friend, Brunetto predicts Dante's future adversity at the hands of his countrymen. He first asks Dante how, and by whom guided, he has come alive into Hell.

Ei cominció:—" Qual fortuna \* o destino Anzi l' ultimo di quaggiù ti mena ? E chi è questi che mostra il cammino ?"

He began: "What fortune or what fate leadeth thee here below before the last day (i.e. the end of thy life)? And who is he that is showing the way?"

Dante answers Brunetto's first question by telling him that he fell into the paths of sin during his youth, and that he has now only begun to seek after a state of salvation (and here he replies to the second question), under the guidance of Virgil, whom however Dante does not mention by his name.

-- "Là su di sopra in la vita serena,"

Rispos' io lui,-- "mi smarri' in una valle,

Avanti che l' età mia fosse piena.†

And Purg. xii, 1, 2:—
"Di pari, come buoi che vanno a giogo,
M' andava io con quella anima carca."

\* Qual fortuna, et seq.: Compare Virg. Æn. vi, 531-534:—
"Sed te qui vivum casus, age fare vicissim,
Attulerint. Pelagine venis erroribus actus,
An monitu divûm? an, quae te fortuna fatigat,
Ut tristes sine sole domos, loca turbida, adires?"

t l' età . . . piena : That is, before my age had attained its fullest vigour. In Conv. iv, 23, ll. 50-110, Dante defines a man's

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Pure ier mattina \* le volsi le spalle : Questi † m' apparve, tornando io in quella,

full age at thirty five years: "La nostra vita . . . siccome un arco quasi tutte le vite ritiene . . . montando e volgendo convengono essere quasi ad immagine d' arco assimiglianti. Tornando dunque alla nostra sola [vita] . . . ella procede ad immagine di questo Arco, montando e discendendo . . . Là dove sia il punto sommo di questo Arco . . . è forte [difficult] da sapere; ma . . . io credo che nelli perfettamente naturati esso ne sia nel trentacinquesimo anno . . Al trentacinquesimo anno di Cristo era il colmo della sua età." Compare also Ephes. iv, 13 (Vulgate): "Donec occurramus omnes in unitatem fidei, et agnitionis Filii Dei, in virum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi." Dante, we must remember, is speaking to Brunetto of a time in his life before this; and we know from Purg. xxxi, 34-36, that he turned aside from the contemplation of heavenly things soon after the death of Beatrice when he was only twenty-five years old. In that passage he confesses to her:—

"... Le presenti cose
Col falso lor piacer volser miei passi
Tosto che il vostro viso si nascose."

In Inf. i, 1 3, Dante does not say that he went astray when he was 35 years old, but that he then awoke to the consciousness of having done so, and thereupon turned and endeavoured to retrace his steps. Some, including Mr. Tozer, have interpreted Avanti che l' età mia fosse piena as signifying "before I had accomplished the period of life allotted to me by God," but the other interpretation is usually considered the right one.

\* Pure ier mattina: Daniello points out that Dante had consumed an entire day in trying to scale the mountain; in defending himself from the three wild beasts; and in conferring with Virgil; he had entered into Hell on the night of Good Friday, and, as it was now about 4 a.m. on the early morning of Easter Eve, we are able to verify his statement that only the day before had he turned his back upon that valley in which he had lost himself.

† Questi: Dante never discloses Virgil's identity but when it is strictly necessary; as, for instance, when Virgil becomes the spokesman in addressing Ulysses (Inf. xxvi, 73-84) because, as a Greek, the latter would have been disinclined to take part in a conversation with a person of modern times like Dante. This avoidance of Virgil's name both here and in other pas-

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E riducemi a ca † per questo calle."-

"There up above in the tranquil life," answered I him, "I went astray in a valley, before that my age was full. Only yestermorn did I turn my back upon it (the valley): this one (Virgil) appeared to me, when I was retrograding into it (the vale of sin), and he is guiding me by this path to my home."

Brunetto would seem to be either unable or unwilling to understand the full purport of the above reply of Dante. He had asked Dante what turn in the wheel of fortune had brought him down to Hell before his death. Dante has replied that he found himself going astray, and leading a life which would have led to his destruction, and which he had quitted but vesterday on the appearance of Virgil (Reason), who is putting him in the way of retracing his steps and seeking out his natural abode in Heaven. Brunetto evidently ignores the nature of the home Dante has in prospect; he takes it for granted that honourable fame as a Poet or Rhetorician is the goal that Dante is seeking; and seems to tell him that long ago he had, as an astrologer, drawn his horoscope, and that if Dante will only follow the course therein marked out for him, his reputation will be glorious.

sages in the Inferno, is undoubtedly due to reverence on the part of Dante, who never mentions the name of God, or of the Virgin Mary, while he is traversing Hell.

<sup>†</sup> ca for casa: Nannucci (Teorica dei Nomi, p. 662) observes: "Così i Greci δῶ per δῶμα, ed i Latini do per domum. Nel dialetto veneziano ca s' usa nel senso di casata [surname], famiglia, premettendosi al nome di quelle sole famiglie, come ca Quirino, ca Pisano, etc. In qualche altro s' ode ancora nel senso di casa," In the Ital.



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Ed egli a me :- "Se tu segui tua stella,\* Non puoi fallire al glorioso porto, Se ben m' accorsi nella vita bella: † E s' io non fossi sì per tempo i morto, Veggendo il cielo a te così benigno, Dato t' avrei all' opera conforto.

55

And he to me: "If thou follow thy star, thou canst not fail to reach the glorious haven (of

translation of Matt. vii, 24, we find: "Edifica la ca sua sopra la pietra." And in Salvini's transl. of Iliad, xiv:-"Vener se n' andò a ca di Giove figlia.

And Boccaccio, Teseide, vii, 32:-

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"In questa vide la ca dello iddio

Armipotente." \* Se tu segui tua stella, et seq.: Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, i, p. 175) compares this passage, and Par. xvii, 65, with Æn. VI, 95 :-

"Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito,

Quam tua te fortuna sinet."

+ nella vita bella : Some texts read in la vita novella, meaning, "If I judged rightly of the promise of thine early youth." Dante represents Brunetto in Hell looking back regretfully to la vita bella, the beautiful life on earth; compare also Inf. vii, 58, 59, where the Misers and Prodigals are said to have had the fair world taken from them :-

"Mal dare e mal tener lo mondo pulcro

Ha tolto loro."

Dr Moore (Textual Criticism, p. 107, note) cites another variant vita fella as existing in a MS. of the Biblioteca di San Marco at Venice.

t si per tempo: This does not mean that Brunetto died young, for as a matter of fact, he was over eighty when he died, but that he did not live long enough to be able to give assistance to Dante in his literary and civil career. Dante wanted it to be known that Brunetto's opinions would have coincided with his own. According to Lana, Brunetto would say: "Had I lived longer I would have brought thee into the perfection of knowledge." Lord Vernon interprets the phrase as meaning that Brunetto would have encouraged Dante in the study of the other sciences, and in the exercise of virtuous and honourable deeds. Per tempo is equivalent to "Un po' prima del tempo debito, o dell' ordinario." (Gran Dizionario). Compare Inf. xxvi, 10, where per tempo again means "too soon."

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Science), if I well discerned in the beauteous life (i.e., while on earth): and had I not died so much too soon, I would have given thee encouragement in the work, seeing Heaven so gracious unto thee.

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Buti points out that the will to follow the influence of the constellations, or not, rests in Man himself. Camerini, quoting from some work of Nannucci, says that in May, 1265, the month of Dante's birth, the Sun entered into the Constellation of Gemini, which, in the language of the Astrologers was the "significator" of Writing, of Science, and of Cognoscitive Power (cognoscibilitate); and hence Brunetto, when he drew Dante's horoscope, had pretended to foresee that he could not fail to reach the glorious haven.

James Russell Lowell, in his Essay on Dante, considers the inference usually drawn from this passage, that Brunetto Latini drew Dante's horoscope and predicted for him a great destiny, is absurd. I am unable to think so. The error, if it be one, is held by Lana, Benvenuto,\* Buti, Gelli, Daniello, Boccaccio, Tommaséo, Nannucci, Lombardi, Scartazzini, Biagioli, Witte and other distinguished Commentators, though *Philalethes* and Lubin take the opposite view. There is no reason to think that Brunetto did not believe in Astrology like other men of science in his day.

Brunetto, after having shown how worthy his pupil

<sup>\*</sup> Benvenuto speaks hesitatingly; and cannot be altogether classed in favour of this view, for he adds: "vel melius credo quod judicat secundum bonam physonomiam... quia consideravit saepe bonam indolem istius pueri, qui videbatur bene aptus a natura."

is of a better fate, predicts the adversity that will befall him at the hands of that Florentine people for whom he has done so much, and Benvenuto remarks that for the most part it is the case that different States have returned evil for good to their noblest and most meritorious citizens, as did Rome to Scipio. Athens to Theseus, and so on.

> Ma quell' ingrato \* popolo maligno, Che discese di Fiesole ab antico, E tiene ancor del monte e del macigno,

\*quell' ingrato popolo maligno, che discese di Fiesole: Scartazzini has a valuable note on these lines, in which he says that according to the old Florentine tradition, Fiesole was the finest city in the world, or at least the first ever built in Europe. It was destroyed by Julius Cæsar, and the Romans built a new city, Florence, which was to be peopled, half by the Fiesolan people, and half by Roman citizens; so that the city of Florence took its origin from Fiesole. The tradition goes on to say that Attila caused Florence to be destroyed and Fiesole to be rebuilt, though both Villani and Macchiavelli assert that it was Totila who destroyed Florence. As a matter of fact Attila never came near it, while Totila besieged it, but did not take it. (Vide Gibbon, vols. iv and v, and Hodgkin, iv, 449). Florence was said to have been rebuilt either by the Romans or by Charlemagne, and later on, the Florentines, after destroying Fiesole, allowed its inhabitants to come and live at Florence. Villani thinks that this mixture of Romans and Fiesolans is the reason of the continued feuds and divisions among the Florentines. This was also the belief of Dante, for in Par. xvi, 67-69 he makes his great-great-grandfather Cacciaguida attribute the ills of the State to the original admixture of races, though he is not confining himself to that of the Florentines with the Fiesolans alone, but with their neighbours in all the districts round Florence. Cacciaguida says :-

"Sempre la confusion delle persone Principio fu del mal della cittade, Come del corpo il cibo che s' appone."

See also Par. xvi, 121, 122.

Dante claimed to be descended from the ancient Romans, and he is careful to distinguish those Florentines who descended from Fiesole from the so-called pure Roman seed.



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Ti si farà, per tuo ben far,\* nimico:

Ed è ragion; chè tra li lazzi sorbi †

Si disconvien fruttare al dolce fico.

Vecchia fama nel mondo li chiama orbi,‡

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For the former he entertains the most sovereign contempt. He accuses the Florentines who came from Fiesole of still retaining the hardness of the mountain and the roughness of the granite. Dante thought all mountaineers very stupid and corrupt. This is explained by Boccaccio: "They still smack of the mountain, in that they are rustic and savage, and of the granite, in that they are hard and not capable of being moulded to any liberal or civil graces." Scartazzini takes his authorities from Villani, Ricordano Malespini and Macchiavelli (Istorie Fiorentine), Scipio Ammirato (Istorie Fiorentine, 1600), and from Boccaccio.

\*per tuo ben far: Dante's party, the Bianchi, were bitterly opposed both to Pope Boniface VIII and to Charles of Valois, and it will be seen in the sentence of condemnation of the chiefs of the Bianchi, 27th Jan. 1302, that for such opposition they paid dear, and Dante among them. The following is quoted from some chronicle by Bartoli: "Et quod commiserint, vel committi fecerint, fraudem vel barattariam in pecunia vel rebus communis Florentie; vel quod darent sive expenderent contra Summum Pontificem et dominum Karolum pro resistentia sui adventus, vel contra statum pacificum civitatis Florentie et Partis Guelforum." (Bartoli, Storia Lett. It. vol. v, pp. 131-136).

† By lazzi sorbi are to be understood those Florentines who were descended from the Fiesolans, and by dolce fico the Florentines descended from the ancient Romans. Compare Matt. vii, 16: "Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather

grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"

† orbi: Commentators do not agree as to the origin of the saying Fiorentini ciechi. Some assert that while the Pisan forces had gone to conquer the Island of Majorca, then held by the Saracens, the Florentines undertook to guard Pisa against the Lucchese who were threatening it; and the Pisans on their return offered the Florentines their choice of two rewards: either the celebrated bronze doors that now adorn the Cathedral of Pisa; or two columns of porphyry which from envy the Pisans had first purposely injured by fire, and had then concealed under scarlet drapery. These two columns are to this day standing on either side of Ghiberti's beautiful doors, on the side of the Baptistery at Florence that faces the

Gent' è avara, invidiosa e superba : Da' lor costumi fa che tu ti forbi.\*

But that ungrateful malignant people (of Florence), which of old time came down from Fiesole. and even now retains somewhat of the mountain (i.e. rusticity) and of the rock (i.e. obstinacy), will for thy good deeds become thy foes: and it is right; for it is not fitting for the sweet fig tree to bear its fruit among the harsh crab-apples. Old report in the world proclaims them blind, they are an avaricious, envious, and arrogant race: see that thou cleanse thyself from their ways.

Gelli thinks that at this point in the conversation Brunetto, fearing that the displeasing announcement he had made to Dante might cause him too much distress and perturbation of mind, now seeks to console him by showing him that, whatever injury the Florentine people might do him, he would find that each of the two parties would seek to win him over to their side. Benvenuto speaks of the two factions as the exiling and the exiled (pellens et pulsa).

Cathedral. Tradition says that the Florentines chose these, and when they discovered the fraud exclaimed: "O quanto siamo stati ciechi nel confidare in volpi pisane!" Benvenuto relates this story at length, but says he neither believes it, nor yet another fable told by Boccaccio in his book De Fluminibus, that the Florentines were called blind because Hannibal lost an eye from the effects of cold caught during the inundation of the Arno. He thinks they were called blind for having believed in the fair words of Attila (i.e. Totila), and opened their gates to him. (See note at the end of Canto xiii). But the origin of this proverb of the Fiorentini ciechi is hid in profound darkness, like all other proverbs, because they take their birth in the mouths of the populace.

<sup>\*</sup> forbi : Compare Petrarch, Trionfo della Castità, 106 :-"Com' uom ch' è sano, e 'n un momento ammorba, Che sbigottisce e duolsi; o côlto in atto Che vergogna con man dagli occhi forba,"



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	La tua fortuna tanto onor ti serba,	70
	Che l' una parte e l' altra * avranno fame	
	Di te: ma lungi fia dal becco l' erba.	
	Faccian le bestie Fiesolane strame †	
	Di lor medesme, e non tocchin la pianta,	
	S' alcuna surge ancor nel lor letame,	75
	In cui riviva la semente santa ‡	
	Di quei Roman che vi rimaser quando	
	Fu fatto il nido di malizia tanta."-	

Thy fortune reserves for thee so much honour, that the one party and the other will have hunger for thee: but far will be the herbage from the goat. Let the beasts of Fiesole make litter of themselves, and let them not touch the plant—if any yet springs up upon their dunghill—in which

"sì che a te fia bello Averti fatta parte per te stesso." (Par. xvii, 68, 60).

tstrame signifies any kind of grass, hay or straw that can serve the cattle either for food or litter.

‡ la semente santa, et seq.: Gelli remarks that Dante calls the Roman people holy, not alone because they were approved by all the world as the most worthy, just and virtuous race that ever existed, as that they were elected by God in His new law as the chosen people among whom Peter founded his Church, just as the Jews were the chosen race under the old dispensation. Dante shows this in Conv. iv, 5, where he speaks of God having preordained that people and that city, the glorious Rome, in which was to be concentrated the Universal Government of the Earth. He calls the Romans divini cittadini (l. 102 and l. 147) and ibid. ll. 176-179 he says: "Per che più chiedere non si dee a vedere, che spezial nascimento e spezial processo da Dio pensato e ordinato fosse quello della santa Città." In De Mon. ii, 5, l. 37, Dante speaks of the Romans as "populus ille sanctus, pius et gloriosus."

<sup>\*</sup> I' una parte e l' altra, etc.: Dante never was after his exile especially attached to either party, though before it he had belonged to the Bianchi faction, and had been with many of them driven into banishment. He tells us, in the form of a prophecy made to him by his ancestor Cacciaguida, that he rather had made a party for himself:—

there still may revive the sacred seed of those Romans, who remained there (at Florence), when (at its foundation) it became the nest of so much wickedness."

This speech is intricate, and will require minute explanation, Brunetto tells Dante that both the Neri and the Bianchi will have hunger for him. meaning that each party will try to win him over to their side; but they will hunger in vain. It will no more be given to either to boast of success, than to the goat that is stretching up to snatch at herbage beyond its reach. In speaking of the bestie \* Fiesolane, Brunetto is alluding to the Florentine families of Fiesolan descent, and contemptuously remarks that they are welcome to make litter of themselves (i.e. to trample down and oppress each other), but he warns them not to dare to injure the parent stem (i.e. the old families of genuine Roman descent), if ought is still left of it in such a dunghill of corruption as Florence has become. In other words he would say: "By all means let the base citizens of Florence that are of Fiesolan extraction oppress, trample, devour and make havoc of each other, but let them not lav a finger on any of the inheritors of the pure Roman blood, from which, and not from the Fiesolans, you, Dante, claim that your family descends."

Benvenuto quotes an old tradition that after the [so-called] overthrow of Florence by Attila, some of

<sup>\*</sup>bestia is commonly used in Tuscany to denote mere stupidity. A Tuscan wishing to say: "Oh how stupid of me!" will simply say "Bestia!"

the most ancient Florentine nobility sent an embassy to Charlemagne at Rome, asking for his protection while they were rebuilding their city. Among the Roman knights who came was one of the great family of the Frangipani. From him descended the Elisei, and from them the Allighieri. It is manifest, therefore, says Benvenuto, that Dante could prove his noble descent from the most ancient Roman lineage.

Division III.—In Il. 58-60 Brunetto had assured Dante that had he himself not died prematurely, he would gladly have given him continual help in his work. Dante now confides to Brunetto how often he has longed for it, how much he misses the encouragement of his beloved counsellor, and how he wishes he were yet alive.

—" Se fosse tutto pieno il mio dimando,"

Risposi lui,—" voi non sareste ancora 80

Dell' umana natura posto in bando:

Chè in la mente m' è fitta,\* ed or mi accora

La cara e buona imagine † paterna

Di voi, quando nel mondo ad ora ad ora

M' insegnavate come l' uom s' eterna: 85

E quant' io l' abbia ‡ in grado, mentre io vivo

Convien che nella mia lingua si scerna.

<sup>\*</sup> in la mente m' è fitta, et seq.: Compare Virg. Æn. iv, 4:—
"... haerent infixi pectore vultus."

timagine: The Gran Dizionario under § 13 says of imagine: "Ricordanza d' affetto" and quotes the present passage.

<sup>†</sup> abbia in grado: See Gran Dizionario, s.v. grado, § 27, avere in grado. Of the present passage it is said "quant" io l' abbia in grado, e l' insegnamento e l' imagine, i.e. e l' amo e son grato," etc.

"Had my petitions been wholly granted," I answered him, "you would not yet have been hunished from the human race (i.e. by death): for in my memory is fixed, and still goes to my very heart that dear, kind, and paternal countenance of yours when for hours and hours in the world you used to teach me how man makes himself eternal: and how much I cherish it (i.e. the recollection of your teaching and your face), as long as I live must be shown forth in my tongue (i.e. in my writings).

Dante means that it goes to his heart to see the features of his beloved old friend scorched and disfigured almost beyond power of recognition.

Lana interprets the last line as signifying that Dante has so appreciated the influence of Brunetto's teaching that he will let it give its impress to his poetry so that his tongue may not appear silent about it.

Dante now assures Brunetto that he will carefully note down all that he has been foretelling him about the future events of his life, but that he shall not attempt any elucidation, until he reaches the presence of Beatrice, either of his words or of "another text," by which he is referring to the predictions of Ciacco and Farinata.

Ciò che narrate di mio corso scrivo, E serbolo a chiosar con altro testo \* A donna che saprà, se a lei arrivo.

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<sup>\*</sup> serbolo a chiosar con altro testo: It is not entirely correct that Dante was to have these predictions explained to him by Beatrice, for it is Cacciaguida who does so as spokesman for her in Par. xvii, in which Canto there is so close a correspondence with the allusions in the present one, that it is difficult to assign to the different quotations their proper



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That which you tell (me) of my career I write down, and together with another text I reserve it to be interpreted by a Lady (Beatrice), if ever I get to her, who will know (it all).

Lana remarks that this is as though Dante would say: "I well understand what the natural sciences announce, but I am disposed to believe only what the Science of Theology lays down about the matter." Gelli thinks con altro testo to mean that Dante will seek an explanation of the obscure events of his future life predicted in the horoscope drawn by Ser Brunetto at his birth "con altro che d'astrologia, cioè con le sacre scritture."

Dante in conclusion tells Brunetto that whatever

places in illustrating many words and allusions in this passage. Dante tells Cacciaguida of the continual hints he has received, both in Hell and in Purgatory, as to the evil days that are likely to befall him, and though he feels himself solid against his fate, still he would like to know what it is going to be. (See Il. 19-27):—

be. (See Il. 19-27):—

"Mentre ch' io era a Virgilio congiunto
Su per lo monte che l' anime cura,
E discendendo nel mondo defunto,

Dette mi fur di mia vita futura

Parole gravi: avvenga ch' io mi senta Ben tetragono ai colpi di ventura. Per che la voglia mia saria contenta

D' intender qual fortuna mi s' appressa ; Chè saetta previsa vien più lenta."

The altro testo would more especially refer to the words that he has already heard from Ciacco (Inf. vi) and from Farinata (Inf. x), and it was on the latter occasion that Virgil informed him that he would learn from a Lady in Heaven about the journey of his life (da lei saprai di tua vita il viaggio, Inf. x, 132). When Cacciaguida has ended his predictions, he sums up thus (Par. xvii, 94-96):

"... Figlio, queste son le chiose
Di quel che ti fu detto; ecco le insidie
Che dietro a pochi giri son nascose,"

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be the adversity in store for him, he is prepared to face it with an undaunted heart, so long as he can feel himself pure in life and upright in deeds.

Tanto vogl' io che vi sia manifesto,
Pur che mia coscienza \* non mi garra,†
Che alla fortuna, come vuol, son presto.‡
Non è nuova agli orecchi miei tale arra:
Però giri fortuna la sua rota,
Come le piace, e il villan la sua marra."—

I only desire this one thing to be manifest to you, that provided my conscience upbraid me not, I am prepared for Fortune as she list. Such earnestmoney (i.e. anticipation) is not new to my ears:

\*coscienza: In Inf. xxviii, 115 117, Dante speaks of a pure conscience:

"Se non che coscienza mi assicura,

La buona compagnia che l' uom francheggia

Sotto l' osbergo del sentirsi pura."

And in Conv. iv, 11, ll. 83-85: "disse Aristotile che 'quanto
più l' uomo soggiace all' intelletto, tanto meno soggiace alla
fortuna."

Compare also Hor. Epist. I, i, 60, 61:—
"Hic murus aënius esto,

Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa."

Again, Ovid, Fast. i, 485, 486:-

"Conscia mens ut cuique sua est, ita concipit intra Pectora pro facto, spemque metumque suo."

tgarra: From garrere, an obsolete form of garrire, to re prove, to upbraid.

‡ alla fortuna, come vuol, son presto: Dr. Moore (Studies in Dante, i, p. 175) remarks that there are many interesting points of resemblance between the foretellings of Dante's troubles by Brunetto Latini in Inf. xv, and by Cacciaguida in Par. xvii, with the similar warnings imparted to Æneas by the Sybii in Æn. vi, and in each case the encouraging assurance of ultimate success. Compare with the present passage Æn. vi, 103-105:—

"Non ulla laborum,
O virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit;
Omnia praecepi, atque animo mecum ante peregi."

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therefore let Fortune turn her wheel as it pleases her, and the clown his mattock."

The reference by Dante here is to the bestie Fiesolane. Lana thinks that by the clown is signified
the sensitive appetite. Boccaccio explains it that
Dante alludes to the Florentines of Fiesolan extraction, more as country boors than as citizens, and
means, "Let them do their wicked will against me,
just as the clown turns the earth in all directions
with his shovel."

While Dante has been speaking these words, the Poets have been walking along the raised causeway, Virgil in front, Dante behind, while Brunetto Latini is keeping pace with them on the sand below, on Dante's right.

Lo mio Maestro allora in sulla gota

Destra si volse indietro, e riguardommi;

Poi disse:—" Bene ascolta \* chi la nota."—

My Master thereupon turned backward on his right side (lit. cheek), and looked at me; then he said: "He listens well who gives heed thereto."

If Virgil had turned to his left to speak to Dante, he would have turned his back upon Brunetto, an act of discourtesy quite incompatible with the usage of so well-bred a man as Virgil. And besides, in turning by the right he is in the more proper attitude for expressing approval of a well-omened speech. He turns therefore to his right, and half facing Dante,

<sup>\*</sup> Bene ascolta chi la nota: By this, Virgil means to tell Dante, that if he wished to profit by Brunetto's words, he must retain them in his memory; for they bear a far more serious import upon his future life than Dante seems to realise.

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looks fixedly at him to attract his attention, and then repeats to him in the form of a proverb, the same idea he had expressed when they had just quitted Farinata degli Uberti (Inf. x, 127).

It must be remembered, moreover, that Virgil must have made this remark, while still walking on, to Dante walking behind him. As Brunetto had perforce to keep in ceaseless movement, the two Poets must have been going fast, and the expression "turned himself backward (lit.) on his right cheek (in sulla destra gota)" exactly describes the action that would take place if a man walking fast turns his head to speak to another walking fast behind him.

Division IV.—Dante now changes the conversation from his own affairs, and questions Brunetto about his companions in suffering.

> Nè per tanto di men parlando vommi Con ser Brunetto, e domando chi sono Li suoi compagni più noti e più sommi.

Yet not the less for this (interposition of Virgil) do I walk on conversing with Ser Brunetto, and I ask who are his companions the most noteworthy and illustrious.

Most Commentators give the above interpretation to the words più noti e più sommi, but Benvenuto takes them in a bad sense, as signifying those who were the most notorious and depraved.

Brunetto answers Dante very much as Farinata had done, by naming some of the most distinguished, and passing over the rest in silence, only that he explains away this reticence with the remark that



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there is no time to mention so many. He also tells Dante of what professions they were.

Ed egli a me:—"Saper d'alcuno è buono:
Degli altri fia laudabile tacerci,\*
Chè il tempo saria corto a tanto suono.

In somma sappi, che tutti fur cherci,
E letterati grandi, † e di gran fama,
D' un peccato medesmo al mondo lerci.

\*tacerci: Compare Canto x, 116-120, where Farinata degli Uberti makes a similar reply to Dante's question:—

"Perch' io pregai lo spirto più avaccio Che mi dicesse chi con lui si stava. Dissemi: 'Qui con più di mille giaccio; Qua dentro è lo secondo Federico È il Cardinale, e degli altri mi taccio.'"

† letterati grandi: Dante seems to have felt much compunction and some fear in bringing so many distinguished names into disrepute, and we find that in Par. xvii he confides his scruples to his ancestor Cacciaguida (ll. 112-117):—

"Giù per lo mondo senza fine amaro,
E per lo monte, del cui bel cacume
Gli occhi della mia Donna mi levaro
E poscia per lo ciel di lume in lume,
Ho io appreso quel che, s' io ridico,
A molti fia sanor di forte agruppa"

A molti fia sapor di forte agrume."

[will be to many a savour of much disrelish.]

Cacciaguida replies that they alone who have guilty consciences will feel any inconvenience from his plain speaking, and he adds

(ll. 127-135):—

"Ma nondimen, rimossa ogni menzogna,
Tutta tua vision fa manifesta,
E lascia pur grattar dov' è la rogna;

Questo tuo grido farà come vento,
Che le più alte cime più percote;
E ciò non fa d' onor poco argomento."
And that is why, both in Paradise, in Purgatory, and in Hell he has only been shown (ll. 138-142):—

"Pur l'anime che son di fama note; Che l'animo di quel ch' ode non posa, Nè ferma fede per esemplo ch' haia La sua radice incognita e nascosa, 'tro argomento che non paia." And he to me: "It is good (for thee) to know of some: of the others it will be praiseworthy for us to be silent, for the time would be short for so much speech (i.e. to name so many). Know in brief, that all were clerics, and great men of letters and of great renown, on earth polluted by the one same crime.

Brunetto only mentions to Dante those shades who are in his own band, who in life were clerics and men of letters. We shall read in the following Canto that

All the shades alluded to in these two Cantos are personages

of the most exalted rank and position.

Benvenuto speaks with disgust and horror of the enormity of the offence of these wretched beings. He says: "Ah quam melius erat istis habuisse uxorem, imo secundum legem Machometti plures uxores et concubinas!" Further on, Benvenuto speaks of the very difficult position in which he found himself while giving these lectures in the University at Bologna, when he perceived that this crime was so very prevalent that he had either to be a tacit witness or expose it; the latter course, which he adopted, placing his life in the greatest danger. give his own words in the original: "Et hic nota, lector, quod vidi aliquando viros sapientes magnæ literaturæ conquerentes, et dicentes, quod pro certo Dantes nimis male locutus est nominando tales viros. Et certe ego quando primo vidi literam istam, satis indignatus fui; sed postea experientia teste didici, quod hic sapientissimus poeta optime fecit. Nam in mecclxxv, dum essem Bononiæ, et legerem librum istum, reperi aliquos vermes natos de cineribus sodomorum, inficientes totum illud studium: nec valens diutius ferre fœtorem tantum cujus fumus jam fuscabat astra, non sine gravi periculo meo rem patefeci Petro cardinali Bituricensi, tunc legato Bononiæ; qui vir magnæ virtutis et scientiæ detestans tam abominabile scelus, mandavit inquiri contra principales, quorum aliqui capti sunt. et multi territi diffugerunt. Et nisi quidam sacerdos proditor, cui erat commissum negotium, obviasset, quia laborabat pari morbo cum illis, multi fuissent traditi flammis ignis; quas si vivi effugerunt, mortui non evadent hic, nisi forte bona pænitudo extinxerit aqua lacrymarum et compunctionis. Ex hoc autem incurri capitale odium et inimicitiam multorum ; sed divina justitia me contra istos hostes naturæ huc usque benigne protexit."

the next band were of other professions. They seem to have been divided into classes, the shades in the one class being strictly forbidden to mix with those of another.

Brunetto now picks out a few names that he thinks worthy of Dante's notice.

Priscian \* sen va con quella turba grama, E Francesco † d' Accorso; anco vedervi, S' avessi avuto di tal tigna brama,

\* Priscian: Priscianus Cæsariensis was a celebrated grammarian born in Cappadocia in the sixth century of the Christian era. Benvenuto and Bargigi, not probably very correctly, describe him as an apostate monk. The old Commentators, and notably Boccaccio and the Anonimo Fiorentino, hesitate much as to any evidence of his being guilty of the odious crime punished here, but think he is placed here to represent a class, as the teachers of the young in those days seem to have had a detestable reputation. In later times Ariosto wrote in a similar strain in his Satire addressed to Cardinal Bembo, imploring him to turn his attention to securing a high tone of morality in the teachers of the young, and not to select them merely for their learning. He then apostrophises the crimes of the existing teachers:—

"O nostra male avventurosa etade!

Che le virtuti che non abbian misti
Vizi nefandi si ritrovin rade.

Pochi ci son grammatici e umanisti
Senza il vizio per cui Dio Sabaot
Fece Gomorra e i suoi vicini tristi,
Che mandò il foco giù dal Cielo et quot
Eran tutti consunse, sicchè a pena
Campò fuggendo un innocente Lot."

† Francesco d' Accorso was a Florentine, son of the celebrated Accorso da Bagnolo (Accursius), a jurist of great reputation, author of the Glossa or Commentary of the Code of Justinian. He was a Professor at Bologna, and is said to have been induced by Edward I., who was passing through that city on his return from the Crusades in 1273, to accompany him to England, which Francesco did. Dr. Paget Toynbee (Dante Dictionary, s.v. Accorso) says that he lectured some time at Oxford, being provided with free quarters in the "King's

Readings on the Inferno.

Canto xv.

Colui \* potei che dal servo de' servi Fu trasmutato d' Arno in Bacchiglione, Dove lasciò li mal protesi nervi.

Manor," i.e. Beaumont Palace, the traditional birthplace of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, the memory of which is preserved in the name of the present Beaumont Street. He returned to Bologne in 1281, enriched by the munificence of the King of

England, and died there in 1293.

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\* Colui . . . che . . . fu trasmutato d' Arno in Bacchiglione : The personage here alluded to is Andrea de' Mozzi, who from the deplorable reputation he had earned as Bishop of Florence, on account of his addiction to the crimes punished in this Circle, was translated to Vicenza, near which flows the Bacchiglione. and there he died in February, 1296, during the papacy of Boniface VIII. The Anonimo Fiorentino says that he rendered himself utterly unfit to be a bishop, owing to his abominable crimes, as well as for his gross stupidity. Benvenuto is unable to conceal his utter contempt for him, and begins by telling his reader that he wishes him to know with much laughter (volo te scire cum non modico risu) who this wretched creature is. goes on to describe the ridicule into which his sacred office was brought by the absurdity of his utterances and gestures in the pulpit, by which circumstance he made himself the laughingstock of the lowest of the populace. He speaks of him thus: Iste ergo magnus bestionus a natura, laborabat isto vitio bestialitatis contra naturam. Benvenuto feels certain that Dante alludes to his translation to Vicenza in order to expose a further indignity done by him. He relates that on one occasion Bishop Andrea was preaching, and in the peroration to his sermon he spoke as follows: "O Lords and Ladies, I wish to recommend to you my sister-in-law, Monna Tessa, who is going to Rome; for in truth, if for a short time she was unsteady and facile, she has now turned over a new leaf; and therefore she is going to Rome to obtain Indulgence." The Bishop's brother, Tommaso de' Mozzi, a great jurist, unable any longer to tolerate such follies and the increasing notoriety of his brother's vices, with much prudence brought about his translation to the see of Vicenza by Pope Nicholas III, of the Orsini family. The words servo de servi refer to the expression in the Papal Bulls, which styles him servus servorum Dei.

Compare the Third Satire of Ariosto in reference to the

promises made by Pope Leo X, l. 202:—
"Ma quando cardinale o de li servi

lo sia il gran servo, e non ritrovo anco Termine i desideri miei protervi," etc.



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Priscian goes along with that wretched crowd, and Francesco d' Accorso; and besides, hadst thou had any hankering after such scum, thou mightst have seen among them him (Bishop Andrea de' Mozzi) who by the Servant of Servants (i.e. the Pope) was translated from Arno to Bacchiglione, where (at his death) he left his sin-strained sinews.

These last unpleasing words probably mean one to infer that he persisted in his abominable crime until the day of his death. Benvenuto is very positive that the passage must be taken in that sense.

Vicenza, of which Andrea de' Mozzi was Bishop, is situated on the river Bacchiglione, as is Florence upon the Arno.

Brunetto now excuses himself from speaking of others, by the necessity for his immediate departure from Dante's side in order to avoid another group of sinners who are approaching; and after commending his *Tesoro*, his principal work, to Dante's charge, he rushes off to overtake his own troop.

Di più direi: ma il venir e il sermone
Più lungo esser non puo, però ch' io veggio
Là surger nuovo fummo del sabbione.

Gente vien con la quale esser non deggio;
Siati raccomandato il mio Tesoro \*
Nel quale io vivo ancora; e più non cheggio."—120

It is somewhat remarkable that Gelli, who wrote his lecture on this Canto in 1560, when the Inquisition was in full force in Italy, not only omits all mention of this peccant bishop in the lecture, but even omits the lines of the Canto in which allusion is made to him; either from fear of the terrors of the Inquisition, or from that of incurring the vengeance of a powerful Florentine family. An account of the state of morality existing among the clergy in Gelli's time may be read in J. A. Symond's Renaissance in Italy, Age of the Despots, London, 1880. Chapter on "The Church and Morality."

\* Tesr caccio thinks Brunetto was anxious that Dante

Of more would I tell; but my coming on and our conversation cannot be prolonged, for I see yonder a new smoke rising from the sand-waste. A company is coming with whom I may not be; let my Tresor, in which I am still living, be commended to thee; and more I ask not."

should make his principal work known in the world, and so contribute to his literary reputation. I follow Longfellow, who, after speaking of some other works of Brunetto's, says: "The Tesoro, which is written in French, is a much more ponderous and pretentious volume. Hitherto it has been known only in manuscript, or in the Italian translation of Bono Giamboni, but at length appears as one of the volumes of the Documents Inédits sur l' Histoire de France, under the title of Li Livres dou Tresor . . . a stately quarto of some seven hundred pages which it would assuage the fiery torment of Ser Brunetto to look upon. The work is quaint and curious, but mainly interesting as being written by Dante's schoolmaster [sic], and showing what he knew and what he taught his pupil. I cannot better describe it than in the author's own words, Book I, ch. i: 'The smallest part of this Treasure is like unto ready money, to be expended daily in things needful; that is, it treats of the beginning of time, of the antiquity of old histories, of the creation of the world, and in fine of the nature of all things. . . . The second part, which treats of vices and virtues, is of precious stones, which give unto man delight and virtue; that is to say, what things a man should do, and what he should not, and shows the reason why. . . . The third part of the Treasure is of fine gold; that is to say, it teaches a man to speak according to the rules of rhetoric, and how a ruler ought to guide those beneath him. . . . And I say not that this book is extracted from my own poor sense, and my own naked knowledge, but on the contrary, it is like a honeycomb gathered from diverse flowers; for this book is wholly compiled from the wonderful sayings of the authors who before our time have treated of philosophy, each one according to his knowledge. . . . And if any one shall ask why this book is written in Romance, according to the language of the French, since we are Italian, I should say it is for two reasons; one, because we are in France [Brunetto Latini wrote his Tresor at Paris], and the other because this speech is more delectable and more common to all people (porce que la parleure est plus delitable et plus commune à toutes gens et court parmi le monde).

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The smoke is the cloud of dust raised by the feet \* of the approaching band. Lana thinks that by the dust they caused, this band must be running more swiftly, and may consequently be presumed to be more guilty than Brunetto and his companions. Brunetto does not say who the new comers are, but they would hardly be the same as those mentioned in the next Canto as distinguished for wisdom and prowess with the sword (Canto xvi, 39), for before Dante had encountered these last, so long a time had elapsed as had sufficed to take him a considerable distance onward, and he had then reached a point from which he could hear the roar of the Phlegethon thundering down the tremendous abyss into Malebolge.

Benvenuto thinks that the comparison with which Dante now closes the Canto in describing the rapidity of Brunetto's hurried departure, is both lucid and very amusing. During his sojourn at Verona Dante must often have witnessed the foot-race that took place annually on the first Sunday in Lent for the Pallio or green mantle, in which race, according to Boccaccio, the competitors ran naked.

Dante compares Brunetto as he speeds away to the fleetest of these runners.

> Poi si rivolse, e parve di coloro Che corrono a Verona il drappo verde Per la campagna; e parve di costoro Quegli che vince e non colui che perde.

<sup>\*</sup>The Centaurs in Canto xii detected Dante as a mortal man by the unusual spectacle, to them, of seeing his feet move the stones as he walked. Here we have the shades of the dead kicking up the dust.



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Readings on the Inferno.

Canto xv.

Then he turned back, and seemed as one of those who at Verona race over the open plain for the green cloth; and of these he seemed the one that wins, and not he that loses.

This popular spectacle was instituted to celebrate the victory that was won on the 29th of September, 1207, by Azzo d'Este Podestà of Verona, over the adherents of the Conte di San Bonifazio and the Conte di Montecchi. The Statutes of Verona state that four prizes were to be exhibited for competition, the first of which was to be run for by virtuous women, even if only one could be found. (Exponi debent quatuor bravia, quorum primum sit VI brachiorum panni viridis sambugati et fini; ad quod curretur per mulieres honestas, etiam si esset una).

END OF CANTO XV.

#### CANTO XVI.

THE THIRD ROUND OF THE SEVENTH CIRCLE—THE BURNING SAND (CONTINUED)—THE VIOLENT AGAINST NATURE (CONTINUED)—GUIDO GUERRA—TEGGHIAIO ALDOBRANDI—JACOPO RUSTICUCCI—GUGLIELMO BORSIERE—GERYON.

Many Commentators have contended that the sinners whom Dante encounters in the present Canto were stained with an even deeper dye of guilt than those described in the last Canto; but it is more probable that they are mentioned as having been men in authority and position in public life, in contrast to the clerics and teachers spoken of in the last Canto; the distinction being, not the gravity of the offences, but the position in life of the offenders.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In Division I, from ver. I to ver. 27, Dante relates how he was accosted by the shades of three noble Florentines, and the singular method adopted by them to enable themselves to enjoy a few moments' conversation with him, without pausing in the ceaseless movement to which they were condemned.

In Division II, from ver. 28 to ver. 45, Jacopo Rusticucci, one of the three, names both himself and his companions to Dante, after asking him who he is.

In Division III, from ver. 46 to ver. 90, Dante, replying to the questions addressed to him by the three shades, describes to them the decadence of Florence, which he attributes to the pride and arrogance introduced into the City by the new upstart plutocracy.

In Division IV, ver. 91 to ver. 136 Dante relates how he was conducted by Virgil to the brink of the Great Abyss that overhangs Malebolge down into which the Phlegethon falls, and he describes the monster called up by Virgil to carry them into the Eighth Circle.

Division I .- At the end of the last Canto the Poets had just parted from the shade of Brunetto Latini. who had sped away in pursuit of his own company, as well as to avoid contact with another troop that were approaching, and with whom he told Dante he was not at liberty to consort. We now find that the Poets, who are continuing to traverse the Burning Sand by walking on the petrified and protected margin of the Phlegethon, are addressed by three shades belonging to another band which they encounter, but not that band which Ser Brunetto said he must avoid, for, since their parting with him, the Poets have got over so much ground that they are drawing near to the inside edge of the Third Round. which, we must not forget, is the innermost of the three Rounds of the Seventh Circle, and they can now hear the sound of the Phlegethon falling down into the Eighth Circle.

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Già era in loco ove s' udia il rimbombo \*

Dell' acqua che cadea nell' altro giro,

Simile a quel che l' arnie † fanno rombo;

\*rimbombo: Gelli says that the proper meaning of this word is that reverberation which remains after some sound or noise, more especially in hollow or confined places, and lasts until the air, that has been violently disturbed by the noise, returns into its former condition. And hence the word is also used in a metaphorical sense to denote some voice or memory which is left behind by some well-known thing. Petrarch uses it in both senses. In the metaphorical sense, in Part i, Sonnet cxxxv (in some editions 154):—

" Ma questa pura e candida colomba,

A cui non so s' al mondo mai par visse, Nel mio stil frale assai poco rimbomba."

And in the ordinary sense, in Part i, Sonnet lii (in some editions 60):-

"Ma la sua voce ancor quaggiù rimbomba:—
O voi che travagliate, ecco il cammino;
Venite a me, se 'l passo altri non serra."

See the word bomba in Donkin's Etymological Dictionary, where it is derived from the Latin bombus, buzzing, bustle, bombicus, noisy, whence also bomba bombarda, a noisy missile, bombardare, to bombard; and Italian rimbombare, to re-echo. I have translated il rimbombo "the resound," which noun substantive occurs in Beaumont and Fletcher.

tarnie: In Text, Crit, pp. 312, 313, Dr. Moore remarks that he has no doubt whatever that arnie is the true and genuine reading, but that unfortunately for critical purposes it is in many MSS, quite indistinguishable from the spurious and conjectural reading arme. Boccaccio gives his authority to the correct reading: "cioè era simile a quel rombo che l' arnie fanno, cioè gli alvei o i vasi ne' quali le pecchie [bees] fanno li loro fiari [honeycombs], il quale è un suon confuso, che simigliare non si può ad alcun altro suono." Donkin (ibid.) says we find arna in Spanish, Catalonian; from Gaelic arcan, cork; and cf. Sp. corcha, Ptg. cortico, (1) cork, (2) bee-hive. Virgil (Georg. iv, 260-263) compares the hum of the bees to the moaning of the waves of the sea, of the wind among trees, and of fire in the furnace:—

"Tum sonus auditur gravior tractimque susurrant;
Frigidus ut quondam silvis immurmurat Auster;
Ut mare sollicitum stridit refluentibus undis;
Æstuat ut clausis rapidus fornacibus ignis."

Quando tre ombre \* insieme si partiro Correndo d' una torma che passava Sotto la pioggia dell' aspro martiro. Venian vêr noi, e ciascuna gridava: -" Sostati tu, che all' abito † ne sembri Essere alcun di nostra terra prava."-

I was now in a place where was heard the resound of the water that was falling into the other Circle, like to that humming which beehives make; when three shades together separated themselves, as they ran, from a band that was passing beneath the downpour of the grievous torment. They came towards us, and each of them cried: "Stop thou, who by thy garb seemest to us to be one from our wicked city.

Villani (xii, cap. 4) relates that in olden times before the coming of the Duke of Athens (Walter de Brienne), the dress of the Florentines was the fairest. the noblest and the most dignified of all national costumes, after the fashion of the Roman Toga. Brunone Bianchi describes the Florentine habit as

<sup>\*</sup> Quando tre ombre, et seq.: Compare Purg. v. 28-30:-

<sup>&</sup>quot; E due di loro in forma di messaggi Corsero incontro a noi, e domandarne: 'Di vostra condizion fatene saggi.'"

<sup>+</sup> all' abito ne sembri: Boccaccio notices that by these words one may understand that nearly every city or state in Italy had its own distinctive dress: "che quasi ciascuna città aveva un suo singolar modo di vestire distinto e variato da quello delle circumvicine; perciocchè ancora non eravamo divenuti inghilesi ne' tedeschi, come oggi agli abiti siamo." Benvenuto confirms this, but adds: "At the present day there are as many Florentine costumes as Florentine faces, because they bring them back from the different parts of the world through which they are always rushing about quicker than these spirits over the sand."

being especially distinguished by the lucco \* and the cappucio. The lucco was a robe without any folds, that was gathered in at the waist. Dante was accustomed to wear a cap on his head from which descended two bands, and this cap went by the name of il focale.

It would seem that in his meeting with Brunetto Latini, Dante was more taken up with the recognition of his old friend than with the details of his sufferings. Here, however, as he is quite unacquainted with the faces of the shades that he encounters (though, when he hears their names he knows them by reputation), he dwells more upon the effects he sees upon their persons of the terrible torments they are undergoing.

Aimè, che piaghe vidi ne' lor membri Recenti e vecchie dalle fiamme incese! Ancor men duol, pur ch' io me ne rimembri.†

Ah me! what sores, recent and old, did I see upon their limbs, burnt in by the flames! It grieves me still for them merely when I remember it.

<sup>\*</sup>lucco: Those who were present at the festivities that followed the unveiling of the Facciata of the Duomo of Florence by King Humbert and Queen Margherita of Italy on the 12th May, 1888, might have seen in the never-to-be-forgotten historical procession through the streets of Florence, numbers of modern Florentines arrayed in the mediæval lucco. The same costume was also much used at the historic ball on the following day in the great Municipal Hall of the Cinque Cento, where their Majesties were also present.

tpur ch' io me ne rimembri: Compare Purg. xxvii, 16-18, where Dante casts himself down in an agony of fear at the prospect of entering into the flames, recollecting with horror some terrible scenes that he had witnessed of human beings being burnt to death:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;In sulle man commesse mi protesi,
Guardando il foco, e immaginando forte
Umani corpi già veduti accesi."

Boccaccio thinks their wounds must have resembled those made by red-hot pincers, a not unusual mode of cruel punishment in the 13th century, and one which Dante himself may have witnessed. The old wounds of these shades never healed up, and the ever falling flakes of fire were continually creating new sores.

In all the Divina Commedia there is perhaps no episode more remarkable than that which now occurs, wherein Dante describes Virgil, one of the purest of the ancient Poets, impressing on him the great respect he is to pay to the three personages with whom he is now about to converse. Bartoli (Storia della Letteratura Italiana, Vol. vi, Part ii, pp. 61-70) expresses his extreme disgust, and, quoting the different observations that are made about them, denoting reverence and admiration, in ll. 15, 39, 41, 42, 50, 51, down to the crowning marvel of all, where in Il. 58-60, Dante speaks of their "honoured names," he (Bartoli) comes to the same conclusion referred to in the last Canto, namely, that although Dante has branded all these names with what would be considered indelible infamy in a purer age, the public opinion of Dante's time on this hideous subject must have been different. A marked change in public feeling would seem to have occurred fifty years after the death of Dante respecting this vice, for Benvenuto in Vol. i of his Commentary, after stating at p. 523 how very prevalent it had been when he was at Bologna, speaks about it again at p. 550; and in this later passage, after affirming that Florence had in the past been so bad as to have merited the fate of



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the Cities of the Plain, he concludes by saying: "But by the Grace of God, at this day in the four-teenth century, it seems to have become much more purified."

Alle lor grida il mio Dottor s' attese,

Volse il viso vèr me, ed:—" Ora aspetta,"—

Disse:—" a costor si vuole esser cortese:

E se non fosse il foco che saetta

La natura del loco, io dicerei

Che meglio stesse a te, che a lor, la fretta."—

My Teacher paused attentive to their cries, (then) turned his face to me, and said: "Now wait, to these we must needs be courteous: and were it not for the fire which the nature of the place darts down, I should say that haste would become thee better than them."

Virgil means that were it not for the fire, he should exhort Dante to descend from the margin, and run with all speed to meet them, as they had in their life-time been personages of great dignity.

The Poets have now stayed their steps, and await the questions that the three shades are about to put to them. It must be remembered, as we read in Canto xiv,\* that the whole body of the degraded beings in this Circle were lifting up their voices in an unceasing wail of anguish. To address the Poets standing on the causeway above them, they had been obliged to pause for an instant, but having spoken, we learn that they recommenced their wailing, and adopted the ingenious expedient of forming them-

<sup>\*</sup> See Inf. xiv, 19, 20:—
"D' anime nude vidi molte gregge,
Che piangean tutte assai miseramente,"

selves into a wheel, by joining hands, and running round and round; so that while they continued in motion, they still remained on the same spot, and their attitudes seemed to have reminded Dante of those of wrestlers.

> Ricominciar, come noi ristemmo, ei L' antico verso; e quando a noi fur giunti, Fenno una rota di sè tutti e trei. Qual soleno \* i campion far nudi ed unti, Avvisando lor presa e lor vantaggio, Prima che sien tra lor battuti e punti: + Così, rotando, ciascuno il visaggio I Drizzava a me, sì che in contrario il collo Faceva a' piè continuo viaggio.

\*Oual soleno: Dr. Moore writes to me: "I have very little doubt that soleno is the right reading here (Benvenuto has it os besides the Ed. Jesi), and I have thus altered it for the Oxford Dante reprint lately. (1) It is quite a common archaic form (vide Nannucci, Verbi, p. 114) and solemo actually occurs at Purg. xxii, 123. So vedem in Par. vi, 120, and in other old writers, veden, creden, temen, etc., are very common. (2) Some copyists being unfamiliar with this, would naturally write solean, or perhaps solien, so making it imperfect. And another inducement to the change would be the reason given by the Ottimo that these games were obsolete, or supposed to be so, though this has been contradicted. Then afterwards, others noticing the unusual sequence of tenses, solean . . . sien, would take the bolder step of substituting the modern form soglion."

+ battuti e punti: Benvenuto lays great stress upon battuti e punti tra lor, signifying that the champions fought with their palms or fists (cum palmis vel pugnis). "Nor are you," continues he, "to understand that it means with the sword in this passage, as some used to fight, and indeed do at the present day, as when two petty kings fought in the presence of Scipic at Carthage in Spain; and as the three Horatii fought with the three Curiatii of Alba; for the comparison then would not be appropriate."

tciascuno il visaggio, et seq.: Compare Convito, i, 8, 11. 100-106: "La virtù dec avere atto libero e non isforzato.

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As we stopped, they resumed their wonted (lit. ancient) lament; and when they had come up with us, they all three made of themselves a wheel. As champions stripped and oiled are wont to do, watching for their grip and their vantage before they have exchanged blows and thrusts: so, wheeling round, each (of these) directed his face towards me, so that his neck was continually travelling in contrary (direction) to his feet.

As they ran round and round in a circle, wishing at the same time to keep their eyes fixed upon the Poets, it stands to reason that they had to turn them nearly the whole time in the opposite direction to that in which they ran. In Botticelli's illustrations to the *Divina Commedia*, the attitude and the rotatory movement of these shades are admirably depicted.

Division II.—One of the shades now names his two companions to Dante. He briefly mentions what was noteworthy in their lives, and then makes himself known as Jacopo Rusticucci, decidedly inferior in birth and rank to the other two. With much sadness and shame he entreats Dante not to be prejudiced by their abject condition and degraded appearance, but to judge them by their former reputation.

libero è, quando una persona va volentieri ad alcuna parte, che si mostra nel tenere volto lo viso in quella: atto sforzato è, quando contro a voglia si va, che si mostra in non guardare nella parte dove si va." Upon this quotation, as applying to the passage in the text, Scartazzini remarks that the act of looking is an atto libero on the part of the three shades, whereas their running round and round in a circle or wheel is an atto sforzato.

Readings on the Inferno. Canto XVI.

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E,\*- "se miseria d' esto loco sollo

Rende in dispetto noi e nostri preghi,"—

Cominciò l' uno,—"e il tinto aspetto e brollo;†

La fama nostra il tuo animo pieghi

A dirne chi tu se', che i vivi piedi

Così sicuro per lo inferno freghi.

Questi,‡ l' orme di cui pestar mi vedi,

Tutto che nudo e dipelato vada,

Fu di grado maggior che tu non credi.

Nepote fu della buona Gualdrada: \$

\*E, "se miseria, et seq.: I have here departed from the reading and punctuation of the Oxford text, and have followed Brunone Bianchi who in a note says: "Costruisci il ternario così: E l' uno cominciò: 'se, etc.'" There are various other ways of taking the words: (1) e se = etsi, although; (2) e = eh! an interjection; (3) taking e = and as part of Jacopo Rusticucci's words. On the whole, I prefer the interpretation of Dr. Bianchi.

tbrollo: See Readings on the Purgatorio, 2nd edition, Vol. i, p. 525, note on Purg. xiv, 91, where it is explained that brollo or brullo has the sense of "deprived, denuded," but it properly means scorticato, "flayed, peeled." Compare Inf. xxxiv, 59, 60:—

"tal volta la schiena Rimanea della pelle tutta brulla."

† Questi, et seq.: Guido Guerra, grandson of the good Gualdrada, is mentioned by Ricordano Malespini (cap. 157) as commanding the Guelph Army that in 1255 drove the Ghibellines out of Arezzo. He was banished from Florence after the battle of Montaperti, with the other leading Guelphs, among whom was Dante's father. He was surnamed Guerra on account of his being continually engaged in some sort of fighting, and from his daring exploits in war. Benvenuto observes that many have wondered why Dante should have made use of the name of a female ancestress to introduce a man of such illustrious descent and distinguished by such great achievements, but thinks it was quite rightly done, in order that Dante's own grandmother's renowned family might be mentioned.

§ Gualdrada was the daughter of Messer Bellincione Berti de Ravignani, one of the most notable and honourable citizens



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Guido Guerra ebbe nome, ed in sua vita Fece col senno assai e con la spada. L' altro che appresso me l' arena trita,

40

of Florence, and of whom Dante's ancestor, Cacciaguida, is made to speak (Par. xv, 112, and xvi, 94, et seq.) with profound respect. In the latter passage Cacciaguida mentions Guido's descent from Bellincione:—

"Sopra la porta, che al presente è carca
Di nuova fellonia di tanto peso
Che tosto fia jattura della barca,
Erano i Ravignani, ond' è disceso
Il conte Guido, e qualunque del nome

Dell' alto Bellincione ha poscia preso." Boccaccio (Comento) relates the following story of Gualdrada, namely, that the Emperor Otho IV, happening to be at Florence, and having gone to the Feast of San Giovanni to render it more joyful with his presence, it chanced that into the Church there entered, with the other citizens' wives, Messer Berto's, and brought with her a daughter of hers named Gualdrada who was yet a maiden: and as they sat with others on one side, because the girl was surpassingly beautiful both in form and feature, nearly all present turned round to look at her, and amongst others the Emperor; who having greatly commended her beauty and manners, asked Messer Berto, who was near him, who she was; to which Messer Berto smilingly answered: "She is the daughter of one who would, I dare say, allow you to kiss her, if it pleased you." The girl, being near, heard the words-and being much troubled at the opinion her father seemed to have of her in letting it be thought that she would allow any one to kiss her otherwise than in a lawful way-stood up, and looking at her father with a blush of shame, said: "Father, I pray you not to make such liberal promises at the expense of my modesty, for unless by violence, no man shall ever kiss me except the one you give me for a husband." The Emperor greatly commended the maiden's reply, saying that such words could only proceed from a virtuous and modest heart, and at once turned his thoughts to finding a suitable bridegroom for her, and calling into his presence a noble youth named Guido Beisangue, who was afterwards known as the Conte Guido the Elder, he encouraged him to espouse her and gave him as a dowry a territory of great extent in the Casentino and in the Alps, of which he created him Count. Guido and Gualdrada had several children, one of whom was the father of Guido Guerra.

È Tegghiaio \* Aldobrandi, la cui voce †
Nel mondo su dovria esser gradita.
Ed io, che posto son con loro in croce,
Jacopo Rusticucci † fui: e certo
La fiera moglie più ch' altro mi nuoce."—

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And one of them began: "If the wretchedness of this place soft (from the yielding sand) and our blackened and denuded aspect renders us and our prayers objects of scorn; let our (byegone) fame incline thy mind to tell us who art thou who thus in all security movest (lit. rubbest) thy living feet through Hell. He in whose footprints thou seest me tread, albeit that he goes naked and excoriated, was of higher rank than thou mightest imagine. He was grandson of the good Gualdrada: his name was Guido Guerra, and in his lifetime he did much by wisdom and with the sword. The other who next after me tramples the sand, is Tegghiaio Aldobrandi, whose reputation should be acceptable in the world above. And I, who with

<sup>\*</sup>Tegghiaio Aldobrandi was a member of the powerful Guelph family of the Adimari. Boccaccio relates that he was a knight of a great soul and renowned deeds, and of great intelligence in the art of war, and had his advice been listened to, the Florentines would not have taken the field against the Sienese, and would have avoided the disastrous defeat they experienced at Montaperti.

<sup>+</sup> la cui voce: Both Benvenuto and Blanc interpret voce here as signifying "reputation," and Blanc refers to ll. 31-33; and l. 85. Compare also Purg. xi, 103, "Che voce avrai tu più," etc., where voce has overwhelming MS. support as against the variant fama, which latter is also obviously a facilior lectio. Compare also Inf. xxxiii, 85, 86:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Chè se il Conte Ugolino aveva voce D' aver tradita te delle castella," etc.

<sup>†</sup> Jacopo Rusticucci sprang from the people. There are conflicting accounts as to his guiltiness of the sin for which he is represented as undergoing punishment here. The Anonimo Fiorentino speaks of him, apart from this wickedness, as a great statesman, rich, prudent, peaceable, and liberal. The story that is told of him can be read in the old Commentaries.



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them am placed in torment, was Jacopo Rusticucci: and surely my savage wife more than aught else injures me."

He means that her ungovernable shrewish temper made his home so unhappy, that he separated from her, and then fell into the hideous crime for which he will continue to suffer to all eternity, and therefore she still injures him. Benvenuto, upon this, remarks that accursed be such an excuse, for Jacopo Rusticucci would seem to have followed the example of Orpheus, who, because he had lost his wife, began to despise the whole female sex; and the Thracian women, in revenge for his contempt towards them, tore him to pieces under the excitement of their Bacchic fury. Benvenuto adds: "I could well wish that such a fate might befall all such men, and then we should not hear of so many."

Division III.—Dante is so deeply moved on hearing who these shades are, that had the nature of the place allowed of it, he would at once have joined them. Gelli thinks that Dante means to lay down the principle that we should never frequent the society of any one who, however virtuous in other respects, is tainted with any one besetting sin with which there is any danger of our being contaminated. Therefore Dante depicts himself as resisting his great desire to embrace these renowned Florentines. Benvenuto expresses the same idea in somewhat more forcible language.

S' io fussi stato dal foco coperto,\*

<sup>\*</sup> dal foco coperto: Compare Purg. xxvi, 102:—
"Nè per lo foco in là più m' appressai."

Gittato mi sarei tra lor disotto,
E credo che il Dottor l' avria sofferto.

Ma perch' io mi sarei bruciato e cotto,
Vinse paura la mia buona voglia,
Che di loro abbracciar mi facea ghiotto.

Had I been sheltered from the fire, I should have thrown myself down below among them, and I believe my Teacher would have permitted it. But as I should have got burnt and baked, fear overcame my good will which made me eager to embrace them.

Dante now replies in regular order to each of the questions of Jacopo Rusticucci; and first of all warmly repudiates the idea of any other feeling having beer aroused in him than that of intense pity at the sigh of their sufferings. He tells them that he is their fellow-citizen, partly to answer Jacopo Rusticucci' questions as to his identity, and partly to explain whe feels such deep sympathy for them as Florentines whose names and reputation are so well known thim.

Poi cominciai:—"Non dispetto,\* ma doglia
La vostra condizion dentro mi fisse
Tanto che tardi tutta si dispoglia,
Tosto che questo mio Signor mi disse
Parole, per le quali io mi pensai
Che qual voi siete, tal gente venisse.
Di vostra terra sono; e sempre mai
L' opre di voi e gli onorati nomi
Con affezion ritrassi ed ascoltai.

<sup>\*</sup>Non dispetto: In II. 28-30 Jacopo had hinted that their present condition, appearance and abode might make their objects of scorn (dispetto) in the eyes of Dante. Dante now answers this and tells him that the impression on his mind is sorrow for their sad fate, not scorn for their degraded condition.

Canto XVI. Readings on the Inferno.

Lascio lo fele, \* e vo per dolci pomi †
Promessi a me per lo verace † Duca
Ma fino al centro pria convien ch' io tomi."—§

\* Lascio lo fele: Dante means that he is quitting the bitterness of the world, or rather that which is the consequence of sins not desisted from; but Boccaccio says that Dante had desisted from his sins, and, grieving for them, was going to penitence.

t pomi: Compare Purg. xxxii, 73-75:-

"Quale a veder dei fioretti del melo [apple-tree],
Che del suo pomo [fruit] gli Angeli fa ghiotti,
E perpetue nozze fa nel cielo," etc.

According to Scartazzini fele refers to the selva oscura, and the pomi to the divina foresta in the Terrestrial Paradise, where, when they have arrived, Virgil says to Dante (Purg. xxvii, 115-117):—

"' Quel dolce pome, che per tanti rami Cercando va la cura dei mortali, Oggi porrà in pace le tue fami.'"

We have more than once pointed out that pomo or pome is any fruit growing on a tree, not necessarily an apple, as some translate it. The proper word for apple is mela, and an apple tree is melo. But because apple in French is pomme, therefore for some students apple in Italian must be pome! See Readings on the Purgatorio, 2nd edition, Vol. ii, p. 424, note on pome.

tverace Duca: Gelli thinks Dante calls Virgil verace because he was sent to him by Beatrice, i.e. by Divine Theology, a science which cannot err from the truth, and looks upon him as her messenger, rather than as a poet of human sciences, in which he can only be true in part.

§ tomi: From the verb tomare which properly signifies "to fall head first," to "plunge downward." The word is used by Petrarch in Part I, Sestina i, st. 5:—

"Prima ch' i' torni a voi, lucenti stelle,
O tomi giù nell' amorosa selva
Lassando il corpo, che fia trita terra,
Vedess' io in lei pietà: ch' in un sol giorno
Può ristorar molt' anni, e 'nnanzi l' alba
Puommi arrichir dal tramonto del Sole."

Benvenuto thinks the word is used advisedly, because Dante will fall head first to the centre of the earth, inasmuch as he will have to turn his head round to the place where his feet

Then I began: "Not scorn, but sorrow your condition fixed within me so deep, that slowly will it be entirely put off, so soon as this my Lord spake words unto me by which I bethought me that some such personages as you might be coming. I am of your city; and ever with unceasing affection have I recounted (myself) and heard (from others) your achievements and your honoured names. I am leaving the gall (i.e. the bitterness of my sins), and am going after the sweet fruit promised me by my trusty Guide; but before that, as far as the centre (of the Earth) must I needs first plunge down."

Jacopo Rusticucci has heard from another sinner, newly arrived in their place of torment, a very startling report of the present changed condition of Florence, and earnestly petitions Dante to inform him if it be true. He adjures him by his hopes of two things which Benvenuto says are especially to be desired by man, namely, a long life, in the present, and lasting fame in the future.

—" Se lungamente l' anima conduca

Le membra tue,"—rispose quegli ancora,

—" E se la fama tua dopo te luca,

Cortesia e valor \* di' se dimora

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were (quia in centro inferni tomabit, quia volvet caput ubi primo habebat pedes). See Inf. xxxiv, Il. 76-84. Compare Inf. xxxii, 101, 102, where Bocca degli Abati says to Dante:—

"Nè ti dirò ch' io sia, nè mostrerolti, Se mille fiate in sul capo mi tomi."

\*Cortesia e valor: Casini thinks these two words are intended to define civil and military virtues. Boccaccio says that cortesia consists in the actions of good citizens, in learning to live liberally and happily together, and in rendering due honour to all in so far as it is possible; valore seems rather to be the virtue of giving most thought to the honour of the State, to noble enterprises and feats of arms, in all of which these three shades had been citizens honoured and distinguished. Compare Purg. viii, 128, 129, where Dante assures Conrad



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Nella nostra città sì come suole, \* O se del tutto se n' è gita fuora? Chè Guglielmo Borsiere,† il qual si duole

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Malaspina that his ancient race are as honoured in the present as in old time for largess and valour :-

> "vostra gente onrata non si sfregia Del pregio della borsa e della spada.

Compare also Purg. xvi, 115, 116, where Marco Lombardo says:-

"In sul paese ch' Adice e Po riga

Solea valore e cortesia trovarsi."
See also Conv. ii, 11, ll. 54-65: "Nulla cosa in donna sta più bene che cortesia. E non siano li miseri volgari anche di questo vocabolo ingannati, che credono che cortesia non sia altro che larghezza: chè larghezza è una speziale e non generale cortesia. Cortesia e onestade è tutt' uno: e perocchè nelle corti anticamente le virtudi e li belli costumi s' usavano (siccome oggi si usa il contrario), si tolse questo vocabolo dalle corti; e fu tanto a dire cortesia, quanto uso di corte."

\* si come suole: The present suole has here the value of the imperfect soleva. Compare Par. xxi, 110, 111:-

"Disotto al quale è consecrato un ermo, Che suol esser disposto a sola latria."

In 1. 118 of the same passage the context Render solea clearly proves that the past tense is implied in both.

+ Guglielmo Borsiere: Bartoli (op. cit. vol. vi, part ii, p. 70), quoting from Benvenuto and Boccaccio, says that this person was a Florentine who made purses, but afterwards changed his profession to become a man in society (homo curialis), and that he and some men like him, made it their business to adjust treaties of peace between men of noble and gentle blood, to arrange marriages, relationships, and sometimes with pleasant and becoming romances to refresh the minds of the weary, and encourage them to honourable deeds. Boccaccio (Decam. Giorn. i, Nov. 8) relates the following tale about him: "There was in Genoa a gentleman named Messer Ermino de' Grimaldi, who in immense possessions and wealth by far surpassed every one of the most wealthy citizens known in Italy; and as he surpassed them all in wealth, so in avarice and squalor he surpassed every squalid and miserly person in all the world . . . for which reason . . . he was called by everybody Messer Ermino Avarizia It came to pass that about this time, whilst by spending nothing he went on accumulating wealth, there came to Genoa a worthy, well-bred and witty gentleman called

Con noi per poco, e va là coi compagni, Assai ne \* cruccia con le sue parole."-

"So may thy soul long direct thy limbs (i.e. may thy life be a long one)," he replied, " and so may thy fame shine forth after thee, say if courtesy and valour dwell in our city as they were wont, or if they have entirely gone out of it? For Guglielmo Borsiere, who has been with us but a brief while in torment, and is running along yonder with his companions, afflicts us much on this point with his words."

Bartoli (op. cit. p. 67) points out that there are seven Florentines undergoing punishment for the same crime. In the former band were Brunetto Latini, Bishop Andrea de' Mozzi, and Francesco d' Accorso. In this second band we find Guido Guerra, Tegghiaio Aldobrandi, Jacopo Rusticucci, and Guglielmo Borsiere. Bartoli remarks that these

Guglielmo Borsiere . . . who was respected and always welcomed by all the gentlemen at Genoa. Having made a stay of several days in that city, and hearing much talk of Messer Ermino's avarice and squalor, he became desirous of seeing him. Messer Ermino . . . received him in a courteous manner and took him, and some Genoese who came with him, to see a fine house which he had built, and when he had shown him all over it, he said: 'Pray, Messer Guglielmo, can you, who have heard and seen so many things, tell me of something that never was yet seen, to be painted in my hall?' To whom Guglielmo, hearing him speak in such bad taste, replied: 'Messere, I can tell you of nothing that has never yet been seen, that I know of; . . . but if it please you, I can indeed tell you of one thing which, I believe, you never saw.' Messer Ermino said: 'I pray you tell me what that is.' . . . To whom Guglielmo immediately replied: 'Have Liberality painted in your hall.'" Boccaccio adds that this sharp answer had such an effect on the miser, that he changed entirely, and became one of the most liberal, gracious, and respected citizens in Genoa.

\* ne cruccia : Ne means " on this point," i.e. that Guglielmo Borsiere much afflicted them by telling them that courtesy and valour no longer dwelt at Florence.

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last four, as belonging to the epoch that preceded that of Dante, are naturally looked upon by him with a benevolent eye. He represents them as punished for their sin, but he loves them, and takes pleasure in recording their noble and virtuous deeds. What a difference in his demeanour towards them, and the manner in which Andrea de' Mozzi is mentioned! It is not the fault which dictates his judgments to Dante, but something which bursts forth from his mind, from his recollections, from his sympathies, or from his indignation.

Dante is very far from being able to reassure Jacopo Rusticucci as to his misgivings about the present condition of Florence, which, in reply to his question, he tells him has wholly deteriorated owing to the overweening pretensions of its parvenu citizens.

-" La gente nuova,\* e i subiti guadagni,

"O quanto fora meglio esser vicine
Quelle genti ch' io dico, ed al Galluzzo
Ed a Trespiano aver vostre confine,
Che averle dentro."

He goes on to say that had the Church exercised its proper influence in Italy, it would have prevented those endless wars between the great cities which had the effect of driving the population of the environs into Florence. But for these short-

<sup>\*</sup>gente nuova: Boccaccio thinks that by this term Dante means those people who came to inhabit Florence in addition to the old citizens, but he thinks Dante is more especially referring to the Cerchi, who not long before had come into Florence from the parish (piviere) of Acone, a small rural town between Pistoja and Lucca. In Par. xvi, 46-70, Cacciaguida, after saying that in his time the inhabitants of Florence were only a fifth of what they had become in the time of Dante, and deploring how Florence had recently become invaded by people from all the neighbouring townships, adds (1.52):—



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Orgoglio e dismisura \* han generata, Fiorenza, in te, sì che tu già ten piagni."-Così gridai colla faccia levata; † E i tre, che ciò inteser per risposta.

Guardar l' un l' altro, come al ver si guata.

"The upstart (lit. new) people, and their sudden gains, O Florence, have engendered in thee arro-

comings on the part of the Church, which ought to exercise the tender influence of a mother over her child, he asserts (61-69):-

"Tal fatto è Fiorentino, e cambia e merca, Che si sarebbe vôlto a Simifonti, Là dove andava l' avolo alla cerca. Sariasi Montemurlo ancor dei Conti; Sariansi i Cerchi nel pivier d' Acone,

E forse in Valdigreve i Buondelmonti.

Sempre la confusion della persone Principio fu del mal della cittade, Come del corpo il cibo che s' appone."

Scartazzini thinks it more probable that Dante is alluding to the two factions of the Cancellieri, who in 1300 had recently been transplanted from Pistoja to Florence, and from them arose the two parties of the Neri and Bianchi, the principal cause of the misfortunes of Florence, as well as of Dante's exile.

\* dismisura: "Disproportion, excess." Compare again Cacciaguida's words (Par. xv, 103-105):-

"Non faceva nascendo ancor paura

La figlia al padre, chè il tempo e la dote Non fuggian quinci e quindi la misura."

† gridai colla faccia levata : Dante, addressing his apostrophe to Florence, directs his gaze upward, in the direction where he supposes it to be. Benvenuto thinks he casts his eyes upwards as a sign of rage and grief: "quod fuit signum doloris et iræ. Dolebat enim autor quod rustici venissent ad civitatem, et ipse et alii nobiles exularent." Others take it as a sign of boldness of speech, as in Inf. x, 91-93, where Farinata tells Dante that at the council of Empoli, he alone among the victorious Ghibellines protested in the face of all (lit. with open face) against the contemplated destruction of Florence:-

"'Ma fu' io sol colà, dove sofferto Fu per ciascun di toglier via Fiorenza, Colui che la difesi a viso aperto."

gance and excess, so that already thou art mourning over it." Thus I cried out with face uplifted (in the direction of Florence): and the three, who understood this for an answer, looked upon one another as men look at (each other when they hear) the truth.

The three shades commend Dante's noble reply (as Benvenuto terms it), telling him they are filled with admiration for him, because he has in few words concisely expressed what he wanted to say, but with a freedom of speech that will be dangerous to him: in conclusion they entreat him to rehabilitate their good name when he returns to the world.

—" Se l' altre volte sì poco ti costa,"—
Risposer tutti,—" il satisfare altrui, 80
Felice te, se sì parli a tua posta.\*
Però se campi d' esti lochi bui
E torni a riveder le belle stelle,
Quando ti gioverà dicere 'Io fui,' †
Fa che di noi alla gente favelle."— 85

"If on other occasions," they all replied, "it costs thee so little to satisfy others, happy thou, if thus thou speakest at thy pleasure. Wherefore, if thou escapest from these regions of gloom, and returnest to see again the beautiful stars, when it shall rejoice

<sup>\*</sup>a tua posta: Blanc (Voc. Dant.) says this is a very obscure expression, which seems to signify: "at your convenience, at your pleasure, at your command," etc., stare a posta di alcuno means, "to be at his disposal, order, command." Compare Inf. x, 73, 74:—

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Ma quell' altro magnanimo, a cui posta Restato m' era," etc.

ti gioverà dicere, io fui: Compare Virgil, Æn. i, 203:—
". . . Forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit."
And Tasso, Gerus. Lib. xv, st. 38:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Quando mi gioverà narrare altrui Le novità vedute, e dire: Io fui."

thee to say 'I have been (there,  $i.\epsilon$ . in Hell),' see that thou speak to them of us."

The interview with the three Florentines is no brought to a conclusion. Their departure is ver hurried, and after he has seen them speed awa Dante makes no further mention of the Violet against Nature.

Indi rupper la rota, ed a fuggirsi
Ali sembiar\* le gambe loro snelle.
Un ammen † non saria potuto dirsi
Tosto così, com' ei furo spariti:
Perchè al Maestro parve ‡ di partirsi.

Then they broke their wheel (i.e. they unjoined hands), and in running off their nimble legs seemed wings. An Amen could not have been uttered as quickly as they had vanished: whereupon my Master deemed it best to depart.

Division IV.—The Poets have been moving on, at are now reaching the verge of the immense Abythat leads down into the depths of Malebolge. It at this point that we see the great divergence in the computations of the size of the Hell of Dante, between Vellutello and Manetti. Vellutello, who

<sup>\*</sup> Ali sembiâr, et seq.: Compare Virg. Æn. viii, 224:—
". . . pedibus timor addidit alas."

tammen: Fanfani (Vocabolario) says: "In un ammen us. tuttora da tutti per in un attimo [in an instant], in brevissi tempo." Scartazzini says the sense is that the shades d appeared in an instant, as they also, like Brunetto, had rigiugnere la loro masnada. Compare Virg. Æn. i, 142:—
"Sic ait, et dicto citius tumida æquora placat."

<sup>†</sup> parve is the same as the Latin visum est, i.e. he judged it be fitting, etc.

plan of the *Inferno* will be found in the *Preliminary* Chapter, gives the Great Abyss a depth of 140 miles; but Manetti estimates the depth at 750 odd miles.

In all these speculations and calculations there are many inconsistencies, but it must be remembered that the *Divina Commedia* is a vision, and in dreams and visions the proportions of time and space are purely arbitrary.

In the opening lines of the Canto we learned that the Poets were within hearing distance of the Cascade falling over the edge of the Great Abyss at the time when the three Florentine shades addressed them; they have since then advanced further, and are close to it, and Dante compares the Falls of the Phlegethon to those of the Montone, a river in North Italy.

Io lo seguiva, e poco eravam iti,

Che il suon dell' acqua n' era sì vicino
Che per parlar saremmo appena uditi.
Come quel fiume \* ch' ha proprio cammino
Prima da monte Veso in vêr levante

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<sup>\*</sup>Come quel fiume, et seq.: The Acquacheta rises in the Apennines near the Badia di San Benedetto in Romagna, and after many tortuous windings, forces its way through hard schistous rocks, until it reaches Forlì, where the name Acquacheta is changed to the Montone. A little way below the Badia is the village of San Benedetto, where once the noble house of Della Rocca di San Casciano and the Conti Guidi of the Dovadola branch held sway. They at one time gave hospitality to Dante, who was a friend of Guido Salvatico and of Ruggiero, his son. Some contend that in their castle he wrote some Cantos of the Divina Commedia, in which he clearly alludes to these localities; and that to show himself grateful for their courteous hospitality, he immortalised in song the heroic end of Buonconte da Montefeltro, whose only daughter and heiress was Mantenessa, wife of Count Guido Salvatico.

Dalla sinistra costa d' Apennino, \* Che si chiama Acquaqueta suso, avante Che si divalli giù nel basso letto, Ed a Forlì di quel nome è vacante, Rimbomba là sopra san Benedetto Dell' alpe, per cadere ad una scesa, Ove dovea per mille esser ricetto: Così, giù d' una ripa discoscesa, Trovammo risonar quell' acqua tinta, Sì che in poc' ora avria l' orecchie offesa.

I was following him, and we had gone but a short way, when the roar of the waters came so near to us, that for all our speaking we should scarce have been heard. Even as that river which is the first to hold its own (i.e. an independent) course from Monte Viso Eastwards on the left (i.e. the North-Western) slope of the Apennines-which is called Acquaqueta in its upper waters, before it precipitates itself into its bed below, and at Forli loses that name (in exchange for Montone)-reverberates in falling at a single leap from the high mountain (lit. Alp) there above San Benedetto, where (by rights) there should be habitation for a thousand; so down from a precipitous cliff we found that dark water re-echoing so loud that in a short time it would have stunned our ears.

Benvenuto considers the whole passage relating the above comparison so intricate and difficult, tha he thinks it right to discuss it in great detail. I prefer however, to quote Blanc, who, in a long explanation (Saggio, pp. 156, 157) observes that rightly to under stand these verses, it is necessary to make one or tw observations. Dante, when he speaks of l' Apenninc is accustomed to look at that range of mountains from

<sup>\*</sup> sinistra costa d' Apennino : Compare De Vulg. Eloq. i, 14, 1-4: "Transeuntes nunc humeros Apenninii frondiferos, laevar Italiam cunctam venemur, ceu solemus, orientaliter ineuntes.



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their origin in the Maritime Alps, and then to follow it like the course of a river, so that the Northern and Eastern slopes appear to him as on his left hand, and those of the South and West as on his right; as for instance in the present passage, and also in the De Volgari Eloquio (i, 10, ll. 39-59). Of all the rivers flowing from the left flank of the Apennines towards the Po, which takes its rise in Monte Viso. the Acquacheta, as it is called in its upper course, and Montone in its lower course near Forli, and which flows into the Adriatic near Ravenna, is the only one \* of these rivers that does not discharge into the Po, but holds its own independent course (proprio cammino). At the place where it falls down from the Apennines, near a Benedictine Monastery, it gathers itself into a thundering cascade, which Philalethes thinks must have much diminished in volume since the time of Dante. It is to this river that Dante is now comparing the Phlegethon, for the reason that this latter also forms a roaring cascade, and because it also undergoes a change of name, being called in Upper Hell Phlegethon, and in the Lowest Hell Cocytus. Dante adds that near to this fall of the river dovea (or dovria) per mille esser ricetto; but what does this mean? Boccaccio candidly confesses that for a long time he was in doubt as to what was intended by the author, until the Abbot of the said Monastery related to him how one of the Conti Guidi,

<sup>\*</sup>Mr. Tozer observes that at the present day, owing to changes in the course of the Po, the Lamone, which lies to the Westward of the Montone [and flows by Faenza] also flows independently into the sea.

lords of that mountain region, had had it in his mine to build a castle there, and to establish many residences round it, but that through the death of that Count the project fell through. Benvenuto repeats the same story. Buti reads poria (i.e. potria), and thinks one must understand that in that monastery one thousand monks, strangers, and wayfarers might be lodged. Blanc thinks it is clear that the good Abbot had thrust forward the explanation which displayed him and his monks in the most favourable light; but on the other hand all interpreters, both ancient and modern, from the time of Guiniforte onwards, explain, and probably rightly, that Dante has here after his own particular manner, aimed a blow at the governing body of those monks; their monastery ought to be a receptacle for a thousand monks, while in fact there are only a few enjoying its fat revenues.

We now come to a passage, which while presenting no difficulty whatsoever as to the literal sense of the words, is, notwithstanding, generally understood to have an allegorical or mysterious signification in the interpretation of which there are so many divergent opinions, as to render it one of the most difficult in the whole *Divina Commedia*.

The position is as follows. The Poets are standing on the very brink of the Great Abyss, into the gloom of which their eyes are unable to penetrate. Virgi is about to summon the monster Geryon to carry them down to the depths below, and wanting some object to cast down as a signal, asks Dante for the cord which is girded round his waist. We must

remember that whatever may have been the depth of the Abyss, no voice could have been heard (ll. 92, 93), and Virgil, therefore, on receiving the cord from Dante, gathers it up into a knot, and hurls it down.

> Io aveva una corda \* intorno cinta, E con essa pensai alcuna volta Prender la lonza alla pelle dipinta.

\* Io aveva una corda, et seq. : In the first edition of this work I introduced as a supplemental note the translation of a very long note of Scartazzini, which Casini has since then commended as the best exposition of this passage. The limits of the present edition preclude the inclusion of so lengthy a discussion of the subject. We may, however, take it for granted that by corda Dante means the cord of the Franciscans; and the passage is supposed to signify that at one period of his life Dante had entered the Order of St. Francis with the view of mortifying his carnal appetites. Buti, alone among the Commentators, relates that Dante did at one time of his life enter the Third Order of the Franciscans, though he never got beyond the novitiate. Dante was certainly buried in a Franciscan Church, and, according to tradition, in a Franciscan habit.

These Friars were styled from their cincture, Cordiglieri.

Compare Inf. xxvii, 67, 68:—

"Io fui uom d'arme, e poi fui cordelliero,"

Credendomi, sì cinto, fare ammenda."

The Leopard of the painted skin, by which Dante was so frequently turned back in the Dark Wood (See Inf. i, 36, io fui per ritornar più volte vôlto), is evidently the type of Sensuality. The cord symbolises the human means, the ascetic vows or whatsoever else on which Dante had relied to capture and subdue the beast (Norton). The context of the two passages lets us infer that Dante, when he encountered the Leopard in the Dark Wood (la fera alla gaietta pelle), had made an attempt to capture it with the cord that was about his waist, and Benvenuto considers the comparison of the two passages to be a distinct proof that the Leopard signifies Sensuality, and not Vain-Glory, as some have supposed. To overcome Sensuality Dante had girded himself with the cord of St. Francis. The following words in the Breviarium Romanum occur in the prayer of the Celebrant Priest at the moment of putting on the girdle round the Eucharistic vestment: "Pracinge me, Domine, cingulo

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Canto XVI

Poscia che l' ebbi tutta da me sciolta,
Sì come il Duca m' avea comandato,
Porsila a lui aggroppata e ravvolta.
Ond' ei si volse inver lo destro lato
Ed alquanto di lungi dalla sponda
La gittò giuso in quell' alto burrato.\*

I had a cord girded about me, and with it I had at one time bethought me to capture the Leopard with the painted skin (i.e. the Lusts of the Flesh). When I had completely loosed it from me as my Leader had commanded me, I handed it to him coiled and rolled up. Whereupon he turned towards his right side, and cast it out some distance from the edge right down into that deep abyss.

puritatis et extingue in lumbis meis humorem libidinis, ut maneat in me virtus continentiæ et castitatis."

That must have also been Dante's prayer at the moment he put on the cord. But the cord alone is not in itself sufficient to overcome the temptations of the Flesh, to capture the Leo-Dante, though girded with the cord, must contemplate the punishment of the Lascivious before he can inwardly and entirely subdue his carnal appetites. But now, after having witnessed the torments of carnal sinners and the hurricane of Hell, which di qua, di là, di giù, di su gli mena; after having witnessed on the horrible Sandy Waste the last and extremest penalty of unbridled lust, namely, the rain of fire which falls upon those who were polluted by the most disgusting form of carnal sins; having seen the sores, both recent and of old standing, that have been wrought by the eternal flames-now Dante has conquered-and conquered inwardly, and therefore Virgil bids him divest himself entirely (tutta da me sciolta) of the cord as of a thing that from henceforward has become quite superfluous, and he allows it to be cast down into the Abyss to be resumed no more.

\*burrato: Compare Inf. xii, 10:—
"Cotal di quel burrato era la scesa."

See Donkin, Etymol. Dict. s.v. "Borro It. the bed of a mountain-stream, dell, cleft; Modenese budrione; from βόθρω βόθρων. Hence burratto (Dante) a broken precipice; burratt an abyss. Compare Walloon büturë a cave; Sp. town Val deburon; Prov. bauri a precipice." Benvenuto says: "in quell' altro burrato, idest in aliud fossum obscurum et burum."

Virgil's action in turning to his right side, before discharging the coiled rope, exactly describes the gesture of a sailor doing so to a ship approaching a pier, or that of a man when about to throw a ball or a stone with his full strength.

Virgil's eye follows the rope into the darkness, and his rapt attention fascinates Dante, who being wholly ignorant of Virgil's purpose, begins to speculate as to what may be coming. But he soon finds that Virgil has guessed his thoughts and tells him so. Dante mentally soliloquizes that in future he must be careful what he thinks in the presence of Virgil, who seems to know intuitively what is in his mind.

—"E pur convien che novità risponda,"—

Dicea fra me medesmo,—" al nuovo cenno
Che il Maestro con l' occhio sì seconda."—

Ahi quanto cauti gli uomini esser denno
Presso a color che non veggon pur l' opra,
Ma per entro i pensier miran col senno!

Ei disse a me:—"Tosto verrà di sopra
Ciò ch' io attendo, e che il tuo pensier sogna
Tosto convien ch' al tuo viso si scopra."—

"Surely," said I within myself, "some novelty must respond to the novel signal which my Master so follows with his eye." Ah! how cautious men have to be with those who see not only the deed, but with their wisdom look at the thoughts within! He said to me: "Soon will come up what I am expecting, and that of which thy thought is dreaming must soon be discovered to thy sight."

Dante is at this point much embarrassed how to describe the extraordinary monster that ascended in obedience to Virgil's signal, and he tells his readers that as a general rule, when a fact, though perfectly true, seems incredible, it is far better not to speak of it, than by doing so to incur the imputation of being a liar. The Italian proverb that the disbelieved truth is held to be a lie (La veritade non creduta Bugia è tenuta), would evidently be present in his mind, and the creature that he now saw was so utterly unlike anything in nature, that he almost fears to tell of it, and only does so in obedience to the imperative law imposed upon him of relating in writing all that he has witnessed.

Sempre a quel ver\* ch' ha faccia di menzogna
De' l' uom chiuder le labbra finch' ei punte,
Però che senza colpa fa vergogna;
Ma qui tacer nol posso: e per le note
Di questo commedia† lettor, ti giuro,
S' elle non sien di lunga grazia vote,
Ch' io vidi per quell' aer grosso e scuro
Venir notando i una figura in suso,

\* Sempre a quel ver : Compare Pulci, Morgante Maggiere, Canto xxiv, st. 104:-

"Sempre a quel ver, ch' ha faccia di menzogna,

È più senno tener la lingua cheta, Che spesso sanza colpa fa vergogna."

Also Inf. xiii, 20, 21:-

Però riguarda bene, e sì vedrai

Maravigliosa ad ogni cor sicuro,

Cose, che torrien fede al mio sermone."

And Inf. xxviii, 113, 114:"E vidi cosa ch' io avrei paura,

Senza più prova, di contarla solo."

+ Commedia: The word, in this instance, must be pronounced with the accent on the i, as in Greek.

\* Venir notando: Compare Virg. Æn. vi, 14-17:—
"Dædalus, ut fama est, fugiens Minoia regna,
Præpetibus pennis ausus se credere cœlo,
Insuetum per iter gelidas enavit ad Arctos
Chalcidicaque levis tandem superadstitit arce."

Sì come torna colui che va giuso

Talora a solver l' àncora ch' aggrappa

O scoglio od altro che nel mare è chiuso,
Che in su si stende, e da piè si rattrappa.

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A man should always close his lips so far as he can to that truth which bears the semblance of falsehood, because without any guilt he incurs shame (of supposed falsehood); but here I cannot be silent: and by the verses of this Comedy, I swear to thee, Reader,—so may they (the verses) not be devoid of long-lasting favour—that through the thick and murky air I beheld—awe-inspiring even to the stoutest hearts—a figure come swimming upwards, even as he (the diver) returns up, who goes down sometimes to clear an anchor that gets fouled on a rock, or on aught else which is hidden in the sea, who extends his upper parts, and from the feet gathers himself up.

Benvenuto is among those who take venir notando in its literal sense, and hold that Geryon actually swam up through the water of the roaring cataract. He pictures the scene in his quaint way: "Et hic nota quod comparatio est pulchra et propria: primo quia sicut plumbarius [this Benvenuto explains to be a term of sea-faring men for 'a diver'] qui steterat sub aqua revertitur sursum per cordam, ita Gerion qui prius latuerat sub aqua egrediebatur nunc supra aquam; et sicut plumbarius redit sursum cum facie aperta, cum brachiis et pedibus strictis, ita Gerion nunc veniebat sursum cum facie aperta, brachiis expansis et cauda scorpionina contracta."

END OF CANTO XVI. AND VOL. I.



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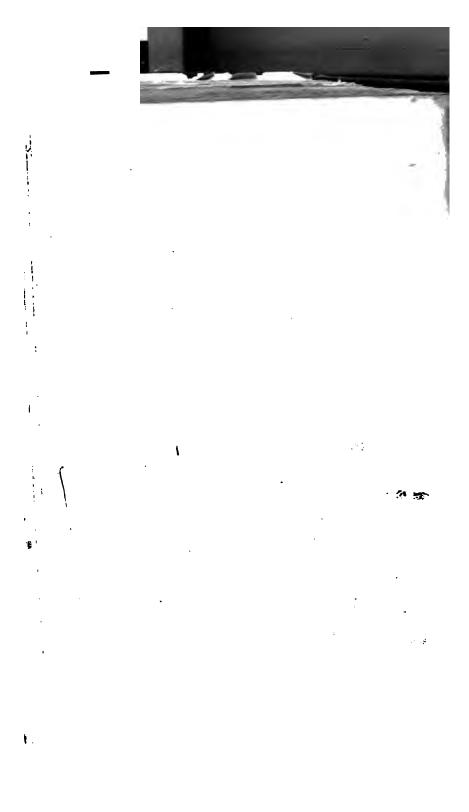
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